

Karl Marx



F. Engels

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

*Selected
Correspondence*

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Correspondence*

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Correspondence*

Marx Engels

Selected Correspondence



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К. МАРКС И Ф. ЭНГЕЛЬС
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CONTENTS

V. I. Lenin, "The Marx-Engels Correspondence" (<i>Extract</i>).	13
1844	
1. Engels to Marx in Paris, <i>beginning of October 1844</i>	17
2. Engels to Marx in Paris, <i>November 19, 1844</i>	20
1845	
3. Engels to Marx in Paris, <i>January 20, 1845</i>	22
1846	
4. Marx to Pierre Joseph Proudhon in Paris, <i>May 5, 1846</i>	24
5. Engels to Marx in Brussels, <i>September 18, 1846</i>	25
6. Engels to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, <i>October 23, 1846</i>	26
7. Engels to Marx in Brussels, <i>approx. October 23, 1846</i>	28
8. Marx to P. V. Annenkov in Paris, <i>December 28, 1846</i>	29
1847	
9. Engels to Marx in Brussels, <i>November 23-24, 1847</i>	40
1848	
10. Marx to the Editor of the Newspaper <i>L'Alba</i> , <i>May 1848</i>	41
11. Engels to Emil Blank in London, <i>May 24, 1848</i>	42
1849	
12. Engels to Jenny Marx, <i>July 25, 1849</i>	43
13. Marx to Engels in Vevey, <i>August 17, 1849</i>	44
14. Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer in Frankfort on the Main, <i>December 19, 1849</i>	45
1851	
15. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>January 7, 1851</i>	47
16. Engels to Marx in London, <i>July 17, 1851</i>	50
17. Engels to Marx in London, <i>about July 20, 1851</i>	51
18. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>September 13, 1851</i>	54

19. Engels to Marx in London, <i>September 23, 1851</i>	54
20. Engels to Marx in London, <i>December 3, 1851</i>	55
21. Engels to Marx in London, <i>December 11, 1851</i>	58
 <i>1852</i>	
22. Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer in New York, <i>March 5, 1852</i>	62
23. Engels to Marx in London, <i>March 18, 1852</i>	65
24. Marx to Adolf Cluss in Washington, <i>July 20, 1852</i>	66
25. Jenny Marx to Adolf Cluss, <i>October 28, 1852</i>	67
 <i>1853</i>	
26. Engels to Joseph Weydemeyer in New York, <i>April 12, 1853</i>	69
27. Engels to Marx in London, <i>approx. May 26, 1853</i>	73
28. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>June 2, 1853</i>	75
29. Engels to Marx in London, <i>June 6, 1853</i>	76
30. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>June 14, 1853</i>	78
 <i>1854</i>	
31. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>July 27, 1854</i>	81
 <i>1856</i>	
32. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>March 5, 1856</i>	84
33. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>April 16, 1856</i>	85
34. Engels to Marx in London, <i>May 23, 1856</i>	86
35. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>October 30, 1856</i>	88
36. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>December 2, 1856</i>	89
 <i>1857</i>	
37. Marx to Engels in Ryde, <i>September 25, 1857</i>	91
38. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>November 24, 1857</i>	92
 <i>1858</i>	
39. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>January 14, 1858</i>	93
40. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>February 1, 1858</i>	94
41. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle in Düsseldorf, <i>February 22, 1858</i>	96
42. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>April 2, 1858</i>	97
43. Engels to Marx in London, <i>July 14, 1858</i>	101
44. Engels to Marx in London, <i>October 7, 1858</i>	102
45. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>October 8, 1858</i>	103
 <i>1859</i>	
46. Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer in Milwaukee, <i>February 1, 1859</i>	105
47. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle in Berlin, <i>February 4, 1859</i>	107
48. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle in Berlin, <i>April 19, 1859</i>	109
49. Engels to Ferdinand Lassalle in Berlin, <i>May 18, 1859</i>	110
 <i>1860</i>	
50. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>written after January 11, 1860</i>	114

1861

51. Marx to Ferdinand Lassalle in Berlin, *January 16, 1861* . . . 115
52. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *February 27, 1861* 115

1862

53. Marx to Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva, *February 26, 1862* 117
54. Engels to Marx in London, *May 23, 1862* 117
55. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *June 18, 1862* 119
56. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *August 2, 1862* 120
57. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *August 7, 1862* 124
58. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *August 9, 1862* 125
59. Engels to Marx in London, *November 5, 1862* 126
60. Engels to Marx in London, *November 15, 1862* 127

1863

61. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *January 28, 1863* 128
62. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *April 9, 1863* 130
63. Engels to Marx in London, *June 11, 1863* 131
64. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *July 6, 1863* 132

1864

65. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *November 4, 1864* 137
66. Engels to Joseph Weydemeyer in St. Louis, *November 24, 1864* 140

1865

67. Marx to Johann Baptist Schweitzer, *January 24, 1865* 142
68. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *January 30, 1865* 148
69. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *February 1, 1865* 149
70. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *February 3, 1865* 150
71. Marx and Engels to the Editorial Board of the *Social-Demokrat*,
February 6, 1865 152
72. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *February 11, 1865* 152
73. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *February 18, 1865* 153
74. Marx and Engels to the Editorial Board of the *Social-Demokrat*,
February 23, 1865 156
75. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *February 23, 1865* . . . 156
76. Engels to Friedrich Albert Lange in Duisburg, *March 29, 1865* 160
77. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *May 1, 1865* 163
78. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *May 20, 1865* 163

1866

79. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *January 15, 1866* . . . 165
80. Engels to Marx in Margate, *April 13, 1866* 166
81. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *June 7, 1866* 166
82. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *June 20, 1866* 167
83. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *July 7, 1866* 168
84. Engels to Marx in London, *July 25, 1866* 169
85. Marx to Engels in Manchester, *July 27, 1866* 170
86. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *October 9, 1866* . . . 171

1867

87. Marx to Sigfrid Meyer in New York, <i>April 30, 1867</i>	173
88. Engels to Marx in London, <i>June 16, 1867</i>	174
89. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>June 22, 1867</i>	176
90. Engels to Marx in London, <i>June 26, 1867</i>	178
91. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>June 27, 1867</i>	178
92. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>August 16, 1867</i>	180
93. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>August 24, 1867</i>	180
94. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>September 11, 1867</i>	181
95. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>November 2, 1867</i>	182
96. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>November 30, 1867</i>	183

1868

97. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>January 8, 1868</i>	186
98. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>March 6, 1868</i>	187
99. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>March 25, 1868</i>	188
100. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>April 6, 1868</i>	190
101. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>April 30, 1868</i>	191
102. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>July 11, 1868</i>	195
103. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>August 26, 1868</i>	198
104. Marx to Georg Eccarius and Friedrich Lessner in Brussels, <i>September 10, 1868</i>	198
105. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>October 10, 1868</i>	199
106. Marx to Johann Baptist Schweitzer in Berlin, <i>October 13, 1868</i>	200
107. Engels to Marx in London, <i>November 6, 1868</i>	203
108. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>November 7, 1868</i>	204

1869

109. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>March 3, 1869</i>	205
110. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>March 5, 1869</i>	206
111. Engels to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>July 10, 1869</i>	208
112. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>August 10, 1869</i>	208
113. Engels to Marx in London, <i>October 24, 1869</i>	209
114. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>October 30, 1869</i>	209
115. Engels to Marx in London, <i>November 1, 1869</i>	210
116. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>November 18, 1869</i>	211
117. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>November 26, 1869</i>	212
118. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>November 29, 1869</i>	216
119. Engels to Marx in London, <i>December 9, 1869</i>	217
120. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>December 10, 1869</i>	218

1870

121. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>February 10, 1870</i>	220
122. Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt in New York, <i>April 9, 1870</i>	220
123. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>May 18, 1870</i>	224
124. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, <i>June 27, 1870</i>	225
125. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>July 28, 1870</i>	226
126. Engels to Marx in Ramsgate, <i>August 15, 1870</i>	226
127. Marx to Engels in Manchester, <i>August 17, 1870</i>	229
128. Marx and Engels to the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, <i>approx. September 1, 1870</i>	231
129. Engels to Marx in London, <i>September 4, 1870</i>	232
130. Engels to Marx in London, <i>September 12, 1870</i>	234

131. Marx to E. S. Beesly in London, *October 19, 1870* 235
 132. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *December 13, 1870* 236

1871

133. Marx to the Editor of *The Daily News*, *January 16, 1871* 239
 134. Marx to Sigfrid Meyer in New York, *January 21, 1871* 241
 135. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *February 4, 1871* 241
 136. Engels to the Spanish Federal Council of the International Working Men's Association, *February 13, 1871* 243
 137. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht in Leipzig, *April 6, 1871* 246
 138. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *April 12, 1871* 247
 139. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, *April 17, 1871* 248
 140. Marx to Leo Frankel and Louis Eugène Varlin in Paris, *May 13, 1871* 249
 141. Marx to Edward Spencer Beesly in London, *June 12, 1871* 250
 142. Marx to Adolphe Hubert in London, *August 10, 1871* 251
 143. Marx to Friedrich Bolte in New York, *November 23, 1871* 253
 144. Engels to the Editorial Board of the Turin Newspaper *Il Proletario Italiano*, *November 29, 1871* 255

1872

145. Engels to Theodor Cuno in Milan, *January 24, 1872* 257
 146. Marx to Paul Lafargue in Madrid, *March 21, 1872* 262

1873

147. Engels to Marx in Manchester, *May 30, 1873* 264
 148. Engels to August Bebel in Hubertusburg, *June 20, 1873* 265
 149. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *September 27, 1873* 268
 150. Engels to Marx in Harrogate, *December 10, 1873* 269

1874

151. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *September 12 [-17], 1874* 270

1875

152. Engels to August Bebel in Zwickau, *March 18-28, 1875* 272
 153. Marx to Wilhelm Bracke in Brunswick, *May 5, 1875* 278
 154. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, *October 12, 1875* 279
 155. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, *October 15, 1875* 281
 156. Engels to Pyotr Lavrovich Lavrov in London, *November 12[-17], 1875* 283

1876

157. Engels to Marx in London, *May 28, 1876* 286

1877

158. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *September 27, 1877* 289
 159. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *October 19, 1877* 290
 160. Marx to Wilhelm Blos in Hamburg, *November 10, 1877* 291
 161. Marx to the Editorial Board of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, *November 1877* 291

1878

162. Marx to Wilhelm Liebknecht in Leipzig, *February 11, 1878* . . . 295

1879

163. Marx to N. F. Danielson in St. Petersburg, *April 10, 1879* . . . 296
 164. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *June 17, 1879* . . . 300
 165. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva, *July 1, 1879* . . . 301
 166. Marx and Engels to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others ("Circular Letter") in Leipzig, *September 17-18, 1879* . . . 302
 167. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *September 19, 1879* . . . 308
 168. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, *November 14, 1879* . . . 309
 169. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, *December 16, 1879* . . . 310

1880

170. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *November 5, 1880* . . . 312
 171. Marx to Henry Mayer Hyndman in London, *December 8, 1880* . . . 313

1881

172. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Vienna, *February 1, 1881* . . . 315
 173. Marx to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson in St. Petersburg, *February 19, 1881* . . . 316
 174. Marx to Ferdinand Domela-Nieuwenhuis in the Hague, *February 22, 1881* . . . 317
 175. Marx to Vera Ivanovna Zasulich in St. Petersburg, *March 8, 1881* . . . 319
 176. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *March 12, 1881* . . . 320
 177. Marx and Engels to the Chairman of the Slavonic Meeting, *March 21st, 1881, in Celebration of the Anniversary of the Paris Commune* . . . 321
 178. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *June 20, 1881* . . . 322
 179. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *October 25, 1881* . . . 324
 180. Marx to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *December 15, 1881* . . . 325

1882

181. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *January 25, 1882* . . . 327
 182. Engels to Johann Philipp Becker in Geneva, *February 10, 1882* . . . 328
 183. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *May 3, 1882* . . . 330
 184. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Vienna, *September 12, 1882* . . . 330
 185. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *October 20, 1882* . . . 331
 186. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, *October 28, 1882* . . . 333
 187. Engels to Marx in Ventnor, *December 15, 1882* . . . 334

1883

188. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *January 18, 1883* . . . 336
 189. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *February 27-March 1, 1883* . . . 337
 190. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *March 14, 1883* . . . 338
 191. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, *March 15, 1883* . . . 338
 192. Engels to Philip van Patten in New York, *April 18, 1883* . . . 340
 193. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, *August 27, 1883* . . . 342
 194. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, *August 30, 1883* . . . 343

1884

195. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, <i>January 1, 1884</i> . . .	345
196. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, <i>January 18, 1884</i> . . .	345
197. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Zurich, <i>February 16, 1884</i> . . .	347
198. Engels to Vera Ivanovna Zasulich in Geneva, <i>March 6, 1884</i>	348
199. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, <i>March 24, 1884</i> . . .	350
200. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Zurich, <i>April 26, 1884</i> . . .	351
201. Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich, <i>May 23, 1884</i> . . .	352
202. Engels to August Bebel in Leipzig, <i>June 6, 1884</i> . . .	353
203. Engels to Eugenie Papritz in London, <i>June 26, 1884</i> . . .	354
204. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Zurich, <i>June 26, 1884</i> . . .	355
205. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Zurich, <i>September 20, 1884</i> . . .	357
206. Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, <i>December 11, 1884</i> . . .	358

1885

207. Engels to Vera Ivanovna Zasulich in Geneva, <i>April 23, 1885</i>	361
208. Engels to Gertrud Guillaume-Schack in Beuthen, <i>about July 5, 1885</i> . . .	363
209. Engels to August Bebel in Plauen bei Dresden, <i>October 28, 1885</i>	364
210. Engels to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson in St. Petersburg, <i>November 13, 1885</i> . . .	365
211. Engels to Minna Kautsky in Vienna, <i>November 26, 1885</i> . . .	367

1886

212. Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, <i>January 20[-23], 1886</i> . . .	370
213. Engels to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in Zurich, <i>June 3, 1886</i>	371
214. Engels to Laura Lafargue in Paris, <i>October 2, 1886</i> . . .	372
215. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>November 29, 1886</i>	373
216. Engels to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in New York, <i>December 28, 1886</i> . . .	376

1887

217. Engels to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky in New York, <i>January 27 1887</i> . . .	378
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

1888

218. Engels to Margaret Harkness in London, <i>beginning of April 1888</i>	379
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

1889

219. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>June 8, 1889</i>	382
220. Engels to Victor Adler in Vienna, <i>December 4, 1889</i> . . .	383
221. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>December 7, 1889</i>	385
222. Engels to Gerson Trier in Copenhagen, <i>December 18, 1889</i>	386

1890

223. Engels to Hermann Schlüter in New York, <i>January 11, 1890</i>	388
224. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>April 19, 1890</i>	389
225. Engels to Paul Ernst in Berlin, <i>June 5, 1890</i> . . .	390
226. Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin, <i>August 5, 1890</i> . . .	392
227. Engels to Joseph Bloch in Königsberg, <i>September 21-22, 1890</i>	394
228. Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Berlin, <i>October 27, 1890</i> . . .	396

1891

229. Engels to Paul Lafargue at le Perreux, <i>January 31, 1891</i> . . .	403
230. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, <i>February 23, 1891</i> . . .	405

231. Engels to José Mesa, <i>March 24, 1891</i>	408
232. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, <i>June 29, 1891</i>	408
233. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, <i>October 14, 1891</i>	409
234. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>October 24, 1891</i>	411
235. Engels to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson in St. Petersburg, <i>October 29-31, 1891</i>	411
236. Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Zurich, <i>November 1, 1891</i>	414
 <i>1892</i>	
237. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>January 6, 1892</i>	416
238. Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, <i>February 19, 1892</i>	417
239. Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, <i>March 8, 1892</i>	418
240. Engels to Hermann Schlüter in New York, <i>March 30, 1892</i>	419
241. Engels to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson in St. Petersburg, <i>June 18, 1892</i>	420
242. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, <i>September 4, 1892</i>	422
243. Engels to Franz Mehring in Berlin, <i>September 28, 1892</i>	423
244. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>December 31, 1892</i>	426
 <i>1893</i>	
245. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>January 18, 1893</i>	428
246. Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, <i>January 24, 1893</i>	429
247. Engels to Paul Lafargue at le Perreux, <i>February 25, 1893</i>	430
248. Engels to the Editorial Board of the Bulgarian Symposium Social-Democrat, <i>June 9, 1893</i>	432
249. Engels to Franz Mehring in Berlin, <i>July 14, 1893</i>	433
250. Engels to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson in St. Petersburg, <i>October 17, 1893</i>	437
251. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>November 11, 1893</i>	439
 <i>1894</i>	
252. Engels to W. Borgius, <i>January 25, 1894</i>	441
253. Engels to Filippo Turati, <i>January 26, 1894</i>	443
254. Engels to Paul Lafargue in Paris, <i>March 6, 1894</i>	447
255. Engels to the National Council of the French Workers' Party on the Occasion of the 23rd Anniversary of the Paris Commune, <i>March 18, 1894</i>	447
256. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>May 12, 1894</i>	448
257. Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, <i>November 10, 1894</i>	449
 <i>1895</i>	
258. Engels to Hermann Schlüter in Hoboken, <i>January 1, 1895</i>	452
259. Engels to Ferdinand Tönnies in Kiel, <i>January 24, 1895</i>	453
260. Engels to Werner Sombart, <i>March 11, 1895</i>	454
261. Engels to Conrad Schmidt in Zurich, <i>March 12, 1895</i>	456
262. Engels to Victor Adler in Vienna, <i>March 16, 1895</i>	460
263. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, <i>April 1, 1895</i>	461
264. Engels to Paul Lafargue in Paris, <i>April 3, 1895</i>	461
265. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, <i>May 21, 1895</i>	462
<i>Notes</i>	465
<i>Indexes</i>	507
Name Index	509
Bibliography	541
Subject Index	546

V. I. LENIN

THE MARX-ENGELS CORRESPONDENCE

(Extract)

“...its scientific and political value is tremendous. Not only do Marx and Engels stand out before the reader in clear relief in all their greatness, but the extremely rich theoretical content of Marxism is graphically revealed, because in their letters Marx and Engels return again and again to the most diverse aspects of their doctrine, emphasising and explaining—at times discussing and debating—what is newest (in relation to earlier views), most important and most difficult.

There unfolds before the reader a strikingly vivid picture of the history of the working-class movement all over the world—at its most important junctures and in its most essential points. Even more valuable is the history of the *politics* of the working class. On the most diverse occasions, in various countries of the Old World and the New, and at different historical moments, Marx and Engels discuss the most important principles of the *presentation* of the *political* tasks of the working class. And the period covered by the correspondence was a period in which the working class separated from bourgeois democracy, a period in which an independent working-class movement arose, a period in which the fundamental principles of proletarian tactics and policy were defined. The more we have occasion in our day to observe how the working-class movement in various countries suffers from opportunism in consequence of the stagnation and decay of the bourgeoisie, in consequence of the attention of the labour leaders being engrossed in the trivialities of the day, and so on—the more valuable becomes the wealth of material contained in the correspondence, displaying as it does a most profound comprehension of the *basic* aims of the proletariat in bringing about change, and providing an unusually flexible definition of the tasks of the tactics of the moment from the standpoint of these revolutionary aims, without making the slightest concession to opportunism or revolutionary phrase-mongering.

If one were to attempt to define in a single word the focus, so to speak, of the whole correspondence, the central point at which the whole body of ideas expressed and discussed converges—that word would be *dialectics*. The application of materialist dialectics to the reshaping of all political economy from its foundations up, its application to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class....”

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

**SELECTED
CORRESPONDENCE**
1844—1895

1844

1

ENGELS TO MARX IN PARIS¹

r

[*Barmen, beginning of October 1844*]

Dear Marx,

You will have been surprised, and with good reason, that I did not send word earlier; but even now I am still unable to say anything definite about my return to Paris. I have now been staying in Barmen for three weeks, having as good a time as is possible with few friends and many relatives, among whom there are, luckily, half a dozen charming women. Work is out of the question here, especially since my sister^a has become engaged to Emil Blank, the London Communist whom Ewerbeck knows, and there is now of course an awful lot of running to and fro at home. Moreover, I realise that considerable obstacles will be put in the way of my return to Paris, and that I may have to spend six months or a year in Germany; I will naturally make every effort to avoid this, but you can't imagine the sort of petty considerations and superstitious fears I am confronted with.

I spent three days in Cologne and was astonished at the vast propaganda activity we have conducted there. The people are very active but the lack of a reliable prop is rather noticeable. Until the principles are set forth in a few publications where they are shown to have been logically and historically evolved from the hitherto existing mode of thinking and from history as it has been up to now, and shown to be their necessary corollary, everything will remain rather hazy and most people will be groping in the dark. Later I went to Düsseldorf, where we also have several excellent fellows. Most of all, however, I like my Elberfelders, with whom the humane way of thinking has become second nature. These fellows have really begun to revolutionise their domestic affairs, and whenever their old folk dare to treat their domestic servants or workers in an aristocratic manner they give them a good talking to—and that means quite a lot in pa-

^a Marie Engels.—*Ed.*

triarchal Elberfeld. In addition to this group, there is another one in Elberfeld, which is also very good, but a bit more muddled. The commissioner of police in Barmen is a Communist. The day before yesterday an old school-fellow of mine, a grammar-school-master, came to see me, he is also strongly infected without ever having been in touch with Communists. If we could influence the people directly we would soon be at the top, but that is practically impossible especially because we who write have to keep quiet in order not to be seized. For the rest it is quite safe here, little notice is taken of us so long as we keep quiet, and I believe that Hess with his fears sees phantoms. So far I have not been molested at all, only the chief public prosecutor has once earnestly questioned one of our men about me; at least that is all I have heard.

The local newspaper here has reported that Bernays² was sued there by the government of this country and appeared in court. Let me know whether this is true, and also how the pamphlet^a is getting on, presumably it is already completed. One hears nothing here of the Bauers, no one knows anything about them. On the other hand people still continue to snatch up the *Jahrbücher*.³ It is ridiculous that my article about Carlyle^b should have won me a terrific reputation with the "mass", while naturally only very few have read the article about economy.^c

In Elberfeld too the pastors, at all events Krummacher, have preached against us; so far only against the atheism of the young people. I hope, however, that soon a philippic against the Communists will follow. Last summer the whole town talked about nothing but these godless fellows. In general a remarkable movement has begun here. During my absence Wuppertal has made bigger advances in every respect than in the last fifty years. Social manners have become more civilised, participation in politics and in the opposition movement is widespread, industry has made enormous advances, new districts have gone up in the towns, entire forests have been cut down, and the whole region is now probably above, rather than below, the level of civilisation in Germany, though it was far below that level only four years ago—in short excellent soil for our principles is being prepared here, and once we are able to set in motion our wild, hot-tempered dyers and bleachers you won't recognise Wuppertal. Even as it is the workers have during the past few years reached

^a K. Marx and F. Engels, *Die heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik* (*The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Criticism*).—Ed.

^b *Die Lage Englands*. "Past and Present" by Thomas Carlyle (*The Position of England*. "Past and Present" by Thomas Carlyle).—Ed.

^c *Umriss zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie* (*Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*).—Ed.

the final stage of the old civilisation, the rapid increase in crimes, robberies and murders is their protest against the old social organisation. At night the streets are not safe, the bourgeois are beaten up, knifed and robbed; if the local proletarians develop according to the same laws as the English proletarians, they will soon realise that it is useless to protest against the social system in this manner, as *individuals* and by force, and will protest in their general capacity, as *human beings*, by means of communism. If one could only show them the way! But that is impossible.

My brother^a is at present a soldier in Cologne and, as long as he remains above suspicion, his will be a good address to send letters to for Hess etc. But so far I don't know his correct address myself and therefore can't give it to you.

Since writing the above, I visited Elberfeld and there again met several Communists of whom I had not heard before. Wherever one turns, wherever one goes one always stumbles upon Communists. A very ardent Communist, called Seel, a caricaturist and budding historical painter, will be going to Paris in two months' time; I will send him to you, you will like the fellow because of his enthusiasm, his painting and his love of music, and one can use him well as a caricaturist. Perhaps I shall be there myself by then but that is still very doubtful.

A few copies of the *Vorwärts*⁴ are available here, I have seen to it that others too will place orders. Ask the dispatch department to send specimen copies to Elberfeld, addressed to Richard Roth, Captain Wilhelm Blank *junior*, F. W. Strücker and the Bavarian publican Meyer, Funkenstrasse (communist pub), all of them to be sent through Bädeker, the communist bookseller, in sealed envelopes. When the fellows see that the copies arrive, they will place orders. Send to Dr. Med. W. Müller in Düsseldorf, and perhaps also to Dr. Med. D'Ester, publican Lölgen, to your brother-in-law,^b etc., in Cologne. All of course through the bookseller and by letter post.

See to it that the material⁵ you have collected is launched into the world as soon as possible. It is high time. I too shall set to work seriously and intend to start today. The Germans are still very much in doubt about communism being feasible in practice. To put an end to this rubbish I shall write a small pamphlet explaining that it has already been put into practice, and describe in popular form communism as it exists in fact in England and America.⁶ I'll have to spend approximately three days on this pamphlet which ought to make things clear to these fellows. My conversations with the local people have shown me this.

^a Hermann Engels.—*Ed.*

^b Edgar von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

Therefore seriously to work and without delay into print. Please remember me to Ewerbeck, Bakunin, Guerrier and the rest, and of course to your wife, and write soon about everything. If this letter arrives safely and has not been opened write to me under cover to "F. W. Strücker and Co., Elberfeld", with the address written in as commercial a hand as possible; if not, use any of the addresses which I gave Ewerbeck. I wonder whether the mail sleuths will be taken in by the lady-like exterior of this letter.

Well, good-bye, dear Karl, and do write soon. I have not been again in so happy and humane a mood as I was during the ten days I spent with you. No suitable opportunity for taking any steps with regard to the intended establishment has so far presented itself.

2

ENGELS TO MARX IN PARIS

[*Barmen,*] *November 19, 1844*

...It is impossible to convince Jung and a multitude of others that a difference in principle exists between us and Ruge⁷; they remain of the opinion that it is merely personal squabbles. When they are told that Ruge is not a Communist they are inclined not to believe that and think it is too bad that a "literary authority" like him should be carelessly cast aside! What is one to reply? One must wait until Ruge once more shoots off one of his colossal stupidities so that one can give these people visible proof of it. It seems to me that this Jung isn't the right sort. The fellow is not resolute enough.

We are now holding public meetings everywhere to set up associations for the advancement of the workers.⁸ This is a fine way of getting our Germans into motion and directs the attention of the philistines to social problems. These meetings are arranged offhand, without asking the police. In Cologne half of the seats on the Committee for drawing up the Rules have been held by our people; in Elberfeld at least one was on it and with the assistance of the rationalists we badly worsted the pious at two meetings; there was an overwhelming majority for banning everything Christian from the Rules. I had a lot of fun watching these rationalists making themselves absolutely ridiculous with their theoretical Christianity and practical atheism. In principle they considered that the Christian opposition was perfectly right, but in practice Christianity, which, as they themselves said, after all forms the

basis of the association, was not to be mentioned by a single word in the Rules. The Rules were to contain everything except the vital principle of the association! Those chaps stuck so obstinately to their ridiculous position that there was no need for my saying a word and we got such Rules as we could only have wished for under the existing conditions. Next Sunday there is going to be another meeting, which however I shall be unable to attend because I am going to Westphalia tomorrow.

I am buried up to the neck in English newspapers and books from which I am compiling my book on the condition of the English proletarians. I expect to finish it by the middle or end of January, as I have got through the most difficult job, the arrangement of the material, about one or two weeks ago. I shall present the English with a long list of sins committed. I accuse the English bourgeoisie before the entire world of murder, robbery and all sorts of other crimes on a mass scale, and am writing an English preface which I shall have printed separately and shall send to the English party leaders, literary men and Members of Parliament. Those fellows will have to remember me. Needless to say that when I hit the bag I mean to strike the donkey, namely, the German bourgeoisie, of whom I say clearly enough that it is just as bad as the English, only not so courageous, consistent and adept in sweat-shop methods. As soon as I am through with that I shall tackle the history of the social development of the English,⁹ which will cost me less effort, because I have the material for it all ready and arranged in order in my head, and because the whole business is perfectly clear to me. Meantime I intend to write a few pamphlets, particularly against *List*,¹⁰ as soon as I have time....

1845

3

ENGELS TO MARX IN PARIS

[Barmen, January 20, 1845]

...What pleases me particularly is this acclimatisation of communist literature in Germany, which is now a *fait accompli*. A year ago this literature started to become acclimatised or, rather, to come into existence outside of Germany, in Paris, and now it has already caught up with the ordinary Germans. Newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies and an advancing reserve of heavy guns—everything in the best of order. It all came about so devilishly quick! Propaganda on the quiet has also borne its fruits—every time I go to Cologne, or drop into a pub here, I find further progress, new proselytes. The Cologne meeting accomplished miracles: gradually one discovers separate communist groups which developed quite unnoticed and without direct assistance from us.

The *Gemeinnützige Wochenblatt*, which was formerly published together with the *Rheinische Zeitung*,¹¹ is now also in our hands. D'Ester has taken over and will see what can be done. But what we now need most of all is a couple of big works to provide a substantial prop for the many half-educated who have the best intentions but are unable to manage by themselves. See that you finish soon your book on political economy,¹² even if you should still be dissatisfied with much. It does not matter. People's minds are ready and we must strike because the iron is hot. Although my English things are also bound to produce an effect, the facts are too striking, I wish my hands were freer to accomplish many a thing which,—considering the present moment and the German bourgeoisie would be more convincing and effective. We German theoreticians^a—it is ridiculous, but a sign of the times and of the disintegration of the German national bog—simply cannot^b get to develop our theory; we have not even been able to publish the *Critique of Nonsense*. But now it is high time. Therefore get the thing ready *before* April. Do what I did. Set a time limit on the expiry of which you absolutely want to finish it, and see that the book is printed as soon as possible. If it cannot be printed there, have it printed in Mannheim, Darmstadt or some other place. But it must come out soon.

That you enlarged the *Critical Criticism*^c to twenty printed

^a The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

^b The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

^c Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx, *Die heilige Familie oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik* (*The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism*).—*Ed.*

sheets came of course rather as a surprise to me. But it is all to the good. Much has been made available which would otherwise have remained locked up in your desk who knows how long. If, however, you left my name on the title page, it will look odd, for I hardly wrote one and a half sheets. As I told you, I have not yet had any news from Löwenthal nor have I heard anything about the appearance of the book, which I am of course very eager to see.

...I am leading a life here such as the most perfect philistine could only ask for—a quiet, tranquil life, full of piety and respectability. I sit in my room and work, hardly go anywhere and am as staid as a German. If things continue like this I am afraid the Almighty may forgive me my writings and admit me to heaven. I assure you that I am beginning to gain a good reputation here in Barmen. But I am sick and tired of it all. I want to get away from here by Easter and will go most likely to Bonn.... Huckstering is too horrible, Barmen is too horrible, the waste of time is too horrible, and it is above all things too horrible to remain, not merely a bourgeois, but a manufacturer, a bourgeois who actively opposes the proletariat. A few days spent in my old man's^a factory made me see again^b the horror of it all, which I had somewhat overlooked. I had of course counted on staying in the huckstering business only as long as it suited me and then writing something contrary to police regulations so as to be able to skip the border with a good grace. But I can't stand it even till then. If I did not have to record daily in my book the most horrifying stories about English society I believe I would already have become rusty; but that at least kept my blood boiling with rage. And perhaps one can while being a Communist remain in one's outward status a bourgeois and a huckstering beast if one *does not write*, but to carry on communist propaganda seriously and at the same time engage in huckstering and manufacture will not work. In short, I shall leave at Easter. Add to this the drowsy life in a thoroughly radical-Christian-Prussian family—I cannot stand it any longer; I might in the end become a German philistine and introduce philistinism into communism.

Now don't keep me waiting so long for a letter from you as I kept you this time. Regards to your wife, though I do not know her, and everybody else worth greeting. For the time being continue writing to the present address. Should I leave, your letters will be forwarded to me.

Yours,
F. E.

^a Friedrich Engels senior, the father of Engels.—*Ed.*

^b The manuscript is damaged here.—*Ed.*

1846

4

MARX TO PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON
IN PARIS

[Brussels, May 5, 1846]

My dear Proudhon,

I very often intended to write to you since I left Paris, but circumstances independent of my will have prevented me hitherto from doing so. Let me assure you that the only reasons for my silence have been too much work, difficulties caused by a change of residence, and the like.

And now let us jump *in medias res*!^a Together with two friends of mine, Frederick Engels and Philippe Gigot (both in Brussels), I have organised a continuous correspondence with the German Communists and Socialists,¹³ which is to take up both the discussion of scientific questions and a critical review of popular publications as well as socialist propaganda, which can be carried on in Germany by this means. It will be the chief aim of our correspondence, however, to put the German Socialists in contact with the French and English Socialists; to keep the foreigners posted on the socialist movements that will take place in Germany, and to inform the Germans in Germany of the progress of socialism in France and England. In this way it will be possible to air differences of opinion. An exchange of ideas will ensue and impartial criticism secured. It is a step which the social movement should take in its *literary* expression in order to free itself of its *national* limitations. And to be well informed about the state of affairs abroad as well as at home is certainly of great advantage to everybody at a time for action.

Besides the Communists in Germany our correspondence will also embrace the German Socialists in Paris and London. Our connections with England have already been established¹⁴; as for France, we are all of the opinion that we could not find a better correspondent there than you.¹⁵ As you know, the English and Germans have up to the present appreciated you more than your own fellow-countrymen.

^a Come directly to the point.—*Ed.*

So you see, it is only a question of initiating a regular correspondence and of assuring it the facilities for following the social movement in the various countries, in order to produce valuable and comprehensive results, which the work of a single individual can never achieve.

If you accept our proposal, postage for the letters sent by us to you and by you to us will be paid for here, since the money raised in Germany is intended to cover the expenses of the correspondence.

The address we would ask you to write to here is that of M. Philippe Gigot, 8, rue de Bodenbroek. He is also the one who will sign the letters from Brussels.

I need not add that the utmost secrecy must be maintained by you with regard to the whole of this correspondence; for our friends in Germany have to act with the greatest circumspection to avoid compromising themselves.

Send us an early reply and believe in the sincere friendship of

Yours very truly,
Karl Marx

5

ENGELS TO MARX IN BRUSSELS

[Paris,] September 18, 1846

...I did Proudhon a really crying injustice in my business letter. As there is no room in that letter, I must rectify my error here. You see, I thought he was guilty of some trifling nonsense, some nonsense within the bounds of common sense. Yesterday the matter came up once more, and was thoroughly discussed. Thus I learnt that this new nonsense is really *nonsense beyond all bounds*. Just imagine: proletarians are to *save up* to buy small shares of stock. By means of these (they will of course not start with less than 10,000-20,000 workers) one or several workshops, belonging to one or several trades will be opened to begin with. Part of the shareholders will be employed there and the products are to be sold, firstly, at the price of the raw material and labour to the shareholders (who thus will have to pay no profit) and, secondly, the balance, if any, at the current price on the world market. As the capital of the association is increased by newcomers or new savings of the old shareholders it is invested in the building of new workshops and factories, and so on and so forth, until *all* proletarians are employed, *all* productive forces in the country are bought up, and thereby the capital in the hands of

the bourgeoisie is deprived of the power to command labour and produce profit! Thus capital is abolished by "finding an authority before which capital, i.e., the interest system" (Grünification of the erstwhile *droit d'aubaine*¹⁶ brought somewhat closer to the light of day) "disappears, as it were". In this phrase, repeated countless times by Papa Eisermann and hence by Grün, you can still see distinctly the original Proudhonian highflown language shimmering through. These people intend to do neither more nor less than *to buy up the whole of France* for the time being and later perhaps the whole world by dint of proletarian savings, provided they waive profit and interest on their capital. Has anyone ever thought up such an ingenious scheme and would it not be a much shorter road, once such a stunt is to be performed, to proceed directly to coin five-franc pieces out of the silver of the moonlight? And those blockheads of workers here (I mean the Germans) *believe* that piffle. Blokes who cannot manage to keep six sous in their pockets to go to a wine saloon on the evenings they meet hope to buy up *toute la belle France* out of their savings. Rothschild and his crew are ignorant amateurs compared with these huge financial tycoons. It is enough to give you a fit. Grün has so confused these fellows that the most senseless phrase sounds more sensible to them than the simplest fact used as an economic argument. It is an outrage that one must still take up the cudgels against such barbarous balderdash. But one must be patient and I won't let go of those chaps until I have driven Grün from the field and cleansed their clogged-up skulls....

6

ENGELS TO THE COMMUNIST CORRESPONDENCE
COMMITTEE IN BRUSSELS¹⁷

Committee Letter No. 3.

Paris, October 23, 1846

About the business with the *Straubingers*¹⁸ here there is not much to be said. The main thing is that the various points of difference which I have had to fight out with the lads hitherto have now been settled; Grün's chief follower and pupil, Papa Eisermann, has been turned out, the influence of the rest of them over the mass has completely collapsed and I got a resolution against them carried unanimously.

Briefly, this is what happened:

The Proudhonian plan of association was discussed for three evenings. At first nearly the whole clique was against me, but at

the end only Eisermann and the other three followers of Grün. The chief point was to prove the necessity for revolution by force and in general to refute Grün's true socialism, which derived new life from the Proudhon panacea, and was an anti-proletarian, petty-bourgeois, Straubingerian theory. In the end I got furious at the perpetual repetition of the same arguments by my opponents and made a direct attack on the Straubingers, which aroused great indignation among the Grünists but enabled me to lure the noble Eisermann into an *open assault* on communism. Whereupon I gave him such a merciless hiding that he never showed up again.

I now made use of the handle which Eisermann had given me—the attack on communism—all the more so as Grün was intriguing the whole time, running round the workshops, summoning people to his place on Sundays, etc., etc., and on the Sunday after the afore-mentioned meeting *he himself* committed the enormous blunder of attacking communism in front of eight or ten Straubingers. I therefore announced that before I took part in further discussion a vote had to be taken whether we met here as Communists or not. If so, care would have to be taken that attacks on communism like that made by Eisermann did not occur again; if not, if they were simply chance individuals discussing chance questions there, I did not give a rap for them and should not come again. This greatly horrified the Grünists—they met together, they said, “for the good of mankind”, for their own enlightenment, they were progressive spirits, not one-sided system-catchers, etc., etc., and surely it was impossible to call worthies like themselves “chance individuals”. Moreover *they first had to know* what communism really was (these scoundrels who have been calling themselves Communists for years and have only deserted from fear of Grün and Eisermann, who had sneaked in among them under the flag of communism!). Naturally I did not let myself be trapped by their kind request that I should tell them, the ignorant, in two or three words what communism is. I gave them an extremely simple definition. It covered no more than the particular points at issue and, by positing community of goods, *ruled out* peaceableness, tenderness and consideration for the bourgeoisie or the Straubingers, and, finally, the Proudhonian joint-stock company with its retention of individual *property* and all that this involves. Moreover, it contained nothing which could give occasion for digressions and evasion of the proposed vote. I therefore defined the objects of the Communists in this way: 1) to safeguard the interests of the proletariat as against those of the bourgeoisie; 2) to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; 3) to recognise no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force.

This was discussed for two evenings. On the second, the best of the three Grünists, sensing the mood of the majority, came completely over to my side. The other two were contradicting each other the whole time without noticing it. Several chaps who had never spoken before suddenly opened their mouths and declared themselves quite decidedly for me. Up till then only Junge had done this. Some of these new men, although they were trembling in mortal fear of getting stuck, spoke quite nicely and in general seem to possess good common sense. In short, when it came to the vote, the meeting declared itself communist in the sense of the above definition by thirteen votes against two, those of the still faithful Grünists—one of them explained later that he had the greatest longing to become a convert....

7

ENGELS TO MARX IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, approx. October 23, 1846]

Dear Marx,

The thing against Kriege¹⁹ arrived. It is quite good. Since it is signed by you alone, however, Kriege will ascribe the peremptory tone of the first document²⁰ to me personally and after this second one will eat humble pie; but that is all the same to me. In his personal malice he can paint me pitch black to the American Straubingers if that gives him any pleasure.

You will see from the letter to the Committee^a how I have succeeded with the Straubingers here. The devil knows I did not spare them. I attacked their worst prejudices and told them they were not proletarians at all. But, Grün played right into my hands.

...I think I shall be able to pull it off with the Straubingers here. These fellows are, it is true, appallingly ignorant and utterly unprepared by their conditions of life. There is no competition whatever among them; wages always stay on about the same level. Struggles with the master do not turn on the question of wages at all but on "the journeyman's pride", etc. The ready-made clothing shops are having a revolutionising effect on the tailors now. If only it were not such a rotten trade!

Grün has done a fearful lot of harm. He has turned everything definite in the minds of these fellows into mere daydreams, humanitarian aspirations, etc. Under the pretence of attacking Weit-

^a See pp. 26-28 of this volume.—*Ed.*

lingian and other doctrinaire communism he stuffed their heads full of vague literary and petty-bourgeois phrases and claimed everything else was system-mongering. Even the joiners, who were *never* Weitlingians—or at most only a very few of them were—have got a superstitious fear of the spectre of *bread-and-butter communism* and—at least *before* the decision was taken—would rather support the greatest nonsense, peaceful plans for bestowing happiness on mankind, etc., than this “bread-and-butter communism”. Boundless confusion reigns here supreme.

The other day I sent Harney a mild attack on the peacefulness of the Fraternal Democrats.²¹ Besides, I wrote him to keep up the correspondence with you people.

Yours,
E.

8

MARX TO PAVEL VASILYEVICH ANNENKOV
IN PARIS

Brussels, December 28 [1846]

Dear Mr. Annenkov,

You would long ago have received my answer to your letter of November 1 but for the fact that my bookseller only sent me Mr. Proudhon's book, *Philosophie de la misère*, last week. I have gone through it in two days in order to be able to give you my opinion about it at once. As I have read the book very hurriedly, I cannot go into details but can only tell you the general impression it has made on me. If you wish I could go into details in a second letter.

I must frankly confess that I find the book on the whole bad, indeed very bad. You yourself laugh in your letter at the “bits of German philosophy” which Mr. Proudhon parades in this unwieldy and pretentious work,²² but you assume that the economic argument has not been infected by the philosophic poison. I too am very far from imputing the faults in the economic argument to Mr. Proudhon's philosophy. Mr. Proudhon does not give us a false criticism of political economy because he has absurd philosophic views, but he gives us an absurd philosophic theory because he fails to understand the social system of today in its *engrènement*, to use a word which, like much else, Mr. Proudhon has borrowed from Fourier.

Why does Mr. Proudhon talk about God, about universal reason, about the impersonal reason of humanity which never errs, which has always been equal to itself and which one need only understand properly in order to arrive at the truth? Why does he resort to feeble Hegelianism to give himself the appearance of a bold thinker?

He himself provides the answer to this riddle. Mr. Proudhon sees in history a series of social developments; he finds progress realised in history; finally he finds that men, as individuals, did not know what they were doing and were mistaken about their own movement, that is to say, their social development seems at the first glance to be distinct, separate and independent of their individual development. He cannot explain these facts, and the hypothesis of universal reason manifesting itself is pure invention. Nothing is easier than to invent mystical causes, that is to say, phrases which have no sense at all.

But when Mr. Proudhon admits that he understands nothing about the historical development of humanity—and he admits this by using such high-sounding words as: Universal Reason, God, etc.—is he not implicitly and necessarily admitting that he is incapable of understanding *economic development*?

What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal action. Are men free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. Assume a particular level of development of men's productive forces and you will get a particular form of commerce and consumption. Assume particular stages of development in production, commerce and consumption and you will have a corresponding social system, a corresponding organisation of the family, of social estates or of classes, in a word, a corresponding civil society. Assume such a civil society and you will get a political system appropriate to it, a system which is only the official expression of civil society. Mr. Proudhon will never understand this because he thinks he is doing something great by appealing from the state to civil society—that is to say, from the official epitome of society to official society.

It is superfluous to add that men are not free to choose *their productive forces*—which are the basis of all their history—for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of former activity. The productive forces are therefore the result of practically applied human energy; but this energy is itself conditioned by the circumstances in which men find themselves, by the productive forces already acquired, by the social form which exists before they exist, which they do not create, which is the product of the preceding generation. Because of the simple fact that every succeeding generation finds itself in possession of the productive forces acquired by the previous generation, and that they serve

it as the raw material for new production, a coherence arises in human history, a history of humanity takes shape which becomes all the more a history of humanity the more the productive forces of men and therefore their social relations develop. Hence it necessarily follows that the social history of men is always the history of their individual development, whether they are conscious of it or not. Their material relations are the basis of all their relations. These material relations are only the necessary forms in which their material and individual activity is realised.

Mr. Proudhon confuses ideas with things. Men never relinquish what they have won, but this does not mean that they never relinquish the social form in which they have acquired certain productive forces. On the contrary, in order that they may not be deprived of the results attained and forfeit the fruits of civilisation, they are obliged, when the mode of carrying on commerce no longer corresponds to the productive forces acquired, to change all their traditional social forms.—I am using the word “commerce” here in its widest sense, as we use *Verkehr* in German. For example: the privileges, the institution of guilds and corporations, the regulatory regime of the Middle Ages, were social relations that alone corresponded to the acquired productive forces and to the social condition which had previously existed and from which these institutions had arisen. Under the protection of the regime of corporations and regulations, capital was accumulated, overseas trade was developed, colonies were founded. But the fruits of this would have been forfeited by men if they had tried to retain the forms under whose shelter these fruits had ripened. Hence two thunderclaps occurred, the Revolutions of 1640 and 1688. All the old economic forms, the social relations corresponding to them, the political system that was the official expression of the old civil society, were destroyed in England. Thus the economic forms in which men produce, consume, and exchange, are *transitory and historical*. With the acquisition of new productive forces, men change their mode of production and with the mode of production all the economic relations which are merely the relations appropriate to a particular mode of production.

This is precisely what Mr. Proudhon has not understood and still less demonstrated. Mr. Proudhon, incapable of following the real movement of history, produces a phantasmagoria which claims to be dialectical. He does not need to speak of the seventeenth, the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, for his history proceeds in the misty realm of imagination and is above space and time. In short, it is not history but trite Hegelian trash, it is not profane history—history of man—but sacred history—history of ideas. From his point of view man is only the instrument of which the idea or the eternal reason makes use in order to unfold itself

The *evolutions* of which Mr. Proudhon speaks are understood to be evolutions such as are accomplished within the mystic womb of the absolute idea. If one discards the veil of this mystical language, it means that Mr. Proudhon specifies the arrangement in which economic categories are classified inside his own mind. It will not require great exertion on my part to prove to you that it is the order of a very disorderly mind.

Mr. Proudhon begins his book with a dissertation on *value*, which is his pet subject. I will not enter on an examination of this dissertation today.

The series of economic evolutions of eternal reason begins with *division of labour*. To Mr. Proudhon division of labour is a perfectly simple thing. But was not the caste system also a particular type of division of labour? Was not the system of the corporations another division of labour? And was not the division of labour under the system of manufacture, which in England began in the middle of the seventeenth century and ended towards the end of the eighteenth, also totally different from the division of labour in large-scale, modern industry?

Mr. Proudhon is so far from the truth that he neglects what even the profane economists attend to. When he talks about division of labour he does not feel it necessary to mention the world *market*. Well, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, when there were as yet no colonies, when America did not yet exist for Europe, and East Asia only existed through the medium of Constantinople, was not division of labour at that time bound to be fundamentally different from division of labour in the seventeenth century which already had a developed colonial system?

And that is not all. Is the whole internal organisation of nations, are all their international relations anything but the expression of a particular division of labour? And are they not bound to change when changes occur in the division of labour?

Mr. Proudhon has so little understood the problem of the division of labour that he does not even mention the separation of town and country, which took place for instance, in Germany from the ninth to the twelfth century. Thus, this separation must become an eternal law for Mr. Proudhon since he knows neither its origin nor its development. All through his book he therefore speaks as if this creation of a particular mode of production would endure until the end of time. All that Mr. Proudhon says about division of labour is only a summary, and moreover a very superficial and incomplete summary, of what Adam Smith and a thousand others have said before him.

The second evolution is *machinery*. The connection between division of labour and machinery is entirely mystical to Mr. Prou-

dhon. Each kind of division of labour had its specific instrument of production. Between the middle of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century, for instance, people did not make everything by hand. They had instruments, and very complicated ones at that, such as looms, ships, levers, etc., etc.

Thus there is nothing more absurd than to declare that machines have come into being as a consequence of division of labour in general.

I may also remark, by the way, that since Mr. Proudhon has not understood the historical origin of machinery, he has still less understood its development. One can say that up to the year 1825—the period of the first general crisis—the demands of consumption in general increased more rapidly than production, and the development of machinery was a necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and application of machinery has been simply the result of the war between workers and employers. But this is only true of England. As for the European nations, they were driven to adopt machinery owing to English competition both in their home markets and on the world market. Finally, in North America the introduction of machinery was due both to competition with other countries and to lack of hands, that is, to the disproportion between the population of North America and its industrial needs. From these facts you can see what sagacity Mr. Proudhon displays when he conjures up the spectre of competition as the third evolution, the antithesis to machinery!

Lastly, it is altogether absurd to make *machinery* an economic category alongside with division of labour, competition, credit, etc.

The machine is no more an economic category than the ox which draws the plough. The contemporary use of machines is one of the relations of our present economic system, but the way in which machinery is utilised is totally distinct from the machinery itself. Powder is powder whether used to wound a man or to dress his wounds.

Mr. Proudhon surpasses himself when he allows competition, monopoly, taxes or police, balance of trade, credit and property to develop inside his head in the order in which I have mentioned them. Almost the whole of the credit system had been developed in England by the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the invention of machinery. Government loans were only a fresh method of increasing taxation and satisfying the new demands created by the rise of the bourgeoisie to power. Finally, the last category in Mr. Proudhon's system is *property*. In the real world, on the other hand, division of labour and all Mr. Proudhon's other categories are social relations forming in their entirety what

is today known as *property*; outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or legal illusion. The property of some other epoch, feudal property, develops under entirely different social relations. By presenting property as an independent relation, Mr. Proudhon commits more than a mistake in method: he clearly shows that he has not grasped the bond which holds together all forms of *bourgeois* production, that he has not understood the *historical* and *transitory* character of the forms of production in a particular epoch. Mr. Proudhon, who does not regard our social institutions as historical products, who is unable to understand either their origin or their development, can only produce dogmatic criticism of them.

Mr. Proudhon is therefore obliged to take refuge in a *fiction* in order to explain their development. He imagines that division of labour, credit, machinery, etc., were all invented to serve his fixed idea, the idea of equality. His explanation is sublimely naive. These things were invented in the interests of equality but unfortunately they turned against equality. This constitutes his whole argument. In other words, he takes as his starting point an arbitrary assumption and then, since the actual development contradicts his fiction at every step, he concludes that there is a contradiction. He conceals, moreover, the fact that the contradiction exists solely between his fixed ideas and the real movement.

Thus, Mr. Proudhon, mainly because he lacks the historical knowledge, has not perceived that as men develop their productive forces, that is, as they live, they develop certain relations with one another and that the nature of these relations is bound to change with the change and growth of these productive forces. He has not perceived that *economic categories* are only *abstract expressions* of these actually existing relations and only remain true while these relations exist. He therefore falls into the error of the bourgeois economists, who regard these economic categories as eternal laws and not as historical laws which are valid only for a particular historical development, for a definite development of the productive forces. Instead, therefore, of regarding the politico-economic categories as abstract expressions of the real, transitory, historic social relations, Mr. Proudhon, owing to a mystic inversion, regards real relations merely as reifications of these abstractions. These abstractions themselves are formulas which have been slumbering in the bosom of God the Father since the beginning of the world.

But here our good Mr. Proudhon falls into severe intellectual convulsions. If all these economic categories are emanations from the bosom of God, if they constitute the hidden and eternal life of man, how does it come about, first, that there is such a thing

as development, and secondly, that Mr. Proudhon is not a conservative? He explains these evident contradictions by a whole system of antagonisms.

To throw light on this system of antagonisms let us take an example.

Monopoly is a good thing, because it is an economic category and therefore an emanation of God. Competition is a good thing because it is also an economic category. But what is not good is the reality of monopoly and the reality of competition. What is still worse is the fact that monopoly and competition devour each other. What is to be done? As these two eternal ideas of God contradict each other, it seems obvious to him that there is also within the bosom of God a synthesis of these two ideas, in which the evils of monopoly are balanced by competition and *vice versa*. As a result of the struggle between the two ideas only their good side will manifest itself. One must snatch this secret idea from God and then apply it and everything will be for the best; the synthetic formula which lies hidden in the darkness of the impersonal reason of man must be revealed. Mr. Proudhon does not hesitate for a moment to come forward as the revealer.

But look for a moment at real life. In the economic life of the present time you find not only competition and monopoly but also their synthesis, which is not a *formula* but a *movement*. Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. But this equation, far from removing the difficulties of the present situation, as the bourgeois economists imagine it does, results in a situation still more difficult and confused. If therefore you alter the basis on which present-day economic relations rest, if you destroy the present *mode* of production, then you will not only destroy competition, monopoly and their antagonism, but also their unity, their synthesis, the movement, which is the real equalisation process of competition and monopoly.

Now I will give you an example of Mr. Proudhon's dialectics.

Freedom and *slavery* constitute an antagonism. I need not speak either of the good or of the bad sides of freedom. As to slavery, I need not speak of its bad sides. The only thing that has to be explained is the good side of slavery. We are not dealing with indirect slavery, the slavery of the proletariat, but with direct slavery, the slavery of the black people in Surinam, in Brazil, and in the Southern States of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot of our industry today as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery no cotton; without cotton no modern industry. It is slavery which has made the colonies valuable; the colonies have created world trade; world trade is the necessary condition of large-scale machine industry. Thus, before the traffic in Negroes began, the colonies supplied the Old

World with only very few products and made no visible change in the face of the earth. Slavery is therefore an economic category of the highest importance. Without slavery North America, the most progressive country, would be turned into a patriarchal land. If North America were wiped off the map of the world the result would be anarchy, the total decay of trade and of modern civilization. But to let slavery disappear is to wipe North America off the map of the world. Since slavery is an economic category, it has existed in every nation since the world began. Modern nations have merely known how to disguise slavery in their own countries while they openly imported it into the New World. After these observations on slavery, how will our worthy Mr. Proudhon proceed? He will look for the synthesis between freedom and slavery, the true *juste-milieu*, in other words equilibrium between slavery and freedom.

Mr. Proudhon has very well grasped the fact that men produce cloth, linen, silks, and it is really a great merit to have grasped such a small matter! But he has not grasped that, in accordance with their productive forces, these men also produce the *social relations* amid which they manufacture cloth and linen. Still less has he understood that men, who produce their social relations in accordance with their material productivity, also produce *ideas, categories*, that is to say the abstract ideal expressions of these same social relations. Thus the categories are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products. To Mr. Proudhon, on the contrary, abstractions, categories are the primary cause. According to him they, and not men, make history. The *abstraction, the category taken as such*, i.e., apart from men and their material activities, is of course immortal, unchangeable, immutable; it is simply an entity of pure reason, which is only another way of saying that the abstraction as such is abstract. An admirable *tautology!*

Thus, regarded as categories, economic relations for Mr. Proudhon are eternal formulas without origin or progress.

Let us put it in another way: Mr. Proudhon does not directly state that *bourgeois life* is for him an *eternal truth*; he states it indirectly by deifying the categories which express bourgeois relations in the form of thought. He regards the products of bourgeois society as spontaneously arisen eternal entities, endowed with lives of their own, since they present themselves to his mind in the form of categories, in the form of thought. Accordingly he does not rise above the bourgeois horizon. As he is operating with bourgeois ideas, as though they were eternal truths, he seeks a synthesis of these ideas, their equilibrium and does not see that the present method by which they reach equilibrium is the only possible one.

Indeed he does what all good bourgeois do. They all assert that in principle, that is, considered as abstract ideas, competition, monopoly, etc., are the only basis of life, but that in practice they leave much to be desired. They all want competition without the pernicious effects of competition. They all want the impossible, namely, the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions. None of them understands that the bourgeois form of production is historical and transitory, just as the feudal form was. This mistake arises from the fact that the bourgeois man is to them the only possible basis of every society; they cannot imagine a society in which men have ceased to be bourgeois.

Mr. Proudhon is therefore bound to be a *doctrinaire*. The historical movement, which is overturning the present-day world, reduces itself for him to the problem of discovering the correct equilibrium, the synthesis, of two bourgeois thoughts. And so the clever fellow by virtue of his subtlety discovers the hidden thought of God, the unity of two isolated thoughts—which are only isolated because Mr. Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, which is the combination of the realities which they express. In place of the great historical movement arising from the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by men and their social relations, which no longer correspond to these productive forces; in place of the imminent terrible wars between the different classes within each nation and between different nations; in place of the real and violent action of the masses by which alone these conflicts can be resolved—in place of this vast, prolonged and complicated movement, Mr. Proudhon puts the whimsical motion of his own head. It is therefore the men of learning that make history, the men who know how to purloin God's secret thoughts. The common people have only to apply their revelations.

You will now understand why Mr. Proudhon is the declared enemy of every political movement. The solution of actual problems does not lie for him in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his own head. Since to him the categories are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to change the categories. Quite the contrary. One must change the categories and the consequence will be a change in the existing society.

In his desire to reconcile the contradictions Mr. Proudhon does not even ask whether it is not the basis of those contradictions that must really be overthrown. He is exactly like the political doctrinaire who chooses to regard the king, the chamber of deputies and the chamber of peers as integral parts of social life, as eternal categories. All he is looking for is a new formula by

which to establish an equilibrium between these powers whose equilibrium consists precisely in the actually existing movement in which one power is now the conqueror and now the slave of the other. Thus in the eighteenth century a number of mediocre minds were busy finding the true formula which would bring the social estates, nobility, king, parliament, etc., into equilibrium, and they woke up one morning to find that all this—king, parliament and nobility—had disappeared. The true equilibrium in this antagonism was the overthrow of all the social relations which served as a basis for these feudal institutions and for the antagonisms of these feudal institutions.

Because Mr. Proudhon places eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, on the one side and human beings and their practical life, which, according to him, is the application of these categories, on the other, one finds with him from the beginning a *dualism* between life and ideas, between soul and body, a dualism which recurs in many forms. You can see now that this antagonism is nothing but the incapacity of Mr. Proudhon to understand the profane origin and the profane history of the categories which he deifies.

My letter is already too long for me to speak of the absurd case which Mr. Proudhon puts up against communism. For the moment you will grant me that a man who has not understood the present social system may be expected to understand still less the movement which seeks to overthrow it, and the literary expressions of this revolutionary movement.

The *only point* on which I am in complete agreement with Mr. Proudhon is his dislike for socialist sentimentality. I had already, before him, drawn much enmity upon myself by ridiculing this stupid, sentimental, utopian socialism. But is not Mr. Proudhon strangely deluding himself when he sets up his petty-bourgeois sentimentality—I am referring to his declamations about family life, conjugal love and all such banalities—in opposition to socialist sentimentality, which in Fourier, for example, goes much deeper than the pretentious platitudes of our worthy Proudhon? He is himself so well aware of the emptiness of his arguments, of his utter incapacity to speak about these things, that he bursts into violent fits of rage, vociferation and righteous wrath, foams at the mouth, curses, denounces, cries shame and murder, beats his breast and boasts before God and man that he is in no way connected with the socialist infamies! He does not criticise socialist sentimentalities, or what he regards as such. Like a holy man, a pope, he excommunicates poor sinners and sings the glories of the lower middle class and of the miserable patriarchal amorous illusions of the domestic hearth. And this is certainly no accident. From head to foot

Mr. Proudhon is the philosopher and economist of the lower middle class. In an advanced society the *lower middle class* is compelled by his very position to become a Socialist on the one hand and an economist on the other; that is to say, he is dazed by the magnificence of the upper middle class and has sympathy for the sufferings of the people. He is at once both bourgeois and man of the people. Deep down in his heart he flatters himself that he is impartial and has found the right equilibrium, which claims to be something different from the *juste-milieu*. Such a petty bourgeois glorifies *contradiction* because contradiction is the essence of his existence. He is himself simply social contradiction in action. He must justify in theory what he is in practice, and Mr. Proudhon has the merit of being the scientific interpreter of the French petty bourgeoisie—a genuine merit, because the petty bourgeoisie will form an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.

I wish I could send you my book on political economy^a with this letter, but it has so far been impossible for me to get this work, and the criticism of the German Philosophers and Socialists^b of which I spoke to you in Brussels, printed. You would never believe the difficulties which a publication of this kind comes up against in Germany, from the police on the one hand and from the publishers who are themselves the interested representatives of all the tendencies I am attacking, on the other. And as for our own Party, it is not merely that it is poor, but a large section of the German Communist Party is also angry with me for opposing their utopias and declamations.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

^a The reference is to the *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie* (*A Critique of Politics and Political Economy*), see Note 5.—Ed.

^b Marx is referring to *Die deutsche Ideologie* (see Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1964).—Ed.

1847

9

ENGELS TO MARX IN BRUSSELS

[Paris, November 23-24, 1847]

...This Congress²³ must be decisive, *as this time we shall have it all our own way.*

...Think over the Confession of Faith a bit. I believe we had better drop the catechism form and call the thing: Communist *Manifesto*. As more or less history has got to be related in it the form it has been in hitherto is quite unsuitable. I shall bring along what I have done here^a; it is in simple narrative form, but badly formulated, in fearful haste. I begin: What is communism? And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from workers in earlier periods, development of the anti-thesis between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between this all sorts of secondary matters and in conclusion the Party policy of the Communists, in so far as it should be made public. What I have here has not yet all been submitted for endorsement, but, apart from a few quite minor details, I mean to get it through in a form in which there will at least be nothing contrary to our views....

^a *Grundsätze des Kommunismus* (*The Principles of Communism*), the first draft of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.—Ed.

1848

10

MARX TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEWSPAPER
L'ALBA,²⁴ [FLORENCE]

[Cologne, May 1848]

Dear Sir,

From the first of next June a new daily newspaper will be published here in Cologne, it will be called *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and edited by Mr. Karl Marx. This newspaper will here in the North advocate democratic principles similar to those represented by *l'Alba* in Italy. There can therefore be no doubt as to the stand we shall take on the issue pending between Italy and Austria. We shall defend the cause of Italian independence, we shall wage a life-and-death struggle against Austrian despotism in Italy just as in Germany and Poland. We extend a fraternal hand to the Italian people and want to show it that the German nation repudiates in every way the oppression of your country by the same men who in our country too have always combated liberty. We shall do everything possible to bring about unity and cordial understanding between two great and free nations which a nefarious system of government has hitherto caused to believe that they were each other's enemies. We shall therefore demand that the brutal Austrian soldiery be withdrawn from Italy without delay so that the Italian people can without any regimentation choose the form of government it desires.

In order to enable us to follow Italian affairs and give you an opportunity to judge the sincerity of our promise we propose to you an exchange of our two papers; that is to say, we would send you the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and you would send us the *Alba* every day. We sincerely hope you will agree to this proposal and ask you to begin sending the *Alba* as soon as possible so that we can make use of it even in our first few issues.

If it should prove possible for you to send us other informational matter as well, we ask you to let us have it, assuring you that we on our part shall pay maximum attention to everything that may serve the cause of democracy in any country.

Fraternal greetings.

for the editorial board

Dr. Karl Marx,

Editor

11

ENGELS TO EMIL BLANK IN LONDON

Cologne, May 24, 1848

...As for the rest, Barmen is more boring than ever and there is general detestation of the little bit of freedom they have. These asses think the world exists only so that they can make lots of profit and as there is a hitch now they let out an awful howl. If they want liberty they have to pay for it. The French and English also had to, but in Barmen they think they ought to get everything gratis. Here things are somewhat better, but not much. The Prussians are still the same as of old, Poles are branded with the vilest of epithets, and at the moment I am writing this *Mainz is being bombarded by the Prussians* because the Civil Guard arrested a few drunk and rowdy soldiers. The sovereign National Assembly at Frankfurt hears the shooting and does not seem to lift a finger.²⁵ In Berlin, Camphausen idles away his time, the reactionaries, the officials and the nobility are becoming more overbearing with every day and harass the people, the people revolt and Camphausen's feebleness and cowardice lead us directly towards new revolutions. Such is Germany now!

Adieu.

Yours,
F. E.

1849

12

ENGELS TO JENNY MARX IN PARIS

Vevey, July 25, 1849

Dear Mrs. Marx,

You as well as Marx must have wondered why you did not hear from me for so long. Here are the reasons: The same day that I wrote to Marx (from Kaiserslautern) the news came that Homburg had been occupied by the Prussians and communications with Paris therefore cut. So I could no longer despatch the letter and went to Willich. In Kaiserslautern I had steered clear of any concern with the *soi-disant* revolution²⁶; but when the Prussians arrived I could not resist the desire to be in the war too. Willich was the only officer who was any good, and so I went to him and became his adjutant. I was in four engagements, of which two were fairly important, especially the one at Rastatt,²⁷ and discovered that the much-vaunted courage of reckless attack is the very commonest quality that one could have. The whistling of the bullets is quite a trifling matter and despite a lot of cowardice I did not see a dozen people throughout the campaign who behaved in a cowardly fashion *during the fighting*. But there was all the more "brave stupidity". To conclude, I came through all right everywhere, and consider it is a good thing that someone from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* took part in the fighting, for all the democratic rabble were in Baden and the Palatinate and are boasting of the heroic deeds they never did. We should have heard that same tale again: the gentlemen of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* are too cowardly to fight. But not one of all the democratic gentry fought; Kinkel and I were the only ones who did. Kinkel enlisted in our corps as a musketeer and did quite well; in the first engagement he took part in, a bullet grazed his head and he was taken prisoner.

After our corps had covered the retreat of the Baden Army we moved, 24 hours later than all the rest, into Switzerland and yesterday arrived here in Vevey.²⁸ During the campaign and the march through Switzerland it was absolutely impossible for me to write a single line. But now I make haste to send you news and I am writing to you the more promptly as I heard—somewhere

in Baden—that Marx had been arrested in Paris. We never got to see newspapers, hence I know nothing. I have never been able to ascertain whether it is true or not. You will understand the anxiety I therefore am in and urgently request you to restore my peace of mind by getting me definite information about Marx's fate. As I have heard no confirmation of Marx's arrest I still have hopes that the rumour is false. However I can hardly doubt that Dronke and Schapper have been locked up. In short, if Marx is still at large please send him this letter and ask him to write to me immediately. Should he feel unsafe in Paris he is perfectly safe here in the canton of Vaud. The government considers itself red and supports permanent revolution. The same is true of Geneva. Schily from Treves is there; he had been one of the commanders in the Mainz corps.

When I receive some money from home I shall most likely go to Lausanne or Geneva and decide on what to do. I am growing tired of our detachment, which fought bravely, and there is nothing for me to do here. In battle Willich is brave, cool, skilful and rapidly finds his bearings; out of battle he is a more or less tedious ideologist and a "true Socialist". Most of the men from the corps that one can talk to have been sent elsewhere.

If I only knew for certain that Marx is free! The thought often occurred to me that I amidst the Prussian bullets was at a much less dangerous post than the others in Germany and especially Marx in Paris. So please release me soon from this state of uncertainty.

Sincerely yours,
Engels

13

MARX TO ENGELS IN VEVEY

Paris, August 17, [1849]

...I don't know whether you have an opportunity in Switzerland of following the English movement. The English have started up again at exactly the point where it was interrupted by the February Revolution. As you know, the peace party is nothing but the Free Trade party in a new guise. But the industrial bourgeoisie now acts in an even more revolutionary way than during the Anti-Corn Law League agitation. For two reasons: 1. Having weakened the basis of the aristocracy at home by the repeal of the Corn Laws and Navigation Acts, the bourgeoisie now intends also to ruin the aristocracy in the sphere of foreign policy by

attacking its European ramifications. This is a reversal of Pitt's policy; anti-Russian, anti-Austrian and anti-Prussian, in short pro-Italian and pro-Hungarian. Cobden has openly threatened to proscribe any banker who should lend money to Russia and has begun a veritable campaign against Russian finances. 2. Agitation for universal suffrage in order to achieve the complete political separation of the tenants from the landed aristocracy, to give the towns an absolute majority in parliament and to nullify the power of the House of Lords. Financial reform in order to cut off the church and deprive the aristocracy of their political advantages.

Chartists and free traders have joined hands in these two propaganda campaigns. Harney and Palmerston have apparently become friends. O'Connor was in agreement with Colonel Thompson at the last meeting held in London.

There is no telling what consequences this economic campaign against feudalism and the Holy Alliance will have....

14

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER
IN FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN

London, December 19, [1849]

...At present the most important movement is probably taking place here in Britain. There is on the one hand the agitation of the protectionists, supported by the fanaticised rural population—the consequences of the free corn trade are now beginning to manifest themselves in a form I predicted years ago^a. On the other hand there are the free traders, who as financial and parliamentary reformers have drawn the political and economic conclusions from their system in domestic affairs and as the peace party have drawn them in the sphere of foreign relations; finally there are the Chartists who have joined forces with the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy while at the same time they have with renewed energy resumed their own struggle against the bourgeoisie. The conflict of these parties will be impressive and agitation will assume a stormier revolutionary form, if, as I hope and not without good reasons, a Tory government replaces that of the Whigs. Another event, which is not yet evident on the Continent, is

^a In a speech which Marx made in 1848, i.e., "Discours sur la question du libre échange, prononcé à l'Association Démocratique de Bruxelles" ("Speech on Free Trade Delivered at the Democratic Association of Brussels").—*Ed.*

the approach of an enormous industrial, agricultural and commercial crisis. If the Continent postpones its revolution until after the start of this crisis, it is possible that from the outset Britain will have to be an ally, even though an unwelcome one, of the revolutionary Continent. An earlier outbreak of the revolution—unless it is brought about by direct Russian intervention—would, in my opinion, be a misfortune; for just now, when trade is continuously expanding, neither the working masses in France, Germany, etc., nor the whole strata of shopkeepers, etc., are really in a revolutionary frame of mind, although they may utter revolutionary phrases....

1851

15

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, January 7, 1851

Dear Engels,

I am writing to you today in order to lay a little question of theory before you, of a politico-economic nature, of course.

You know, to begin from the beginning, that, according to Ricardo's theory of rent, rent is simply the difference between the costs of production and the prices of the produce of the land; or, as he also expressed it, the difference between the price at which the products of the worst land must sell in order to cover expenses (the tenant-farmer's profit and interest being always included in the expenses) and the price at which the products of the best land can be sold.

A rise in rent proves, according to his own interpretation of his theory:

1. That poorer and poorer kinds of land are resorted to, or that the same amount of capital applied successively to the same land does not yield the same produce. In a word: the soil deteriorates in the same measure that the population is obliged to demand more from it. It becomes relatively less fertile. This is where Malthus found the real ground for his theory of population and where his pupils now seek their last sheet-anchor.

2. Rent can only rise when the price of corn rises (at least according to the laws of economy); it must fall with the fall of the latter.

3. When the *rental of a whole country* rises this can only be explained by the fact that a very large mass of relatively poorer land has been brought under cultivation.

Those three propositions are everywhere contradicted by history.

1. There is no doubt that as civilisation progresses poorer and poorer kinds of land are brought under cultivation. But there is also no doubt that, as a result of the progress of science and

industry, these poorer types of land are relatively good in comparison with the former good types.

2. Since 1815 the price of corn has dropped—unevenly but continually—from 90 shillings to 50 shillings and lower; this before the repeal of the Corn Laws. Rent has continually risen. That is the case in Britain and *mutatis mutandis*, on the Continent everywhere.

3. In every country we find, as Petty already noticed, that when the price of corn drops the total rental of the country rises.

The main point in all this is to square the law of rent with the progress of the fertility of agriculture in general; this would on the one hand make it possible to explain the historical facts and on the other hand it would put an end to Malthus' theory of the deterioration not only of the "hands" but also of the land.

I think the matter can be simply explained in the following way:

Assume that at a given stage of agriculture the price of wheat is seven shillings a quarter and an acre of land of the best quality, paying a rent of ten shillings, produces 20 bushels. The yield per acre therefore equals 20 by 7, or 140 shillings. In this case the costs of production are 130 shillings and therefore 130 shillings is the price of the product of the worst land under cultivation.

Assume that a general improvement in agriculture now takes place. In assuming this we are at the same time taking it for granted that science, industry and population are also growing. A general increase in the fertility of the soil due to improvements, presupposes these conditions, as distinct from fertility simply due to the accident of a favourable season.

Say the price of wheat falls from 7 to 5 shillings a quarter and that the best land, No. 1, which formerly produced 20 bushels, now produces 30 bushels. It now brings in, therefore, instead of 20 by 7, or 140 shillings, 30 by 5, or 150 shillings. That is to say, a rent of 20 shillings instead of the former one of 10 shillings. The poorest land, which yields no rent, must produce 26 bushels, for, according to our assumption above, the necessary price of these is 130 shillings, and 26 by 5 equals 130. If the improvement, that is to say, the general progress of science, which goes hand in hand with the whole progress of society, the growth of population, etc., is not so general that the poorest land which has to be cultivated can produce 26 bushels, then the price of corn cannot fall to 5 shillings a quarter.

As before, the 20 shillings of rent expresses the difference between the costs of production and the price of corn on the best

land, or between the costs of production on the worst land and those on the best. Relatively the one piece of land remains just as infertile compared with the other as before. But the *general fertility* has increased.

All that is presupposed is that if the price of corn falls from 7 shillings to 5, consumption, demand, increases to the same extent, or that the productivity does not exceed the demand which may be expected when the price is 5 shillings. Utterly false as this assumption would be if the price had dropped from 7 to 5 shillings because of an exceptionally abundant harvest, it is a necessary one when the rise in fertility is gradual and effected by the producers themselves. In any case we are only dealing here with the economic possibility of this hypothesis.

It follows that:

1. Rent can rise although the price of the produce of the soil falls, and yet *Ricardo's law remains correct*.

2. The law of rent, as laid down by Ricardo in its simplest form, apart from its elaboration, does not assume the diminishing fertility of the soil but (*in spite of the fact that the general fertility of the soil increases as society develops*) only presupposes *different* degrees of fertility of different pieces of land, or different results from the successive investment of capital in the same land.

3. The more general the improvement of the soil, the more kinds of land will it embrace, and the rental of the whole country may rise although the price of corn is generally falling. If you take the above example the only question will be how great the number of plots of land producing more than 26 bushels at 5 shillings is without exactly having to produce 30; that is to say how much variety there is in the quality of the land lying between the best and the worst grades. This has nothing to do with the rate of the rent of the best land. It does not in the least directly affect the rate of rent.

You know that the main point with regard to rent is that rent is created by the equalisation of the prices of products having different costs of production, and that this law of the market price is nothing but a law of bourgeois competition. However even if bourgeois production were done away with there would still remain the difficulty that the soil becomes relatively less fertile and that the same amount of labour produces successively less, although it would no longer be the case, as under the bourgeois system, that the produce yielded by the best land was as dear as that of the worst. According to what has been said above, this aspect would cease to exist.

Please give me your opinion on the matter....

16

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, July 17, 1851

...At last the newspaper subscriptions are again in order here and I have at last seen our old document²⁹ in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. By the way the *Augsburger Zeitung*³⁰ reports in an article entitled "Dresden" by an author who seems to be usually well informed that Nothjung as a result of unfair practices during the judicial examination finally knuckled under and made very comprehensive confessions. I consider it at any rate quite possible that adroit investigators were able to corner him quickly and get him all tangled up in the craziest contradictions. A Prussian official is said to have gone there to squeeze still more out of him. The King of Hanover^a is said to have refused to institute prosecutions in his domains, at least in the crude manner practised in Prussia, Hamburg, etc. Miquel's letter seems to corroborate this. As you know Martens has been arrested in Hamburg. Nothing, by the way, could show up better the stupidity of the Prussians than the domiciliary search of the house of "Karl on the Rhine", who was also suspected of belonging to the Communist League and in whose possession only letters from Raveaux were found!

The old document can harm those under arrest only by the one passage about "excesses"; all other passages are levelled at the democrats and would aggravate the prisoners' position only if they had to face a halfway democratic jury. But judging by appearances they will be brought before an exquisite special or confederate jury if they are brought before a jury at all. And even these things were to a large extent already used in the Bürgers document³¹ that was seized at the very beginning. On the other hand it is in every other respect of enormous advantage that the thing has been published and has gone the round of the papers. The isolated groups of budding Communists, which have kept silent and are not known at all but which, in line with past experience, must have established themselves in all parts of Germany, will find it to be an excellent prop; and it can be seen even from the article in the *Augsburger Zeitung* that the thing has affected it in quite a different way from the first discoveries. Its summary of the contents shows that it understood that "piece of insanity" only too well—in fact it could not be misunderstood.

^a Ernst August.—*Ed.*

Besides, the feudal reaction advances so recklessly and blindly that the whole scare campaign does not create the slightest impression on the bourgeoisie. It is just too funny for anything to watch the *Kölnische Zeitung* now preach daily that "the Red Sea must be crossed" and admit all the mistakes of the Constitutionalists of 1848. And indeed, if a Kleist-Retzow is appointed *Oberpräsident* of Coblenz and that shameless *Kreuzzeitung*³² is becoming more and more abusive with its flat jokes and doggerel rhymes, what is the educated and sedate constitutional opposition to do? What a pity that we don't have the *Kreuzzeitung* here. I manage to see various excerpts from it. The utterly vulgar, gutter-snipe, disgustingly stupid Prussian manner in which that puny sheet is now assailing the decent, well-to-do, and respectable constitutional bigwigs is beyond all imagination. If fellows like Beckerrath and his associates could still be credited with one ounce of self-respect and capacity for resistance they would prefer the ill-treatment and abuse of a *Pere Duchesne*³³ in the manner of a Rhenish dock labourer and the whole red terror to the treatment they have daily to endure now at the hands of the Junkers and the *Kreuzzeitung*.

...But it serves those dogs right, who decried the best articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as "vulgar abuse", that the difference is now drummed into their cringing backs. They will long for the—in contrast to this—extremely Attic derision of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*....

17

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

[Manchester, about July 20, 1851]

Dear Marx,

I herewith return the documents. I like Miquel's letter. At least the fellow thinks, and he would no doubt turn out very well if he spent some time abroad. His fears about the unfavourable effect our document³⁴ now published will have on the democrats are no doubt quite justified in his district; but these primitive middle-peasant democrats of Lower Saxony, whose boots the *Kölnische Zeitung* has lately been licking, offering them an alliance, are just that kind and stand far below the philistine democrats of the big towns, by whom they are, after all dominated. And these ordinary petty-bourgeois democrats, although obviously greatly piqued by this document, are themselves far too much

squeezed and oppressed not to be much more ready, together with the big bourgeoisie, to understand the necessity of crossing the Red Sea. The fellows will resign themselves more and more to the necessity of a short reign of terror by the proletariat—after all it cannot last long, for the positive contents of the document are really so senseless that there can be no question of the permanent rule of such people or of the ultimate carrying out of such principles! The big and middle peasant of Hanover, on the other hand, who has nothing but his land, whose house, farm, barns, etc., are exposed to every danger by the prospective ruin of all the insurance companies, and who, moreover since Ernest Augustus' time has already had a good taste of all the delights of lawful resistance—this German sturdy yeoman will take very good care not to go into the Red Sea before he has to.

According to Bermbach's letter Haupt is the traitor, but I cannot believe it. At any rate this business must be investigated. Of course it does seem suspicious that, as far as I know, Haupt is still at large. The idea of a trip from Göttingen or Cologne to Hamburg will have to be dropped. What the records of the trial or the court transactions will reveal about this and when is impossible to say. If there is treason it should not be forgotten and it would be a very good thing to set an example on a suitable occasion.

I hope Daniels will soon be set free; after all he is the only politically minded man in Cologne and in spite of all police surveillance he would be able to keep things moving along the right track.

To return again to the effect of our document upon the democrats. Miquel should however consider that we continuously and uninterruptedly harassed these gentlemen in writings which were after all more or less Party manifestoes. Why all this outcry then about a programme which only summarises in a very calm and, especially, a quite impersonal way what was published long ago? Did our Continental disciples deny us, and did their involvement with the democrats go further than Party policy and Party honour allowed? If the democrats raised a revolutionary clamour from sheer lack of oppositional opinion, who is responsible for the lack of oppositional opinion? Surely not we, but—and this is the most that can be said—the German Communists in Germany. And indeed that seems to be the snag. Every democrat with any intelligence must have known from the beginning what he had to expect from our Party—the document could not have contained much that was new to him. If they made a temporary alliance with the Communists they were perfectly well aware of the conditions and duration of the alliance, and it would never

have occurred to anybody but Hanoverian middle peasants and lawyers to suppose that since 1850 the Communists had turned away from the principles and policy of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Waldeck and Jacobi would surely never have dreamt of such a thing. In any case, publications of this kind cannot do anything in the long run against "the nature of things" or against "the conception of relation", as Stirner would say, and the shouting and agitation-mongering of the democrats will soon be in full swing again and they will proceed hand in hand with the Communists. And we have known all along that those fellows will be playing us dirty tricks on the day after the movement is over—no diplomacy can stop that.

On the other hand the fact that, as I assumed, small communist groups are being formed everywhere on the basis of the *Manifesto*^a has given me great joy. This is just what we lacked, considering the weakness of our general staff up till now. Soldiers can always be found without trouble if the situation is ripe enough for that, but the prospect of having a general staff not consisting of Straubinger elements and allowing of a larger selection than the existing one of only twenty-five men with any kind of education is very pleasant indeed. It would be well to make a general recommendation that propaganda should be carried on everywhere among office workers. If one had to form an administration these chaps would be indispensable: they are used to hard work and intelligible book-keeping, and commerce is the only practical school for competent office clerks. Our lawyers, etc., are quite unfit for such work. What we need are clerks to keep the books and accounts, and talented, well-educated men able to draw up despatches, letters and documents. With six clerks I could organise an infinitely more simple, better arranged and more practical branch of administration than I could with sixty government councillors and financial experts. The latter cannot even write legibly and would muck up all the books so that not a soul could make head or tail of them. Seeing that one is more and more obliged to prepare for this eventuality the matter is not unimportant. Besides, office workers are used to continuous mechanical activity, they are less pretentious, less given to dawdling and it is easier to get rid of them if they are unsuitable.

The letter to Cologne has been despatched—very nicely attended to. If it does not arrive intact I don't know what to do. As a rule it is not advisable to use Schulz's address—he is an ex-co-manager!

^a *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (Manifesto of the Communist Party).—Ed.*

18

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] September 13, 1851

...In the Italian Committee too a split³⁵ has occurred. A considerable minority has withdrawn from it. Mazzini sorrowfully describes this event in the *Voix du Peuple*.³⁶ The main reasons are said to be: In the first place God. They don't want God. Next, and this is more serious, they accuse Master Mazzini of working in the interests of Austria by preaching insurrection, that is by precipitating it. Lastly they insist on a direct appeal to the material interests of the Italian peasants, this cannot be done without on the other hand attacking the material interests of the bourgeoisie and liberal nobility, who form the great Mazzinist phalanx. This last point is certainly important. If Mazzini or anyone else who heads the Italian agitation does not this time openly and immediately transform the peasants from *métayers* into free landowners (the position of the Italian peasants is appalling; I have now swatted up the whole filthy story) the Austrian Government will, in case of a revolution, take refuge in Galician methods.³⁷ It has already threatened in *Lloyd*^a "a complete change in the forms of ownership" and "destruction of the turbulent nobility". If Mazzini's eyes have still not been opened he is an ox. True, the interests of the agitation are here involved. Where is he to get his ten million francs from if he antagonises the bourgeoisie? How is it possible to retain the services of the nobility, when should the nobility be informed that it is first of all a question of its expropriation? These are difficulties for such a demagogue of the old school....

19

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, September 23, 1851

...The split among the Italians is fine. It is excellent that such an astute visionary as Mazzini should at last have been thwarted by material considerations and in his own country at that. One good result of the Italian revolution has been that there too the

^a i. e., *Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd*, a semi-official daily newspaper, published in Vienna.—Ed.

most isolated classes have been swept into the movement and that in face of the old Mazzini emigration, a new more radical party is now coming into being and it gradually edges out Signor Mazzini. According to newspaper reports too, *il Mazzinismo* seems to be getting into the bad books even of people who are neither constitutional nor reactionary and who are using what remains of the freedom of the press in Piedmont to make attacks on Mazzini—the import of which the government fails to understand. Otherwise the Italian revolution far surpasses the German in its poverty of ideas and wealth of phrases. It is fortunate that a country which instead of proletarians has practically nothing but *lazzaroni* does at least possess *métayers*. The other reasons given by the Italian dissidents are also cause for joy, and finally it is very good, too, that the one band of exiles which has hitherto remained, at least openly, unsplit, should now also be at loggerheads....

20

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON³⁸

[Manchester,] December 3, 1851

“*Représentants de la France, délibérez en paix!*”³⁹ And where could the gentlemen deliberate more peacefully than in the d’Orsay barracks, guarded by a battalion of *chasseurs de Vincennes!*

The history of France has reached the stage of supreme comedy. Could anything funnier be imagined than this travesty of the Eighteenth Brumaire carried out in time of peace by the most insignificant man in the whole world, with the aid of discontented soldiers and, so far as one can judge at present, without meeting with any resistance whatever? And how splendidly all the old asses have been caught! The slyest fox in the whole of France, old Thiers, the smartest lawyer at the bar, Mr. Dupin, trapped as easily as the rigid republican virtue of Mr. Cavaignac and as the big-mouthed Changarnier, in the snare laid for them by the most notorious blockhead of the century. And to complete the picture, a rump parliament with Odilon Barrot as “Löwe from Calbe” and this same Odilon demanding to be arrested in view of such a breach of the constitution, but unsuccessful in getting himself hauled off to Vincennes! The whole thing has been specially invented for the Red Wolff; from now onwards only he can write the history of France. Was there ever a *coup d’état* made in the world with sillier proclamations than this one? And the absurd Napoleonic ostentation, the anniversary of the coronation and

of Austerlitz, the reference to the consular constitution and so on—that such a thing could succeed if even for a day really does degrade the French gentlemen to a quite unprecedented level of childish behaviour.

The capture of the great speechifiers of “order” was splendid, of little Thiers and of the bold Changarnier quite excellent. Splendid too was the session of the rump parliament in the tenth *arrondissement* with Mr. Berryer shouting “Long Live the Republic!” out of the window, until in the end the whole lot were taken and shut up between lines of soldiers in a barracks’ square. And then that stupid Napoleon, who immediately packs up to move into the Tuileries. If one had worked hard for a whole year one could not have invented a finer comedy.

And in the evening, when stupid Napoleon had at last flung himself into the long-yearned-for bed in the Tuileries, the nitwit must really have been at a loss to understand, what was going on. A Consulate without a First Consul! No greater internal difficulties than there had been, generally speaking, for the last three years, no exceptional financial stringency—even in his own purse—no coalition at the frontiers, no St. Bernard to cross, no Marengo to win! Enough to drive anyone to despair, really. And now no longer even a National Assembly to bring to nought the great schemes of this unrecognised genius; no, for today at any rate the ass is as free, as unfettered, as absolute as the old one was on the evening of the Eighteenth Brumaire; he is so completely unrestrained that he can’t help exposing his asinine self in all directions. Appalling prospect of no opposition!

But the people, the people! The people does not care a rap about all this business, is as pleased as a child at its boon of the franchise and will probably use it like a child too. What will be the result of the ridiculous elections on Sunday week if it ever comes to that. No press, no meetings, martial law in abundance, and on top of it all the order to provide a deputy within fourteen days.

But what is to come of the whole business? “If we regard it from the standpoint of world history”⁴⁰ a splendid subject for declamation presents itself. For instance: it remains to be seen whether the Praetorian regime of the days of the Roman Empire, which presupposed a widely extended state organised throughout on military lines, a depopulated Italy and the absence of a modern proletariat, is possible in a geographically concentrated, thickly populated country like France, with a large industrial proletariat. Or: Louis Napoleon has no party of his own; he has trodden the Orleanists and Legitimists underfoot, he must now make a turn to the left. A turn to the left implies an amnesty, an amnesty implies a collision, etc. Or again: universal franchise is the

basis of Louis Napoleon's power; he cannot attack it, and universal franchise is *now* incompatible with a Louis Napoleon. And other similarly speculative themes which could be spun out splendidly. But after what we saw yesterday, the people cannot be relied on for anything and it really seems as if old Hegel in his grave were acting as World Spirit and directing history, ordaining most conscientiously that it should all be unrolled twice over, once as a great tragedy and once as a wretched farce, with Causidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, Barthélémy for St. Just, Flocon for Carnot, and that mooncalf^a with the first dozen debt-encumbered lieutenants picked at random for the Little Corporal^b and his Round Table of marshals. And so we have already arrived at the Eighteenth Brumaire.

The behaviour of the people of Paris was childishly stupid. It does not concern us: if the President and the Assembly are murdering each other, what does it matter to us! But that the army arrogates to itself the right of foisting a government on France—and such a government into the bargain—that surely does concern them, and the mob will be amazed to see the sort of “free” universal suffrage it is now to exercise “for the first time since 1804”!

How much further the World Spirit, which is obviously very much annoyed with humanity, will conduct this farce, whether we shall see Consulate, Empire, Restoration, etc., passing before our eyes in the course of a year, whether the Napoleonic dynasty too will have to be thrashed in the streets of Paris before it becomes impossible in France, the devil only knows. But it looks to me as if the thing is going to take a remarkably crazy turn and as if the French philistines are heading for a strange sort of humiliation.

Even assuming that Louis Napoleon consolidates his position for the moment, such silly nonsense cannot last after all, however great the decline of the French may be. But what then? There is damned little Red in the outlook, that much is pretty clear, and if M. Blanc and Ledru-Rollin packed up their baggage yesterday afternoon they may unpack it again today. The thunderous voice of the people has not recalled them as yet.

Here and in Liverpool this affair put a sudden stop to trade, but already today they are again speculating with renewed vigour in Liverpool, and French funds have fallen only 2 per cent.

Under these circumstances our attempts to come out in the British press on behalf of the Cologne people⁴¹ will naturally have to wait.

^a Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*

^b Napoleon I.—*Ed.*

Concerning the articles for the *Tribune*,⁴² which have evidently been published by it, write *in English* to the *Tribune* editor. Dana may be absent but a business letter is sure to be answered. Tell him that he must distinctly state per next returning steamer what has become of these papers, and in case they have been made use of, he is requested to send by the same opportunity copies of the *Tribune* containing them, as no copy has been kept here and without having the articles already sent again before our eyes, we cannot, after such a lapse of time, undertake to go on with the following numbers of the series.

It must have been an amusing sight to watch the effect of the news from France on the mob of European emigrants. I would have liked to see it.

Looking forward to hearing from you I am

Yours,
F. E.

21

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, December 11, 1851

Dear Marx,

Herewith I am returning to you Reinhardt's letter as well as Pieper's, which I had held back for a while on account of the Cologne happenings.

It seems that the grand expedition of the 700 vagabonds to Paris which was announced with so much noise by the newspapers has not materialised. Furthermore little Louis Blanc, according to his renewed groans of pain voiced in today's *Daily News*, is for the time being in safety, even if allegedly not in London. The first jeremiad was divine in comparison with today's. The French people—noble pride—indomitable courage—eternal love of liberty—honour to the courage of the unfortunate—thereupon the little fellow executes a half-turn to the right and preaches trust and union of the people and the bourgeoisie. See Proudhon, *Appeal to the Bourgeoisie*, page 2.⁴³ And the arguments he advances! If the insurgents were beaten it was because they were not the "true people"; the "true people" cannot be beaten; and if the "true people" did not fight it was because it did not want to fight for the National Assembly. One could of course reply that the "true people", once victorious, would itself have been dictator, but having been taken by surprise it did not think of that, and after all, it has been fooled so often!

This is the old vulgar logic of the democrats, which gains ground every time the revolutionary party suffers defeat. The fact of the matter is, in my opinion, that the proletariat did not fight this time in a mass because it was fully aware of its own debility and impotence and it acquiesced with fatalistic resignation in a new cycle of republic, empire, restoration, and a new revolution until it is able to gather new strength during a few years of wretchedness under a rule of maximum order. I do not say that this is how things will shape themselves, but this seems to me to have been the instinctive basic outlook that prevailed among the people of Paris on Tuesday^a and Wednesday and after the restoration of the secret ballot and the subsequent retreat of the bourgeoisie on Friday. It is nonsense to say that this was no opportunity for the people. If the proletariat wants to wait until its own question is posed by the government, until a collision occurs in which the conflict will assume sharper and more definite forms than in June 1848, it will have to wait a long while. The last time the issue between proletariat and bourgeoisie was fairly plainly raised, was in connection with the 1850 election law, and the people preferred not to fight then. This and the perpetual pointing to 1852 in itself was proof of indolence, proof which, except in the case of a commercial crisis, was sufficient for us to make a pretty bad forecast also for 1852. Since the abolition of universal suffrage and since the ousting of the proletariat from the official stage it is really a bit too much to expect the official parties to put the issue in a way that will suit the proletariat. And how did the matter stand in February?^b The people at that time kept just as much aloof from events as now. And it cannot be denied in the least that when the revolutionary party in a revolutionary development allows affairs to take decisive turns without any say of its own or, if it does take part, without however emerging victorious, one may be fairly certain that for some time it is to be considered as done for. Witness the insurrections after Thermidor and after 1830,⁴⁴ and the gentlemen who now so loudly proclaim that the "true people" is biding its time run the risk of gradually landing in the same boat as the powerless Jacobins of 1795-99 and the Republicans of 1831-39 and of making themselves utterly ridiculous.

Nor can it be denied that the effect of the restoration of the secret ballot on the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and, finally, *also on many proletarians* (all the reports suggest that) has cast a peculiar light on the courage and insight of the Parisians. To many it obviously never occurred to think how silly the ques-

^a i. e., December 2, 1851.—*Ed.*

^b In February 1848.—*Ed.*

tion posed by Louis Napoleon was and what guarantees there were that the vote would be recorded correctly; but most of them must have seen through this humbug and nevertheless persuaded themselves that everything was now all right merely in order to have a *pretext for not fighting*.

According to Reinhardt's letter and the new revelations coming in daily about the infamies perpetrated by the soldiers and particularly about their excesses on the boulevards against any and all civilians, no matter who they were: workers or bourgeois, reds or Bonapartists; according to the accumulating reports about local insurrections even in the most remote corners where no one suspected resistance; and according to the letter of a French ex-deputy and merchant in yesterday's *Daily News*, the Appeal to the People seems to be taking a turn that must be unpleasant to Bonaparte. The mass of the bourgeoisie in Paris really does not seem to relish this new regime with its imposition of transportation laws. Military terror is developing too rapidly and is too brazen. Two-thirds of France is in a state of siege. I believe that after all this the mass of the bourgeoisie will not vote at all, that this whole farce of a vote will end in nothing, because in all localities where the outcome is doubtful, where Louis Napoleon's opponents will go to the polls in masses the gendarmes will start brawls with the voters so that the whole election there will be quashed. Then Louis Napoleon will declare France to be *non compos mentis* and proclaim the army the only saviour of society. Then this whole dirty business will become perfectly clear, with Louis Napoleon stuck in the midst of it. But it is precisely during this election that the matter could take a very ugly turn if at *that time* serious resistance against an established government were still to be expected. That fellow is sure to receive a million votes from the officials and soldiers. Half a million Bonapartists, if not more, are also in the country. Half a million timid townsmen, if not more, will also cast their ballots for him. Add half a million stupid peasants and allow a million for mistakes in the count and you already have three and a half million. Even the old Napoleon did not receive more than that in an empire that embraced the whole left bank of the Rhine and Belgium, that is, a population of thirty-two million for certain. Why should he not be satisfied with that as a start? And if he got that many, with perhaps one million against him, he would soon capture the bourgeoisie. But perhaps he will not get the two and a half million and perhaps he cannot wangle it to be credited with an extra million votes by way of mistakes in addition, although this would be expecting too much of the honesty of the French officials. At any rate, a great deal depends on the measures he will be compelled to take meanwhile. Incidentally, who can

prevent the officials from stuffing the ballot-boxes with several hundred yes-votes before the registration of the votes begins? There is no press any more—nobody to check up.

At any rate it is bad for Krapülinski⁴⁵ that the stocks are falling again, and for Louis Blanc that he must now recognise England as a free country.

In a few months the Reds must get another opportunity to prove their mettle, perhaps already during the voting. But if then they temporise again, I give them up; even the nicest commercial crisis will then get them nothing but a good beating that will definitely remove them from the scene for a couple of years. What good is this rabble if it has forgotten how to fight?

Is Pieper in London again? I wanted to give him a commission regarding books to be executed in Frankfurt and I do not know whether he still is in Brighton.

The worst thing is that you will now encounter difficulties with Löwenthal. It would have been good if the contract had already been concluded.

Liverpool Market—quiet at yesterday's prices; Manchester Market—firm. Some overtrading going on to the Levant. German buyers continue keeping out of the Market.

Yours,
F. E.

1852

22

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER
IN NEW YORK

London, March 5, 1852

Dear Weywy,

I'm afraid there has been some confusion because, having misunderstood thy last letter, I addressed the last two packets as follows: "Office of the 'Revolution', 7, Chambers' Street, Box 1817." That confounded "Box 1817" caused the mix-up, you wrote that this appendix should be added to the "old address" without differentiating the first address from the second. But I hope the matter is cleared up before this letter arrives, the more so since last Friday's letter contains the very detailed No. V of my article.^a I was prevented from finishing No. VI, the concluding instalment, this week.⁴⁶ If your newspaper has appeared again this delay cannot cause any stoppage as you are well provided with material.

Your article against Heinzen, which Engels unfortunately sent me too late, is very good, both coarse and *fine*—a combination which should be found in any polemic worthy of the name. I showed this article to Ernest Jones, I am sending you herewith a letter from him intended for publication.⁴⁷ As Jones writes very illegibly, with abbreviations, and as I assume that you are not an out-and-out Englishman as yet, I am sending you, together with the original, a copy made by my wife, and at the same time the German translation, as you must have them both printed side by side, the original and the translation. Following the letter from Jones you can print the following postscript: With regard to *George Julian Harney*, who is also one of Mr. Heinzen's authorities, he published our *Communist Manifesto* in English in his *Red Republican* with a marginal note saying that it was "the most revolutionary document ever given to the world", and in his *Democratic Review* he translated [and printed] the words of wisdom "done away with" by Heinzen, that is to say, the articles on the French Revolution which I wrote for the *Revue*

^a Karl Marx, *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*) which was originally published by Weydemeyer in his monthly journal *Die Revolution*, No. 1, New York, 1852.—*Ed.*

der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung. In an article on Louis Blanc Harney refers his readers to these articles as the "true criticism" of the French affair.⁴⁸ Moreover, in England one does not have to quote only the most "radical" writers. If a Member of Parliament in England becomes a Minister he has to be re-elected, thus *Disraeli*, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, writes to his constituents on March 1:

"We shall endeavour to terminate that *strife of classes* which, of late years, has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom."

On which *The Times* comments on March 2:

"... if anything would ever divide classes in this country beyond reconciliation, and leave no chance of a just and honourable peace, it would be a tax on foreign corn."

And in case an ignorant "man of character" like Heinzen should imagine that the aristocracy is *for* and the bourgeoisie *against* corn laws, because the former wants "*monopoly*" and the latter "*freedom*"—a philistine recognises contradictions only in this ideological form—it is sufficient to observe that in the eighteenth century the English aristocracy was for "freedom" (of trade) and the bourgeoisie for "monopoly"—the same relative position with regard to "corn laws" that we find at this very moment between these two classes in "Prussia". The *Neue Preussische Zeitung* is the most rabid free-trader.

Finally, in your place I should say to the democratic gentlemen in general that they would do better first to acquaint themselves with bourgeois literature before they presume to yap at the opponents of it. For instance, these gentlemen should study the historical works of Thierry, Guizot, John Wade, and others in order to enlighten themselves as to the past "history of classes". Before they try to criticise the critique of political economy they should acquaint themselves with the fundamentals of political economy. One has only to open Ricardo's great opus, for example, to find these opening words of his Preface on the first page:

"The produce of the earth—all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labour, machinery, and capital—is divided among *three classes* of the community; namely, the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the labourers by whose industry it is cultivated."^a

H. C. Carey^b (of Philadelphia), the only American economist of importance, is a striking proof that civil society in the United

^a David Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, Third Edition, London, 1821, p. V.—Ed.

^b Henry Charles Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages: with an Examination of the Causes of Differences in the Conditions of the Labouring Population Throughout the World*.—Ed.

States is as yet by no means mature enough to provide a clear and comprehensible picture of the class struggle. He attacks *Ricardo*, the most classic representative (interpreter^a) of the bourgeoisie and the most stoical adversary of the proletariat, as a man whose works are an arsenal for Anarchists, Socialists, and all enemies of the bourgeois system. He reproaches not only him but Malthus, Mill, Say, Torrens, Wakefield, McCulloch, Senior, Whately, R. Jones, and others, the leading economists of Europe, with rending society asunder and preparing civil war because they show that the economic bases of the different classes are bound to give rise to a necessary and ever growing antagonism among them. He tried to refute them, not indeed like the fatuous Heinzen by connecting the existence of classes with the existence of *political* privileges and *monopolies*, but by attempting to show that *economic* conditions—rent (landed property), *profit* (capital), and wages (wage labour) instead of being conditions of struggle and antagonism are rather conditions of association and harmony. All he proves, of course, is that he is taking the “undeveloped” conditions of the United States for “normal conditions”.

As to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to demonstrate: 1) that the *existence of classes* is merely linked to *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. Ignorant louts like Heinzen, who deny not merely the class struggle but even the existence of classes, only prove that, despite all their blood-curdling yelps and the humanitarian airs they give themselves, they regard the social conditions under which the bourgeoisie rules as the final product, the *non plus ultra*^b of history, and that they are only the servants of the bourgeoisie. And the less these louts realise the magnitude and the transitory necessity of the bourgeois regime the more disgusting is their servitude.

From the above notes take anything you think suitable. Incidentally, Heinzen has adopted “centralisation” from us in place of his “federative republic”, etc.⁴⁹ When the views which we are now spreading about the classes become platitudes and part of

^a In the manuscript the word “interpreter” has been written above the word “representative”.—*Ed.*

^b Highest point attainable.—*Ed.*



Joseph Weydemeyer

the equipment of the "ordinary common sense", then that boar will announce them with a lot of noise as the latest product of "his own penetration" and start barking against our developing the point further. So by "his own penetration" he yelped against the Hegelian philosophy as long as it was progressive. Now he is helping himself to the stale crumbs of it which have been spewed out undigested by Ruge.

In addition I am sending you the end of the Hungarian article. You must try to print something from it—if your newspaper exists—the more so since *Szemere*, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, who is in Paris promised me to write a lengthy article for you *over his own signature*.

If you have managed to get out your paper, send *more* copies so that they can be distributed more widely.

Yours,
K. Marx

23

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

[Manchester,] March 18, 1852

...Incidentally, now that old O'Connor has definitely gone crazy, Jones does quite the right thing to put all his irons in the fire. Now is his chance and if citizen Hiphiphurrah^a also drops out he can be sure of success. Judging by everything I see, the Chartists are in such a state of complete dissolution and collapse and at the same time experience such a shortage of capable people that they will either fall apart entirely and break up into cliques, hence must in fact become simply a tail of the financial [reformers],⁵⁰ or some competent chap must reorganise them on an entirely new basis. Jones is starting on the right tack and we can certainly say that without our doctrine he would never have found the right path and would never have discovered that on the one hand the instinctive class hatred of the workers against the industrial bourgeoisie, the only possible basis for the reorganisation of the Chartist party, can not only be retained but even widened, and developed so that it becomes the foundation of enlightening propaganda and that on the other hand one can be progressive and oppose the reactionary cravings of the workers and their prejudices. Incidentally, Master Harney will get a

^a George Harney.—*Ed.*

surprise if he continues thus. The band of enthusiasts which supports him will very soon give him the boot, and even the portraits of Kosciuszko and other "patriots" which he puts in the puny sheets he gets out will not save him....

24

MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS IN WASHINGTON

London, July 20, 1852

...The outcome of the elections here will be the return of a parliament differing from the old one by not more than ten seats, gained either by the Tories or the Whigs. The vicious circle is complete. The old constituents reproduce the old parliament. The parties hitherto dominating the old parliament are in a state of disintegration, they balance and neutralise one another, and are thus compelled to appeal again to the constituents, and so *ad infinitum*, until the pressure of the masses breaks the circle from without and that may happen soon. At no previous election has the contrast between the real majority and the official majority of electors created by the electoral qualifications, been so striking. You know that at every election in Britain voting takes place: 1. by show of hands, when everybody can vote, and 2. by poll, which decides the issue, when only the electors are entitled to vote. *Not a single* Member of Parliament is among those elected (nominated) by show of hands, and not a single one of those who were nominated by show of hands has become a Member of Parliament (i.e., was really elected) as a result of the poll. Thus, for example, in Halifax, where Wood, the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, confronted Ernest Jones, at the show of hands Wood was booed, whereas Jones received 14,000 votes and was carried in triumph through the town. But Wood was elected at the poll and Jones received only 36 votes.

As regards the affairs of the emigrants there is little new to tell. Willich has been deserted by all except a few cranks, no one any longer believes in his honesty. Although Reichenbach resigned from the committee⁵¹ a long time ago, as I informed you, he *refuses* to hand over even a *farthing* of the loan until a permanent committee is formed. He says he cannot recognise either Willich and Kinkel or the handful of scoundrels who have been elected by them. Reichenbach is an honest bourgeois, who takes his responsibility seriously.

The French emigration is divided into three camps: 1. Revolution (Ledru), 2. Delegation (those who go further), 3. 1,500 oppo-

nents of both, the plebs, or as the aristocrats call them the "populean". A certain Coeurderoy (incidentally a very good republican) has published a pamphlet against Mazzini-Ledru and Cabet-Blanc and will publish another pamphlet in the near future. As soon as they are available you will get both....

25

JENNY MARX TO ADOLF CLUSS IN WASHINGTON

[London, October 28, 1852]

Dear Mr. Cluss,

You have undoubtedly followed the monster trial of the Communists in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The session of October 23 gave the whole thing such an imposing and interesting turn, which is so favourable to the accused that we are all beginning to feel a little better.⁵² You can imagine how the "Marx Party" is active day and night and has to work with head, hands, and feet.... All the allegations of the police are lies. They steal, forge, break open desks, swear false oaths, perjure themselves, and in addition they claim to be in a privileged position as against the Communists, who are beyond the pale of society! It is truly hair-raising to see all this, and the manner in which the police, particularly their most villainous representatives, are taking over all the functions of the Public Prosecutor, pushing Saedt into the background, introducing unauthenticated slips of paper, mere rumours, reports, and hearsay as actual, judicially proven facts, as evidence. All the proofs of forgery had to be submitted from here; thus my husband had to work all day at it and far into the night. Affidavits by the landlords duly acknowledged had to be procured and the handwritings of Liebknecht and Rings, the men alleged to have written the minutes, had to be officially certified to prove the forgery by the police. Then all the papers had to be sent in six to eight copies to Cologne by the most devious channels, via Frankfurt, Paris, etc., as all letters addressed to my husband, as well as all letters sent from here to Cologne, are opened and intercepted. The whole thing is now a struggle between the police and my husband, who is being blamed for everything: the whole revolution, even the conduct of the trial.... The struggle against the official powers armed with money and all possible weapons is of course very interesting and the glory of it will be so much the greater, should we emerge victorious, since on the one side stand money and power and everything else, whereas we often

did not know how to get the paper for the letters that had to be written, etc., etc.

Freiligrath, Marx, Engels, and Wolff today issued the enclosed statement. We are sending it to the *Tribune* today. You too can publish it....

We have just received whole stacks of business addresses and fake business letters from Weerth and Engels for use in sending the documents, letters, etc.

This very minute some issues of the *Kölnische Zeitung* have come in carrying the news of a fresh load of incredible outrages. Two telegrams are going off at once to business addresses. A whole office has been established at our flat. Two or three write, others run errands, and still other scrape the pennies together to make it possible for the writers to continue their existence and furnish proof of this most unprecedented outrage perpetrated by the old official world. In between, my three merry children sing and whistle and often get a good scolding from their papa. What a hubbub!

Good-bye, dear Mr. Cluss, and please write soon again to your friends.

With permission of the higher authorities,

Jenny Marx

1853

26

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMAYER
IN NEW YORK

†
Manchester, April 12, 1853

...I have just about swatted through the old campaigns (i.e., those since 1792); the Napoleonic campaigns are so simple that it is difficult to misinterpret them. It is Jomini who after all gives the best description of these campaigns; the natural genius Clausewitz doesn't quite appeal to me, despite the many fine pieces he has written. For the immediate future, i.e., for *us*, the most important is the Russian campaign of 1812—it is the only one where there are major strategic problems still unsolved. In Germany and Italy there are no lines of operations feasible other than those established by Napoleon; in Russia, on the other hand, everything is still confused and unclear. The question whether Napoleon's plan of operation in 1812 envisaged from the very start a direct advance on Moscow or in the first campaign to advance only to the Dnieper and the Dvina again rises to face us when we seek an answer to the problem of what a revolutionary army should do in the event of a successful offensive against Russia. This question can now be solved, it seems to me, solely by sea: in the Sound and the Dardanelles, and at Petersburg, Riga, and Odessa—that is, of course, if we leave chance out of our reckoning and start with only an approximate balance of forces as our premise. Also left out of account, of course, are any *internal* movements in Russia, and a revolution in Petersburg started by the aristocracy and bourgeoisie with an ensuing civil war inside the country, is quite within the realm of possibility. Mr. Herzen made the problem much easier for himself (*Du progrès des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*)^a for in the Hegelian manner he projects a democratic-social communist-Proudhonist Russian republic headed by the triumvirate of Bakunin-Herzen-Golovin, so that it can't go wrong. By the way, it is very uncertain whether Bakunin is still alive. In any event, it is extremely difficult to

^a Evidently a reference to Herzen's *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (The Development of Revolutionary Ideas in Russia).—Ed.

conquer a country as vast, widespread and sparsely populated as Russia. As for the former Polish provinces this side of the Dvina and the Dnieper, I have not wanted to hear anything about them since I learned that all the peasants there are Ukrainians and only the aristocracy and some of the townsmen are Poles, and that for the peasant there the restoration of Poland would mean merely the restoration of the old rule of the nobility in full force, as was the case in Ukrainian Galicia in 1846.⁵³ In all these areas, i.e. outside the Kingdom of Poland proper, there are hardly 500,000 Poles!

However, it is a good thing that the revolution this time encounters a sturdy opponent in the shape of Russia, and not such feeble scarecrows as in 1848.

In the meanwhile all sorts of symptoms are making their appearance. The cotton prosperity over here is actually attaining such heights as to make one dizzy, while individual branches of the cotton industry (coarse material, domestics) are in a state of complete slump. The speculators are counting on saving themselves from this swindle by engaging in it only in America and France on a large scale (building railways with British money) but over here only, piecemeal and on a small scale thus gradually infecting *all* commodities with the swindle. The quite abnormal winter and spring weather over here must have been bad for the grain crop, and if, as is usually the case, this is followed by an abnormal summer, the crop is done for. The present prosperity, in my opinion, cannot last beyond the autumn. In the meantime, it is now the third British Cabinet that is making a fool of itself in the course of a single year, and this is the last possible cabinet without the direct intervention of the radical bourgeoisie. The Whigs, the Tories, the coalitionists are all suffering defeat in turn, not because of a tax deficit but because of a surplus.⁵⁴ This characterises the whole policy as well as the extreme impotence of the old parties. If the present Ministers come tumbling down, Britain can no longer be governed without a considerable extension of the franchise; in all likelihood this will coincide with the outbreak of the crisis.

The prolonged tedium of prosperity has made it almost impossible for the unlucky Bonaparte to preserve his dignity—the world is bored, and Bonaparte bores the world. Unfortunately, he cannot get married again every month. That swindler, drunkard, and cheat will break his neck, because he is compelled to put Engel's *Fürstenspiegel* into practice, if only for appearances' sake. The blackguard, playing the role of "Father of His Country", is in a fix. He cannot even start a war; at his slightest move he comes up against serried ranks bristling with bayonets. Besides, peace gives the peasants the highly desired time to reflect on how

the man who promised to crush Paris for the benefit of the peasants is now beautifying Paris with the money of the peasants, while mortgages and taxes are growing rather than diminishing, in spite of everything. In a word, this time there is method in the way events are developing, and that is very promising.

In Prussia the government, with its income tax, has got nicely into trouble with the bourgeoisie. The tax assessments are being raised by the bureaucrats with the greatest impudence, and you can imagine the delight with which these noble inkslingers are now snooping around in the trade secrets and ledgers of all businessmen. Even my old man,^a that dyed-in-the-wool Prussian, is boiling with rage. These people must now taste the blessings of the "cheap" constitutional-paternal-Prussian government down to the very dregs. The Prussian government debt, which was about 67 million talers before 1848, must have quadrupled since then, and already they want to borrow again! It must be said the stout king^b would gladly sweat a little again, as he did in the days of March,^c if only he were assured these credits until his blissful death. Moreover, it was Louis Napoleon who helped him to put the Zollverein on its feet again, Austria climbed down⁵⁵ out of fear of war, "and now, oh Lord, allow thy servant to go to his grave in peace!"

The Austrians are doing their best to get Italy into motion again; up to the Milan putsch⁵⁶ the country was entirely engrossed in trade and prosperity, to the extent that the latter was compatible with taxes. If all this continues for a couple of months more, Europe will be splendidly prepared and will need only the impetus of the crisis. In addition, the unprecedentedly long and universal prosperity—ever since the beginning of 1849—has restored the strength of the exhausted parties (in so far as they were not completely worn out, like the monarchists in France) much more quickly than was the case after 1830, for example, when business conditions fluctuated for a long time and were, on the whole, rather dull. In 1848, moreover, only the Paris proletariat and, later, Hungary and Italy, were exhausted by serious struggles; the insurrections in France after June 1848 were really almost not worth mentioning, and they *ruined* after all, only the old monarchist parties. Then there is the comical result of the movement in *all* countries, nothing being serious or important but the colossal historical irony and the concentration of Russian war resources. In view of all this, it seems quite impossible to

^a Friedrich Engels senior, the father of Engels.—*Ed.*

^b Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

^c March 1848 marked the beginning of the revolution in Prussia.—*Ed.*

me, even from the most sober point of view, for the present situation to outlast the spring of 1854.

It is very good that this time *our Party* comes forward under altogether different auspices. All the socialist stupidities that still had to be championed in 1848 as against the pure democrats and South German republicans, the nonsense of Louis Blanc, etc., even things that *we* were compelled to put forward in order to obtain support for our views in the confused German situation—all that is now already championed by our opponents—Ruge, Heinzen, Kinkel, *et al.* The preliminaries of the proletarian revolution, the measures that prepare the battleground and clear the way for us, such as a single and indivisible republic, etc., things that *we* had to champion then *against* the people whose natural, normal job it should have been to achieve or, at least, to demand them—all that is now taken for granted, the gentlemen have learned their lesson. This time we start right off with the *Manifesto*,^a thanks to the Cologne trial in particular, in which German communism (especially owing to Röser) passed its baccalaureate examination.

All this, of course, concerns only theory; in practice we shall, as always, be reduced to pressing for resolute measures and absolute forthrightness above all. And that's the trouble. I have a presentiment that, thanks to the perplexity and flabbiness of all the others, our Party will one fine morning be forced to take over the reins of government and in the end to carry out measures that are not directly in our interest, but are in the general interests of the revolution and the specific interests of the petty-bourgeoisie; on which occasion, driven by the proletarian populace, bound by our own printed declarations and plans—more or less falsely interpreted, more or less passionately thrust to the fore in the Party struggle—we shall be constrained to undertake communist experiments and perform leaps the untimeliness of which we know better than anyone else. In so doing we lose our heads—only physically speaking, let us hope—a reaction sets in, and until the world is able to pass *historical* judgment on such events, we are considered not only beasts, which wouldn't matter, but also *bêtes*,^b which is much worse. I do not quite see how it can turn out otherwise. In a backward country like Germany, which possesses an advanced party and which together with an advanced country like France, becomes involved in an advanced revolution, the advanced party must get into power at the first serious conflict and as soon as the situation becomes *really critical*, and that is, certainly, *ahead* of its normal time. All that does not

^a *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

^b Stupid.—*Ed.*

matter, however, and it would be best if for such an eventuality the foundations for the historical rehabilitation of the Party are laid in advance in our Party *literature*.

Moreover, we shall appear on the scene much more respectable than last time. First, we are luckily rid of all the old good-for-nothing personalities—the Schappers, Willichs, and their associates; second, we have grown somewhat stronger; third, we can count on a rising generation in Germany (if nothing else, the Cologne trial alone suffices to assure us that); and finally, we have all profited considerably from our exile. To be sure, we also have people among us who proceed according to the principle: “Why should we swat? That’s what Father Marx is for, whose job it is to know everything.” But, on the whole, the Marxian party plugs away pretty hard, and when one looks at those asinine émigrés, who have picked up new phrases here and there and thus made themselves more confused than ever, it is obvious that the superiority of our Party has increased absolutely and relatively. But that is needed, too, for the job will be hard....

27

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

[Manchester, approx. May 26, 1853]

...Yesterday I read the book^a about the Arabian inscriptions of which I told you. The thing is not devoid of interest although priest and bible apologist are written disgustingly all over it. His greatest triumph consists in being able to prove that *Gibbon* committed some blunders in ancient geography, and from this to deduce that Gibbon’s theology is also objectionable. The thing is called *The Historical Geography of Arabia* by the Reverend Charles Forster. The best one can get out of it is the following:

1. The genealogy given in Genesis, purporting to be that of Noah, Abraham, etc., is a fairly exact enumeration of the Bedouin tribes of that time, according to their greater or smaller degree of dialectal kinship, etc. As we know, the Bedouin tribes have to the present day always called themselves Beni Saled, Beni Jussuff, and so on, i.e., the sons of so and so. This appellation, which springs from the ancient patriarchal mode of existence,

^a Charles Forster, *The Historical Geography of Arabia; or, The Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion*, Vol. 1 and 2, London, 1844.—Ed.

leads in the end to this kind of genealogy. The enumeration in Genesis is more or less corroborated by the ancient geographers, and the more recent travellers prove that the old names, with dialectal changes, still exist in their majority. It follows from this, however, that the Jews themselves were nothing more than a small Bedouin tribe, just like the rest, which local conditions, agriculture, and so forth placed in opposition to the other Bedouins.

2. With regard to the great Arab invasion of which we spoke previously: that the Bedouins made periodic invasions, just like the Mongols, that the Assyrian Empire—and the Babylonian Empire—was founded by Bedouin tribes, on the same spot where later the caliphate of Baghdad arose. The founders of the Babylonian Empire, the Chaldeans, still exist under the same name, Beni Chaled, in the same locality. The rapid rise of big cities like Ninive and Babylon occurred in exactly the same way as only three hundred years ago similar giant cities, such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore and Muttan, in the East Indies, were created by an Afghan or Tatar invasion. Thus the Mohammedan invasion loses much of its distinctive character.

3. It seems that the Arabians, where they had settled down, in the South-West, were just as civilised a people as the Egyptians, Assyrians, etc., as is proved by the buildings they erected. This too explains much in the Mohammedan invasion. As far as the religious humbug is concerned, it seems to follow from the ancient inscriptions in the South, in which the old national-Arabian tradition of monotheism still predominates (as it does among the American Indians) and of which the Hebrew tradition constitutes only a *small part*, that Mohammed's religious revolution, like *every* religious movement, was *formally a reaction*, an alleged return to the old, simple customs.

That Jewish so-called Holy Scripture is nothing more than a record of the old-Arabian religious and tribal tradition, modified by the early separation of the Jews from their consanguineous but nomadic neighbours—that is now perfectly clear to me. The circumstance that Palestine is surrounded on the Arabian side by nothing but deserts, Bedouin land, explains their distinct development. But the ancient Arabian inscriptions, traditions, and the Koran, and the ease with which all genealogies, etc., can now be unravelled prove that the main content was Arabic or rather Semitic in general, the position is rather similar here with regard to the Edda and the German heroic saga.

Yours,
F. E.

28

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 2, 1853

...With regard to the Hebrews and Arabs your letter was very interesting for me. By the way: 1) a *general* relationship can be proved, among all Oriental tribes, between the settlement of one part of the tribes and the continued nomadic life of the others from the beginning of this process. 2) In Mohammed's time the trade route from Europe to Asia had been significantly modified and the cities of Arabia, whose share in the trade with India, etc., had been considerable, were in a state of commercial decay; this in any case also lent impetus. 3) As to religion, the question resolves itself into the general and therefore easily answered one: Why does the history of the East *appear* as a history of religions?

On the formation of Oriental cities one can read nothing more brilliant, vivid and striking than old François Bernier (nine years physician to Aurung-Zebe): *Travels Containing a Description of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, etc.*^a He also describes the military system, the way these great armies were fed, etc., very well. On these two points he remarks, among other things:

"The cavalry forms the principal section, the infantry is not so big as is generally rumoured, unless one confuses the soldiers properly speaking with all the servants and people from the bazaars or markets who follow the army; for in that case I could well believe that they would be right in putting the number of men in the army accompanying the king alone at 200,000 or 300,000 and sometimes even more, when for example it is certain that he will be absent from the capital for a long time. And this will not appear so very astonishing to those who know the strange encumbrance of tents, kitchens, clothes, furniture and quite frequently even of women, and consequently also of elephants, camels, oxen, horses, porters, foragers, provisioners, merchants of all kinds and servitors whom these armies carry in their wake, and who understand the particular condition and government of a country, where the *king is the one and only proprietor of all the land* in the kingdom, from which it follows as a necessary consequence that a whole *capital city* like Delhi or Agra lives almost entirely on the army and is therefore obliged to follow the king if he takes the field for any length of time. These towns therefore neither are nor can be anything like Paris, *being virtually nothing but military camps*, only a little better and more conveniently situated than those set up in the open country."

On the occasion of the march of the Great Mogul into Kashmir with an army of 400,000 men, etc., he says:

^a F. Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des états du grand Mogol, de l'Indoustan, du Royaume de Cachemire, etc.*, Tomes I-II, Paris, 1830.—Ed.

“The difficulty is to know whence and how such a great army, such a great number of men and animals, can subsist in the field. For this it is only necessary to suppose, what is perfectly true, that the Indians are very moderate and very simple as regards food, and that of all that great number of horsemen not the tenth nor even the twentieth part eats meat during the march. So long as they have their *kicheri*, or mixture of rice and other vegetables, over which when it is cooked they pour melted butter, they are satisfied. Further it is necessary to know that camels are possessed of extreme endurance at work, and can long resist hunger and thirst, live on little and eat anything, and that as soon as the army has arrived the camel drivers lead them to graze in the open country where they eat whatever they can find. Moreover, the same merchants who keep the bazaars in Delhi are forced to maintain them during campaigns too, and so do the small merchants, etc.... And finally with regard to forage, all these poor folks go roaming all over the countryside to buy something there and thus to earn a little. They mainly and commonly resort to scouring entire fields with a sort of small trowel, then they thrash or cleanse the small herbs collected, and bring them along to sell to the army....”

Bernier rightly regards the fact that there is *no private property in land* as the basis of all phenomena in the East, he refers to Turkey, Persia and Hindustan. This is the real key, even to the Oriental heaven....

29

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, June 6 [1853]

...The absence of property in land is indeed the key to the whole of the East.⁵⁷ Herein lies its political and religious history. But how does it come about that the Orientals have not arrived at landed property, even in its feudal form? I think it is mainly due to the climate, taken in connection with the nature of the soil, especially with the great stretches of desert which extend from the Sahara straight across Arabia, Persia, India and Tatar⁵⁸ up to the highest Asiatic plateau. Artificial irrigation is here the first condition of agriculture and this is a matter either for the communes, the provinces or the central government. An Oriental government never had more than three departments: finance (plunder at home), war (plunder at home and abroad), and public works (provision for reproduction). The British Government in India has administered Nos. 1 and 2 in a more narrow-minded manner and dropped No. 3 entirely, so that Indian agriculture is being ruined. Free competition discredits itself there completely. The artificial fertilisation of the land, which immediately ceased when the irrigation system fell into decay, explains the

fact which otherwise would be rather odd that whole regions which were once brilliantly cultivated are now waste and bare (Palmyra, Petra, the ruins in the Yemen, and countless districts in Egypt, Persia and Hindustan); it explains the fact that one single devastating war could depopulate a country for centuries and strip it of its whole civilisation. I think that the destruction of the South-Arabian trade before Mohammed, which you very rightly regard as one of the chief factors in the Mohammedan revolution must also be included here. I do not know the commercial history of the first six centuries after Christ thoroughly enough to be able to judge how far the general material situation in the world made the trade route through Persia to the Black Sea and through the Persian Gulf to Syria and Asia Minor preferable to the route over the Red Sea. But in any case the relative security of the caravans in the ordered Persian Empire of the Sassanids was not without considerable effect, while between 200 and 600 A. D. the Yemen was almost continuously subjugated, invaded and plundered by the Abyssinians. The cities of Southern Arabia, which were still flourishing in the time of the Romans, were sheer wastes and ruins in the seventh century: within five hundred years the neighbouring Bedouins had adopted purely mythical, fabulous traditions of their origin (see the Koran and the Arabian historian Novairi), and the alphabet in which the inscriptions in those parts are written was almost totally unknown, *although there was no other*, so that even *writing* had actually fallen into oblivion. Besides a "superseding" caused perhaps by the general commercial situation things of this sort presuppose an act of direct and violent destruction which can only be explained by the Ethiopian invasion. The expulsion of the Abyssinians took place about forty years before Mohammed and was obviously the first act of the awakening Arab national consciousness, which was also stimulated by Persian invasions from the North, which penetrated almost as far as Mecca. I shall take up the history of Mohammed himself only in the next few days; so far, however, it seems to me to bear the character of a Bedouin reaction against the settled but demoralised fellaheen of the towns, whose religion at that time was also in a state of disintegration, it was a compound of a debased nature-cult with debased Judaism and Christianity.

Old Bernier's^a material is really very fine. It is a real delight once more to read something by a sober, clear-headed old Frenchman, who always hits the nail on the head and does not seem to be aware of it....

^a Engels is alluding to Bernier's book *Voyages contenant la description des états du Grand Mogol....—Ed.*

30

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 14, 1853

...Carey, the American economist, has published a new book, *Slavery at Home and Abroad*.^a "Slavery" here includes all forms of servitude, wage slavery, etc. He has sent me his book and has quoted me repeatedly (from the *Tribune*), sometimes as "a recent English writer", sometimes as a "correspondent of the *New-York Tribune*".⁵⁹ I told you before that in his previously published works this man described the "harmony" of the economic foundations of the bourgeois system and attributed all the mischief to superfluous interference by the state. The state was his bogey. Now he is singing another tune. The root of all evil is the centralising effect of modern industry. But this centralising effect is England's fault, because she has become the workshop of the world and forces all other countries back to crude agriculture, divorced from manufacture. For England's sins the Ricardo-Malthus theory and especially Ricardo's theory of rent of land are in their turn responsible. The necessary consequence alike of Ricardo's theory and of industrial centralisation would be communism. And so as to escape all this, so as to confront centralisation with localisation and a union of industry and agriculture spread throughout the country, our ultra-free-trader finally recommends *protective tariffs*. In order to escape the effects of bourgeois industry, for which he makes England responsible, he resorts like a true Yankee to hastening this development in America itself by artificial means. His opposition to England, moreover, throws him into *Sismondian* praise of petty bourgeois ways in Switzerland, Germany, China, etc. This is the same fellow who used to sneer at France for her likeness to China. The only thing of positive interest in the book is the comparison between the former English Negro slavery in Jamaica, etc., and the Negro slavery of the United States. He shows that the main body of Negroes in Jamaica, etc., always consisted of newly imported barbarians, as under English treatment the Negroes were not only unable to maintain their population but even two-thirds of the number annually imported perished; the present generation of Negroes in America, on the other hand, is a native product, more

^a Marx is evidently referring to H. C. Carey's *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign*.—Ed.

or less Yankeeified, English-speaking, etc., and therefore *fit for emancipation*.

The *Tribune* is of course hard at it trumpeting Carey's book. Both indeed have this in common, that under the guise of Sismondian-philanthropic-socialist anti-industrialism they represent the protectionist bourgeoisie, i. e., the industrial bourgeoisie of America. This also explains the secret why the *Tribune* in spite of all its "isms" and socialist humbug, can be the "leading journal" in the United States.

Your article on Switzerland^a was of course an indirect smack at the leading articles in the *Tribune* (against centralisation, etc.), and *its* Carey. I have continued this hidden warfare in my first article on India,^b in which the destruction of the native industry by England is described as *revolutionary*. This will be very shocking to them. Incidentally, the entire British management in India was swinish, and is to this day.

The stationary character of this part of Asia—despite all the pointless movement on the political surface—is fully explained by two circumstances which supplement each other: 1) the public works were the business of the central government; 2) moreover the whole empire, not counting the few larger towns, was divided into *villages*, each of which possessed a completely independent organisation and formed a little world in itself. In a parliamentary report these villages are described as follows:

"A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some 100 or 1000 acres of arable and waste lands; politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Every village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community, or republic. Officials: 1) the *Potail*, Goud, Mundil, etc., as he is termed in different languages, is the head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within the village... 2) The *Curnum*, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the registrar. 3) The *Taliary*, or *Sthulwar* and 4) the *Totie*, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops. 5) The *Neergunttee* distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields. 6) The *Joshee*, or astrologer, announces the seedtimes and harvests, and the lucky or unlucky days or hours for all the operations of farming. 7) The *smith* and 8) the *carpenter* frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer. 9) The *potter* fabricates the only utensils of the village. 10) The *washerman* keeps clean the few garments... 11) The *barber* and 12) the *silversmith*, who often at the same time is also *poet* and *schoolmaster* of the village—all in one person. Then comes the *Brahmin* for worship. Under this simple form of municipal government,

^a F. Engels, "Switzerland, Political Position of This Republic", *New York Daily Tribune*, No. 3770, May 17, 1853.—*Ed.*

^b Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India", *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853 (See Marx and Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 166-72).—*Ed.*

the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and although the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged."⁶⁰

The Potal is usually hereditary. In some of these communities the lands of the village are cultivated in common, in most cases each occupant tills his own field. Within them there is slavery and the caste system. The waste lands are for common pasture. Domestic weaving and spinning is done by wives and daughters. These idyllic republics, where only the *boundaries of their village* are jealously guarded against the neighbouring village, still exist in a fairly well-preserved form in the North-Western parts of India, which were only recently acquired by the English. I do not think that one can envisage a more solid foundation for Asiatic despotism and stagnation. And however much the English may have Hibernicised the country, the breaking up of those stereotyped primitive forms was the *sine qua non* for Europeanisation. The tax-gatherer alone could not achieve this. The destruction of their ancient industry was necessary to deprive the villages of their self-supporting character.

In Bali, the island off the east coast of Java, this Hindu organisation, together with Hindu religion, is still intact—its traces, moreover, like those of Hindu influence, are to be found throughout Java. As to the *question of property*, this is a very *controversial* one among the English writers on India. In the broken hillcountry south of Krishna, property in land does seem to have existed. On the other hand Sir Stamford Raffles, former *English* Governor of Java, observes in his *History of Java* that in Java the sovereign was absolute landlord of the whole surface of the land "where rent to any considerable amount was attainable". In any case it seems to have been the Mohammedans who first established the principle of "no property in land" throughout the whole of Asia.

About the villages mentioned above I must also note that they already figure in Manu⁶¹ and that according to him the whole organisation is based on them. Ten villages are placed under a superior collector, then a hundred and then a thousand.

Write to me soon.

Yours,
K. M.

1854

31

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

‡ [London,] July 27, 1854

...A book that has interested me very much is Thierry's *Histoire de la formation et du progrès du Tiers Etat* [*History of the Formation and Progress of the Third Estate*], 1853. It is strange how indignant this gentleman—the father of the “class struggle” in French historiography—waxes in his preface at the “new people”, who now also see an antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and who claim to detect traces of this antagonism even in the history of the third estate before 1789. He is at great pains to prove that the third estate includes all social estates except the nobility and clergy, and that the bourgeoisie plays its part as the representative of all these different elements. He quotes, for instance, from the reports of the Venetian Embassy:

“Those who are called the estates of the realm are of three orders of persons, i.e., the clergy, the nobility, and the rest who by common consent may be called the *people*.”

If M. Thierry had read our things he would know that the determined opposition of the bourgeoisie to the people begins of course only when the bourgeoisie as the third estate does no longer confront the clergy and nobility. As to the “historical roots”, “of an antagonism *born yesterday*”, his book provides the best proof that these “roots” came into existence as soon as the third estate appeared. According to his way of thinking this otherwise clever critic ought to have concluded from the “*Senatus populusque Romanus*”^a that there was never any other antagonism in Rome except that between the Senate and the people. What has interested me is to see in the documents he quotes that the word “*catalla, capitalia*”—capital—appears with the rise of the communes. Moreover, he has proved without wanting to that nothing did more to retard the victory of the French bourgeoisie than the fact that it did not decide until 1789 to make common

^a The Senate and the Roman people.—*Ed.*

cause with the peasants. The description is very good, though there is no synopsis:

1) That from the first, or at least after the rise of the towns, the French bourgeoisie gains too much influence by constituting itself the Parliament, the bureaucracy, etc., and not as in England merely through commerce and industry. This is certainly still characteristic even of present-day France.

2) From his account it can be excellently demonstrated that the class arises, when the different forms in which its centre of gravity lies at different times and the various factions which gained influence through these forms are breaking down. This series of metamorphoses, leading up to the domination of the class, has never in my opinion—at any rate so far as the material is concerned—been thus presented before. Unfortunately, in dealing with the guild masters, wardens, etc.—with the forms, in short, in which the industrial bourgeoisie developed—he has confined himself almost entirely to general and generally-known phrases, although here too he alone knows the material. What he develops and emphasises well is the conspiratorial and revolutionary character of the municipal movement in the twelfth century. The German emperors—Frederick I and Frederick II for instance—issued edicts against these “*communiones*”, “*conspiraciones*”, and “*conjuraciones*”,^a quite in the spirit of the German Federal Diet.⁶² For instance, in 1226 Frederick II takes it on himself to declare all “*consulates*”⁶³ and other free municipal bodies in the cities of Provence null and void:

“It has recently been brought to our notice that the citizens of certain cities, hamlets and other places, have, of their own accord, constituted tribunals, authorities, consulates, administrations and certain other institutions of this kind ... and because among certain of them ... such things have already developed into abuse and malpractices ... we hereby in virtue of our imperial power revoke these tribunals, etc., and also the concessions in regard to them obtained by our sure knowledge through the Counts of Provence and of Forcalquier, and declare them null and void.”

Further:

“We prohibit, also, every manner of convention and sworn confederacy within and without the cities: between city and city, between person and person or between city and person.” (Constitutio pacis Frederici I [Peace Charter of Frederick I].)

“That no city and no township may organise communes, institutions, unions, leagues or sworn confederacies of any kind, no matter what they may call themselves, and that without the agreement of their lord we neither can nor ought to allow the cities and townships formed in our empire the right to establish communes, institutions ... or sworn confederacies of any kind, no matter by what name they may call themselves.” (Henrici regis sententia contra communiones civitatum. [Decree of King Henry Against City Communes.])

^a Communes, secret associations, sworn confederacies.—*Ed.*

Is not this exactly the same stiff German professorial style which used to fulminate in later days from the "Central Commission of the Confederation"?⁶⁴ The *commune jurée*^a penetrated no further into Germany than Treves, and there Emperor Frederick I made an end of it in 1161:

"Every commune of the citizens of Treves which is also called sworn confederacy and which we abolished in the city ... but which as we have heard was nevertheless later established anew, shall be dissolved and declared null and void...."

This policy of the German emperors was utilised by the French kings to give secret support to the "sworn confederacies" and "communes" in Lorraine, Alsace, Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, Lyonnais, etc., and draw them away from the German Empire:

"According to the information which has reached our Highness, the King of France ... is seeking to undermine your sincere loyalty" (Rodolphus I., epistula ad cives of Besançon. [Rudolph I, letter to the citizens of Besançon.]

The same policy was used by those fellows to make the Italian cities Guelph.⁶⁵

It is quite amusing that the word "*communio*" was used as a term of abuse just as communism is today. The parson Guibert of Nogent writes, for instance:

"*Communio* is a new and extremely bad word."

There is frequently something rather dramatic about the way in which the philistines in the twelfth century invite the peasants to flee to the cities, to the sworn communes. Thus for instance the Charter of St. Quentin says:

"They" (the citizens of St. Quentin) "have sworn jointly each to give common aid to his confederate, to have common counsel, common responsibility and common defence. Jointly we have determined that whoever will enter our commune and will help us with his property whether by reason of flight or for fear of his enemies or for other offence ... shall be allowed to enter the commune, for the gate is open to all, and if his lord has unjustly detained his goods and will not treat him justly we shall see to it that justice be done."

Yours,
K. Marx

^a Sworn commune.—Ed.

1856

32

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] March 5, 1856

...The second object of Levy's^a mission was to give me information about the conditions of the workers in the Rhine province. The Düsseldorf workers are still in contact with the workers of Cologne, among whom there are no longer any "gentlemen". Propaganda is now however mainly centred on *the factory workers in Solingen, Iserlohn and its environs, Elberfeld, and Westphalia*. In the iron districts the chaps are very eager to open the attack and are only to be restrained by the prospect of a French revolution and because "the Londoners do not think the time has come yet". If things drag on much longer Levy thinks it will be hardly possible to prevent a rising. But an insurrection in Paris would certainly be taken as the signal. These people seem to be firmly convinced that *we and our friends will hasten to them from the very first moment*. Naturally they feel the need of political and military leaders. Nobody can blame them for that. But I am afraid that with their highly naturalistic plans they will be smashed up four times over perhaps even before we are able to leave England. In any case we owe them a precise statement of what can and what cannot be done from a military point of view. I said, of course, that *if circumstances permitted* we would come to the Rhenish workers; that any rising on their own, without initiative in Paris, Vienna or Berlin, would be senseless; that if Paris does give the signal, it would be well to risk everything in any event, for then even a temporary defeat could have had consequences only temporarily; that I would seriously consult my friends on the question of what could be done directly by the working-class population of the Rhine province itself, and that after a while they should send someone to London again, but should do *nothing* without previous arrangement.

The Elberfeld (or Barmen?) tanners, who in 1848 and 1849 were very reactionary, are now particularly revolutionary minded. Levy assured me that you personally are considered "their" man

^a Levy visited Marx on behalf of German workers.—*Ed.*

by the workers in Wuppertal. By the way, along the Rhine, the belief in a revolution in France seems fairly widespread and even the philistines say: This time it will be quite different from 1848. This time there will be people like Robespierre, etc., instead of the chatterboxes of 1848. The prestige of the democrats has fallen very low, at least on the Rhine.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

33

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, April 16, 1856

...The day before yesterday a little banquet was given to celebrate the anniversary of the *People's Paper*.⁶⁶ On this occasion I accepted the invitation, as the times seemed to demand it, and all the more so since I *alone* (as announced in the *Paper*) of all the refugees had been invited and the first toast too fell to me, i.e., it was to be proposed by me to the sovereignty of the proletariat in all countries. So I made a little English speech which however, I shall not have printed. The aim which I had in mind was achieved. M. Talandier, who had to buy his ticket for 2s. 6d., and the rest of the gang of French and other refugees have convinced themselves that we are the only "intimate" allies of the Chartists and that though we refrain from public demonstrations and leave open flirtation with Chartism to the Frenchmen, we have it in our power to reoccupy at any time the position already historically due us. This has become all the more necessary because at the already mentioned meeting of February 25 under Pyat's chairmanship, that German lout *Scherzer* (old boy) came forward and in truly awful Straubinger style denounced the German "men of learning", the "intellectual workers" who had left them (the louts) in the lurch and thus forced them to discredit themselves in front of the other nations. You know this *Scherzer* from Paris days. I have had some more meetings with friend *Schapper* and have found him a very repentant sinner. The retirement in which he has lived for the last two years seems rather to have sharpened his mental powers. You will understand that in case of certain contingencies it may be good to have the man at hand, and still more out of Willich's hands. *Schapper* is now furious with the louts in Windmill Street.⁶⁷

I'll attend to your letter to Steffen. You should have kept Levy's letter there. Do that in general with all letters I don't ask you to send back to me. The less they are mailed the better. I fully agree with you about the Rhine province. The fatal thing for us is that I see something looming in the future which will smack of "treason to the fatherland". It will depend very much on the turn of things in Berlin whether we are forced into a position similar to that of the Mainz Clubbists⁶⁸ in the old revolution. That would be hard. We who are so enlightened about our worthy brothers on the other side of the Rhine! The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid....

34

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, May 23, 1856

Dear Marx,

During our tour in Ireland⁶⁹ we went from Dublin to Galway on the west coast, then twenty miles north inland, then to Limerick, down the Shannon to Tarbert, Tralee, Killarney and back to Dublin—a total of about 450 to 500 English miles inside the country itself, so that we have seen about two-thirds of the whole country. With the exception of Dublin, which bears the same relation to London as Düsseldorf does to Berlin and has quite the character of a small one-time capital, it is moreover built entirely in the English style, the look of the entire country, and especially of the towns, is as if one were in France or Northern Italy. Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, country squires in pleasing profusion and a total absence of any industry at all, so that it would be difficult to understand what all these parasitic plants live on if the distress of the peasants did not supply the other half of the picture. "Disciplinary measures" are evident in every corner of the country, the government meddles with everything, of so-called self-government there is not a trace. Ireland may be regarded as the first English colony and as one which because of its proximity is still entirely governed in the old way, and one can already notice here that the so-called liberty of English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies. I have never seen so many gendarmes in any country, and the local constabulary, who are armed with carbines, bayonets and

handcuffs, have developed the Prussian gendarme's alcoholic expression to its highest perfection.

Characteristic of this country are its ruins, the oldest dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, the latest from the nineteenth—with every intervening period. The most ancient are all churches; after 1100, churches and castles; after 1800, houses of peasants. The whole of the west, especially in the neighbourhood of Galway, is covered with decaying peasant houses, most of which have only been deserted since 1846. I never thought that famine could have such tangible reality. Whole villages are devastated, and in between lie the splendid parks of the lesser landlords, who are almost the only people still living there, mostly lawyers. Famine, emigration and clearances⁷⁰ together have accomplished this. There are not even cattle to be seen in the fields. The land is an utter desert which nobody wants. In County Clare, south of Galway, it is somewhat better. Here there are at least cattle, and the hills towards Limerick are excellently cultivated, mostly by Scottish farmers, the ruins have been cleared away and the country has a civilised appearance. In the South-West there are a lot of mountains and bogs but there is also wonderfully luxuriant forest land; beyond that again fine pastures, especially in Tipperary, and towards Dublin there is land which, one can see, is gradually coming into the hands of big farmers.

The country was completely ruined by the English wars of conquest from 1100 to 1850 (for in effect both the wars and the state of siege lasted as long as that). It has been established that most of the ruins were produced by destruction during the wars. The people itself has got its specific character from this, and with all their national Irish fanaticism the fellows feel that they are no longer at home in their own country. Ireland for the Saxon! That is now being put into practice. The Irishman knows that he cannot compete with the Englishman, who comes equipped with means superior in every respect; emigration will go on until the predominantly, indeed almost exclusively, Celtic character of the population has disappeared. How often have the Irish started out to achieve something, and every time they have been crushed, politically and industrially. By consistent oppression they have been artificially converted into an utterly impoverished nation and now, as everyone knows, fulfil the function of supplying England, America, Australia, etc., with prostitutes, casual labourers, pimps, pickpockets, swindlers, beggars and other rabble. Debasement is also a characteristic feature of the aristocracy. The landowners, who everywhere else have become bourgeoisified, are here completely impoverished. Their country-seats are surrounded by enormous, amazingly beautiful parks, but all around is waste land, and it is impossible to see where the

money is to come from. These fellows are too funny for words. Of mixed blood, mostly tall, strong, handsome chaps, they all wear enormous moustaches under colossal Roman noses, give themselves the false military airs of retired colonels, travel around the country after all sorts of pleasures, and if one makes an inquiry, they haven't a penny, are deep in debts, and live in dread of the Encumbered Estates Court.⁷¹

Concerning the ways and means—repression and corruption—by which England has ruled this country long before Bonaparte attempted to do this, I shall write anon if you won't come over soon. How about it?

Yours,
F. E.

35

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] October 30, 1856

...In Mieroslowski^a you will notice yourself: 1) that the same person who considers "a diplomatic kingdom" in Poland impossible wanted to make there "*a diplomatic revolution*", i.e., under the auspices of Louis Bonaparte and Palmerston; 2) that the fate of the "democratic" Lechitic community was inevitable. The dominium proper is usurped by the crown, the aristocracy, etc.; the patriarchal relations between the dominium and the peasant communities lead to serfdom; optional parcellation creates a sort of *peasant middle class*, the *Equestrian Order*,⁷² to which the peasant can rise only so long as war of conquest and colonisation continue, both of which, however, are also conditions which accelerate his downfall. As soon as the limit has been reached this Equestrian Order, incapable of playing the role of a real middle class, is transformed into the lumpenproletariat of the aristocracy. The dominium and the peasants among the Latin population of Moldavia, Walachia, etc., have a similar fate. This kind of development is interesting because here serfdom can be shown to have arisen in a purely economic way, without the intermediate link of conquest and racial dualism....

^a Ludwig Mieroslowski, *De la nationalité polonaise dans l'équilibre européen* (The Polish Nation Within the European Balance of Power).—Ed.

36

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] December 2, 1856

...Incidentally, what has definitely decided me for Poland, in the course of my recent studies of Polish history, is the historical fact that the intensity and vitality of all revolutions since 1789 can be gauged pretty accurately by their attitude to Poland. Poland is their "external" thermometer. This can be demonstrated in detail by French history. It is obvious in our short German revolutionary epoch, and equally so in the Hungarian. Of all the revolutionary governments, including that of Napoleon I, the Committee of Public Safety forms an exception only because it refused intervention not from weakness but from "mistrust". In 1794 they summoned the representative of the Polish insurgents before them and put the following questions to this "citizen":

"How is it that your Kosciuszko is a popular dictator and yet suffers a king^a alongside of him, who, moreover, as Kosciuszko must be aware, has been put on the throne by Russia? How is it that your dictator does not dare to carry out a general levy of the peasants, for fear of the aristocrats who do not want 'hands' to be taken away from them? How is it that his proclamations lose their revolutionary tone in proportion to the distance which his line of march removes him from Cracow? How is it that he *immediately* punished the people's insurrection in Warsaw with the gallows, while the aristocratic 'traitors to their country' wander freely about or are sheltered behind the lengthy formalities of a trial? Answer!"

Thereupon the Polish "citizen" felt obliged to remain silent.

What do you say to Neuchâtel and Valangin?⁷³ This case caused me to improve my highly defective knowledge of Prussian history. Indeed the history of the world has never produced anything more sordid. The long history of how the nominal kings of France became real kings is also full of petty struggles, treachery and intrigues. But it is the history of the origin of a nation. Austrian history, which shows how a vassal of the German Empire founded a dynastic power, becomes interesting from the circumstance that, thanks to entanglements with the East, Bohemia, Italy, Hungary, etc., the vassal defrauds himself in his capacity as emperor; and ultimately because the dynastic power assumes such dimensions that Europe fears it will become a universal monarchy. There is nothing of this sort in Prussia. She never subjugated a single powerful Slav nation and in five hundred years was never able to succeed even in getting hold of Pomerania until she finally got it by "exchange". In fact, the

^a Stanislas II Augustus Poniatowski.—*Ed.*

Margraviate of Brandenburg—since it got into the hands of the Hohenzollerns—never made any real *conquests* except *Silesia*. It is presumably because this is their *only* conquest, that Frederick II is called the “Unique”! Petty thieving, bribery, direct purchase, legacy hunting, etc.—all this shabby business is what the history of Prussia amounts to. And whatever else is interesting in feudal history—the struggle between overlord and vassals, trickery with the towns, etc.—is here all caricatured on a diminutive scale because the towns are petty and boring, the feudal lords insignificant louts, and the sovereign himself a nonentity. During the Reformation as during the French revolution—vacillating perfidy, neutrality, separate peace treaties, and trying to seize a few morsels thrown to her by Russia in the course of the various partitions which the latter arranged—so it was with Sweden, Poland, Saxony. Her list of rulers moreover comprised only three standard types following one another as night follows day, with irregularities which only changed the sequence but never introduced a new type—pietist, sergeant-major, and clown. What has kept the state on its legs through all this has been *mediocrity*—the golden mean—accurate book-keeping, avoidance of extremes, precision in drill, a certain home-bred meanness and “church regulations”. Disgusting!...⁷⁴

1857

37

MARX TO ENGELS IN RYDE

[London,] September 25, 1857

...Your "Army"^a is very well done; only its size made me feel as if I had been hit over the head, for it must do you a lot of harm to work so much. If I had known that you were going to work far into the night, I would rather have let the whole matter go hang.

The history of the *army* brings out more clearly than anything else the correctness of our conception of the connection between the productive forces and social relations. In general, the army is important as regards economic development. For instance, it was in the army that the ancients first fully developed a wage system. Similarly among the Romans the *peculium castrense* was the first legal form which recognised moveable property belonging to others than fathers of families. The case was similar with the guild system among the corporation of *fabri*.^b Here too the first use of machinery on a large scale. It seems even that the special value of metals and their use as money was originally—when Grimm's stone age had passed—based on their military significance. The division of labour *within* one branch of industry was also first carried out in the armies. The whole history of the forms of civil society is very strikingly epitomised here. If some day you can find time you must work the thing out from this point of view.

In my opinion, the only points which have not been included in your account are: 1) The first fully evolved system of mercenary troops, appeared on a large scale and suddenly among the Carthaginians (for our private use I will look up a book on the Carthaginian armies by a Berlin writer of which I heard only later). 2) The development of the army system in Italy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Tactical tricks, at any rate, were developed here. Extremely humorous too is Machiavelli's description (of which I will make abstracts for you) in his *History of Florence* of the way the Condottieri fought. (But—I prefer to bring the volume of Machiavelli with me if I come to see you in Brighton—when? His *History of Florence* is a masterpiece.)

^a Marx is referring to Engels's essay on the "Army" published in the *New American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. II, 1858.—Ed.

^b Craftsmen in the Roman army.—Ed.

And, finally, 3) the Asiatic military system as it first appeared among the Persians and then, though modified in a great variety of ways, among the Mongols, Turks, etc....

38

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] November 24, 1857

...Jones plays a very silly part. You know that long before the crisis—with no definite aim except to find some pretext for agitation during this lukewarm time—he had made arrangements for a Chartist conference, to which bourgeois radicals (not only Bright, but even fellows like Coningham) were also to be invited.⁷⁵ In general, a compromise was to be arrived at with the bourgeois by which *they* were to get the secret ballot if they would concede manhood suffrage to the workers. This proposal gave rise to divisions in the Chartist party which in their turn drove Jones to adhere more firmly to his scheme. Now instead of using the crisis to replace a badly selected pretext for agitation by real agitation, he clings to his nonsense and shocks the workers by preaching collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and at the same time he is far from inspiring the latter with the slightest confidence. Some of the radical papers are flattering him in order to ruin him completely. In his own paper^a that old ass Frost, whom he himself had boosted as a hero and whom he had designated president of his conference, has come out against him with an extremely rude letter in which he says among other things: If Jones considers the co-operation of the middle class necessary—and that *nothing* can be done *without* it—he should come out for it *bona fide*. Who gave him the right to draw up the programme of the conference *without* the allies? Who authorised him to designate Frost President and to play the dictator himself, etc?⁷⁶ So now he is in a hole, and for the first time is playing not merely a *silly* but an *ambiguous* part. I have not seen him for a long time, but will now visit him. I consider him honest, and as in England it is impossible for a *public character* to become impossible because of the follies, etc., he commits, it is only a question of his extricating himself as quickly as possible from his own snare. The ass should first *form* a party, for which he must go to the factory districts. Then the radical bourgeoisie will come to him and propose same compromises.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a *The People's Paper* (see Note 66).—Ed.

1858

39

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] January 14, 1858

...By the way, I am discovering some nice arguments. For instance, I have overthrown the whole doctrine of profit as it has existed up to now. The fact that by mere accident I again glanced through Hegel's *Logik* (Freiligrath found some volumes of Hegel which originally belonged to Bakunin and sent them to me as a present) has been of great service to me as regards the *method* of dealing with the material. If there should ever be time for such work again, I should very much like to make accessible to the ordinary human intelligence—in two or three printer's sheets—what is *rational* in the method which Hegel discovered but at the same time enveloped in mysticism....

What do you say about friend Jones? That the fellow has sold himself I am not yet willing to believe. His experience in 1848 may lie heavy on his stomach. With his great belief in himself he may think himself capable of exploiting the middle class or he may imagine that if only Ernest Jones were to become a member of Parliament, one way or another, the history of the world would be bound to take a new turn. The best of it is that Reynolds has now come out in his paper⁷⁷ as a fanatical opponent of the middle class and of all compromise—of course out of spite against Jones. Mr. B. O'Brien, likewise, has now become an irrepressible Chartist at any price. The only excuse for Jones is the inertia which at present pervades the working class in England. However this may be, he is at present on the way to becoming a dupe of the middle class or a renegade. The fact that he, who used anxiously to consult me about every bit of rubbish, is now equally anxious to avoid me, shows anything but a good conscience....

40

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] February 1, 1858

...*Heraclitus the Obscure*^a by the Lucid Lassalle is basically a very insipid compilation. With each of the many images by which Heraclitus works out for himself the unity of affirmation and negation, in steps Lassalle and takes the opportunity of treating us—always at full length—to some extract from Hegel's *Logic* which hardly gains by this process. He does it like a school-boy who has to prove in his exercise that he's got his "essence", "appearance" and "dialectical process" down pat. When the school-boy has mastered the speculative method, one can be sure that nevertheless he will be able to conduct this process of thought properly only according to the prescribed recipe and in the sacred forms. That is exactly the case with our Lassalle. The chap seems to have sought to make Hegel's *Logic* clear to himself through Heraclitus and never to have got tired of perpetually starting this process afresh. So far as erudition is concerned there is an enormous exhibition of it. But every expert knows how easy it is, when one has time and money, and, like Mr. Lassalle, can have any number of books from the Bonn University library sent direct to his home, to put together such a display of quotations. One can see what a wonderful swell the fellow seems to himself in this philological tinsel, moving with all the grace of a fellow who for the first time in his life is wearing fashionable dress. As most philologists are *not* familiar with the speculative way of thinking which predominates in Heraclitus, every Hegelian has the indisputable advantage of understanding what the philologist does not understand. (It would after all be strange if just because a fellow had learnt Greek he became a philosopher in *Greek* when he was not one in *German*.) But instead of simply taking all this for granted Mr. Lassalle treats us in a quasi-Lessing manner. In longwinded legal phraseology the Hegelian interpretation is vindicated against the false constructions of the philologists, false owing to their lack of special knowledge. So that we have the double pleasure, first, of seeing dialectical things we had almost forgotten reconstructed for us in full amplitude,

^a Marx refers to Ferdinand Lassalle's *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunklen von Ephesos* (*The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure of Ephesus*).—Ed.

and secondly, of having this "speculative heritage", presented as Mr. Lassalle's particular philological and juridical smartness and learnedness, vindicated against the unspeculative philologists. Incidentally, despite the fellow's boast that Heraclitus has up to now been a book with seven seals, he has in the main added *absolutely nothing new* to what Hegel has said in his *History of Philosophy*. He only brings it out in detail, which could of course have been done amply enough in a couple of printer's sheets. Still less does it occur to that bloke to reveal any critical reflections on dialectics itself. If all the fragments of Heraclitus were printed together they would hardly fill half a printer's sheet. Only a fellow who prints books at the expense of that awful "person"^a can allow himself to give two volumes of sixty sheets to the world on such a pretext.

There is a saying of "Heraclitus the Obscure" where, in order to explain the transformation of all things into their opposites, he concludes: "So gold is transformed into all other things and all things are transformed into gold." Gold, says Lassalle, is here money (which is correct) and money is value. Therefore the Ideal, the Universal, the One (value), and things, the Real, the Particular, the Many. He utilises this startling piece of penetration in order to give us, in a long note, an earnest of his discoveries in the science of political economy. Every word is a blunder, but declaimed with remarkable pretentiousness. I can see from this one note that the fellow is proposing to present political economy⁷⁸ in the Hegelian manner in his second great opus. He will learn to his cost that to develop a science by criticism to the point where it can be dialectically presented is an altogether different thing from applying an abstract ready-made system of logic to vague notions of a system of this kind.

But as I wrote to you immediately after his first letter of self-admiration, the Old-Hegelians and philologists must really have been pleased to find such an old-fashioned mind in a young man who is regarded as a great revolutionary. Besides, he flatters and he bows and scrapes to the right and left to ensure a favourable reception. As soon as I have run through that stuff I'll send it to you.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a This is an allusion to the Countess von Hatzfeldt.—*Ed.*

41

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE
IN DÜSSELDORF*London, February 22, 1858*

...I want to tell you how I am getting along with my work on economics.⁷⁹ For the last few months I have in fact been working on the final version. But the job is making very slow progress because problems which have for many years been the chief object of one's investigations constantly exhibit new aspects and call forth new doubts whenever they are to be put in final shape. Besides, I am not master of my time but rather its servant. I have only the night left for myself and very often a liver complaint with its frequent attacks and relapses interferes with this night work. Under all these circumstances it would be most convenient for me if I could publish the whole thing in instalments appearing at irregular intervals. This might also have the advantage of making it easier to find a publisher, as less working capital would have to be invested. I would be greatly obliged to you, of course, if you could try to find a businessman in Berlin [to undertake the printing]. By instalments I mean publication similar to those in which Vischer's *Aesthetics* appeared serially.

The first work in question is a *critique of the economic categories*, or, if you like, the system of bourgeois economy critically presented. It is a presentation of the system and simultaneously, through this presentation, a criticism of it. I am by no means sure how many printer's sheets the whole thing will add up to. If I had the time, leisure and means to finish the whole thing before handing it over to the public I would greatly condense it, as I have always liked the method of condensation. This way, however, printed in successive instalments, it may perhaps be easier for the public to understand, but it will surely work to the detriment of its form and the thing will necessarily be somewhat drawn out. Nota bene: as soon as you know whether *or not* it is possible to publish it in Berlin please write to me, because if it will not work out there I shall try Hamburg. Another point is that I must get paid by the publisher who undertakes the job, a necessity which may shipwreck the whole business in Berlin.

The presentation, that is, the manner of treatment, is wholly scientific, hence not in violation of any police regulations in the ordinary sense. The whole work is divided into six books. 1) Capital (contains some introductory chapters). 2) Landed Property. 3) Wage Labour. 4) The State. 5) International Trade. 6) World Market. I cannot of course refrain from criticising other econo-

mists now and then, and particularly from polemising against Ricardo, in so far as he himself, as a bourgeois, cannot help making blunders *even from the strictly economic point of view*. However, the critique and history of political economy and of socialism as a whole is to form the subject of another work. Finally, the brief *historical sketch* of the development of the economic categories, or relationships, is to be a third work. After all, I have a presentiment that now, when after fifteen years of study I have got so far as to be able to get down to the thing, turbulent movements without will probably interfere. But never mind. If I finish too late to find the world still interested in that sort of thing, the fault will obviously be my own....

42

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] April 2, 1858

...The following is a short outline of the first part.^a The whole business is to be divided into six books: 1) Capital. 2) Landed Property. 3) Wage Labour. 4) State. 5) International Trade. 6) World Market.

I. Capital contains four sections: a) *Capital* in general (this is the *subject-matter of the first part*). b) *Competition*, or the action of the many capitals upon one another. c) *Credit*, here capital as the general principle confronts the individual capitals. d) *Share capital* as the most highly developed form (turning into communism) together with all its contradictions. The transition of capital to landed property is at the same time historical, as the modern form of landed property is a product of the effect of capital upon feudal and other landed property. Similarly the transition of landed property to wage labour is not only dialectical but historical, since the final product of modern landownership is the general introduction of wage labour, which in turn appears as the basis of the whole thing. Well (it is difficult for me to write today) let us now come to the *corpus delicti*.

I. Capital. First section: Capital in general. (Throughout this section it is assumed that wages always remain at minimum. The movement of wages and the rise or fall of the minimum will be considered under wage labour. Further, landed property

^a Marx is referring to his work *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*).—Ed.

is taken as = 0, that is, landed property as a particular economic relation does not yet concern us. This is the only possible way to avoid dealing with all relations when discussing each particular relation.)

1) *Value* is reduced entirely to quantity of labour. Time as the measure of labour. Use-value—whether considered subjectively as usefulness of labour, or objectively as utility of the product—appears here simply as the material presupposition of value, which for the time being drops completely out of the economic determination of the form. Value as such has no other “substance” than labour itself. This determination of value,—which has been first worked out sketchily by Petty^a and properly by Ricardo^b—is merely the most abstract form of bourgeois wealth. In itself it already presupposes: the abolition of 1) primitive communism (India, etc.), 2) all undeveloped, pre-bourgeois modes of production not completely dominated by exchange. Although an abstraction, this is an historical abstraction which could only be evolved on the basis of a particular economic development of society. All objections to this definition of value are either derived from less developed relations of production, or are based on the confused idea of setting up the more concrete economic determinations (from which value is abstracted and which, on the other hand, can therefore also be regarded as a further development of it) in opposition to value in this abstract unqualified form. Considering the lack of clarity among the economists themselves as to how this abstraction is related to the later and more concrete forms of bourgeois wealth, these objections were more or less justified.

From the contradiction between the general character of value and its material existence in a particular commodity, etc.—these general characteristics are the same that later appear in money—arises the category of money.

2) *Money.*

A few observations about the precious metals as carriers of money relations.

a) *Money as measure.* Some notes on the *ideal* measure in Stewart, Attwood, Urquhart; put forward in a more comprehensible form by the advocates of labour-money (Gray, Bray,⁸⁰ etc. Some incidental thrusts at the Proudhonists). The value of a commodity translated into money is its *price*, which for the time being still appears only in this *purely formal* differentiation from value. According to the general law of value, a definite quantity of money merely expresses a definite quantity of mater-

^a W. Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London, 1667.—*Ed.*

^b D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, London, 1821.—*Ed.*

ialised labour. So long as money is the measure, the variability of its own value is immaterial.

b) *Money as a means of exchange, or simple circulation.*

Here only the simple form of this circulation is to be considered. All the circumstances which further determine it lie outside of it and are therefore considered only later. (They presuppose more developed relations.) If we call the commodity C and money M, simple circulation does, it is true, exhibit the two cycles or syllogisms: C—M—M—C and M—C—C—M (the latter is the transition to Section c), but the point of departure and the point of return are by no means identical, or, if so, only accidentally. Most of the so-called laws laid down by the economists treat money circulation not within its own terms but as included under and determined by higher movements. All this to be treated separately. (It belongs partly to the theory of credit; but partly it has also to be dealt with at points where money comes up again, but more fully defined.) Thus money here is considered as a means of circulation (*coin*). But at the same time also as the *realisation* (and not merely ephemeral realisation) of price. From the simple definition that the commodity posited as *price* is already nominally exchanged for money before it is actually exchanged, follows automatically the important economic law that *the amount of the circulating medium is determined by the prices and not vice versa*. (In this connection some historical observations on the controversy relating to this point.) It follows further that velocity can replace quantity, but that a *definite quantity* [of money] is necessary for the simultaneous acts of exchange, in so far as these are not related to one another as plus and minus; this offsetting and the consideration of it are however only to be touched on at this point anticipatorily. I shall not now go into the further development of this section but will only remark that the division into C—M and M—C is the most abstract and superficial form in which the possibility of crises is expressed. From the development of the law that price determines the amount of currency it follows that presuppositions are here made which by no means apply to all stages of society; it is absurd to take, for instance, the influx of money from Asia to Rome and its influence on Roman prices, and simply to put it beside modern commercial conditions. The most abstract definitions, when more carefully examined, always point to a further definite concrete historical basis. (Of course—since they have been abstracted from it in this particular form.)

c) *Money as money.* This is the development of the form M—C—C—M. Money as the existence of value independent of circulation; the material existence of abstract wealth. This is evident already in circulation, in so far as money does not merely

act as a means of circulation but as the realisation of price. In its capacity as (c), where (a) and (b) appear only as functions, money is the universal commodity of contracts (here the variability of its value, due to determination of value by labour time, is important), and an object of hoarding. (This function is still important in Asia and was generally important in the ancient world and the Middle Ages. Exists now only as a subordinate function in banking. In time of crisis money in this form is again important. Analysis of money in this form and of the delusions it has produced in the course of world history, etc. Destructive properties, etc.). As the materialisation of all the higher forms in which value will appear; definitive forms in which all value relations externally terminate. Money defined in this form however ceases to be an economic relation—it [the form] is effaced in its material carrier, gold and silver. On the other hand, in so far as money enters circulation and is again exchanged for C, the final process, the consumption of the commodity, in its turn falls outside the economic relation. Simple money circulation does not comprise the principle of self-reproduction and therefore points somewhere beyond itself. Money, as the exposition of its functions shows, posits the requisites of value which enters circulation, maintains itself in circulation and at the same time it posits circulation—that is, money posits *capital*. This transition is also historical. The antediluvian form of capital is trading capital, which always develops money. At the same time real capital arises from money, or merchants' capital, which gains control of production.

d) Simple circulation, considered by itself—and it is the surface of bourgeois society, obliterating the deeper operations from which it arises—reveals no difference between the objects of exchange, except formal and temporary ones. This is the *realm of freedom, equality, and of property based on "labour"*. Accumulation as it appears here in the form of hoarding, is only greater thriftiness, etc. The absurdity, on the one hand, of the preachers of economic harmony, the modern free traders (Bastiat, Carey,⁸¹ and others) to maintain this most superficial and abstract relation as *their* truth in contrast to the more developed relations of production and their antagonisms. [On the other hand] the absurdity of the Proudhonists and similar Socialists to oppose the ideas of equality, etc., corresponding to this exchange of equivalents (or things that are assumed to be equivalents) to the inequalities, etc., which result from this exchange and which are its origin. As the law of appropriation in this sphere there appears appropriation by labour, exchange of equivalents, so that the exchange merely returns the same value in a different material form. In short, everything is "lovely" but will very soon

come to a horrible end, and that owing to the law of equivalency. For we now come to

3) *Capital*.

This is really the most important part of the first instalment, about which I need your opinion most. But I cannot go on writing today. This filthy bilious attack makes it difficult for me to hold my pen and bending my head over the paper makes me giddy. So—for next time.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

43

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, July 14, 1858

...By the way, do send me Hegel's *Naturphilosophie* [*Philosophy of Nature*] as you promised. I am now doing some physiology and after that I shall turn to comparative anatomy. There are some highly speculative things here, all of which have however only recently been discovered; I am very eager to see if the old man did not scent something of them. This much is certain: if he had a philosophy of nature to write *today* the facts would come flying to him from every side. Incidentally, people have absolutely no conception of the progress made by the natural sciences in the last thirty years. For physiology the decisive factors have been, firstly, the tremendous development of organic chemistry, and secondly, the microscope, which has been properly used only for the last twenty years. The microscope has led to even more important results than chemistry. The main thing which has revolutionised the whole of physiology and for the first time made comparative physiology possible is the discovery of the cell—in plants by Schleiden and in animals by Schwann (about 1836). Everything is a cell. The cell is Hegel's "being-in-itself" and during its development it undergoes exactly the Hegelian process, resulting finally in the "idea", i.e., the particular complete organism.

Another result which would have pleased old Hegel is the correlation of forces in physics, or the law that under given conditions mechanical motion, that is, mechanical energy is transformed (e.g., by friction) into heat, heat into light, light into chemical affinity, chemical affinity (e.g., in the Voltaic pile) into electricity, electricity into magnetism. This type of trans-

formation can also take place differently, backwards or forwards. It has now been proved by an Englishman,^a whose name I cannot recall at the moment, that the conversion of these forces into one another takes place under quite definite quantitative relations, so that, for instance, a certain quantity of one force, say electricity, corresponds to a certain quantity of any of the others—e.g., magnetism, light, heat, chemical affinity (positive or negative, combining or dissolving), and motion. The idiotic theory of latent heat is thus abolished. But is this not a splendid material proof of the way in which the determinations of reflection are resolved into one another?

So much is certain: comparative physiology gives one a withering contempt for the idealistic exaltation of man over the other animals. At every step one is forced to recognise the most complete uniformity of structure with the rest of the mammals, and in its main features this uniformity extends to all vertebrates and even—in a less distinct way—to insects, crustaceans, tapeworms, etc. The Hegelian business of the qualitative leap in the quantitative series is also very fine here. Finally, among the lowest infusoria one reaches the primitive form, the simple, independently existing cell, which in turn is not to be distinguished by anything perceptible from the lowest plants (fungi consisting of single cells—the fungi of the potato and the vine diseases, etc.) or from the germs of the higher stages of development up to the human ovum and spermatozoon inclusive, and which also looks just like the independent cells within the living body (blood corpuscles, the cells of the epidermis and mucous membranes, the secretion cells of the glands, kidneys, etc.)....

44

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, October 7, 1858

...The business with Jones is very nasty. He has held a meeting here and spoken entirely along the lines of the new alliance.⁸² After this affair one is really almost driven to believe that the English proletarian movement in its old traditional Chartist form must perish completely before it can develop in a new, viable form. And yet one cannot foresee what this new form will look like. It seems to me moreover that Jones' new move, together with

^a The reference is to James Joule.—*Ed.*

the former more or less successful attempts at such an alliance, are indeed connected with the fact that the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat *alongside* the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable. The only thing that would help here would be a few thoroughly bad years, but since the gold discoveries these no longer seem so easy to come by....

r

45

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London [October 8,] 1858

...With the favourable turn of world trade at this moment (although the enormous accumulation of money in the banks of London, Paris and New York show that things are obviously still very far from all right) it is at least consoling that in Russia *the revolution has begun*, for I regard the convocation of the "Notables" to Petersburg⁸³ as such a beginning. In Prussia likewise things are worse than in 1847 and the absurd delusions as to the middle-class propensities of the Prince of Prussia will be dissolved in fury. It will do the French no harm if they see that the world can move without them. At the same time there are exceptionally big movements among the Slavs, especially in Bohemia, movements which are indeed counter-revolutionary but still add to the ferment of our movement. The Russian war of 1854-55, wretched though it was and though its results did not harm the Russians (but only Turkey), has evidently nevertheless hastened the present turn of things in Russia. The one circumstance which made the Germans in their revolutionary movement such complete satellites of France was the attitude of Russia. With an internal movement in Muscovy this bad joke is coming to an end. As soon as the development there becomes somewhat clearer we shall obtain proof of how far the worthy State Councillor Haxthausen allowed himself to be taken in by the "authorities" and by the peasants trained by the authorities.

We cannot deny that bourgeois society has experienced its sixteenth century a second time—a sixteenth century which will, I hope, sound the death-knell of bourgeois society just as the first one thrust it into existence. The specific task of bourgeois society is the establishment of a world market, at least in outline,

and of production based upon this world market. As the world is round, this seems to have been completed by the colonisation of California and Australia and the opening up of China and Japan. The difficult question for us is this: on the Continent the revolution is imminent and will moreover immediately assume a socialist character. Is it not bound to be crushed in this little corner, considering that in a far greater territory the movement of bourgeois society is still in the ascendant?

As regards China in particular an exact analysis of the movement of trade since 1836, has convinced me *firstly* that the increase of English and American exports (1844-46) proved in 1847 to be pure fraud and that also in the following ten years the average remained nearly stationary, while the imports into England and America from China grew enormously; *secondly* that the opening up of the five ports and the seizure of Hong-Kong only resulted in the trade passing from Canton to Shanghai. The other "emporiums" do not count. The chief reason for the failure of this market appears to be the opium trade, to which in fact any increase in the export trade to China is continually confined; but added to this is the internal economic organisation of the country, its minute agriculture, etc., which it will take an enormous time to break down. England's present treaty with China, which in my opinion was worked out by Palmerston in conjunction with the Petersburg Cabinet and which Lord Elgin took along with him when he went on his journey, is a mockery from beginning to end....

1859

46

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMAYER
IN MILWAUKEE

London, February 1, 1859

...I have broken off relations with Ernest Jones.⁸⁴ In spite of my repeated warnings—and although I accurately predicted what would happen, namely, that he would ruin himself and disorganise the Chartist Party—he has entered into negotiations with the bourgeois radicals. He is now a ruined man, but the harm he has done the English proletariat is enormous. The mistake will of course be made good, but a very favourable moment for action has been missed. Imagine an army whose general goes over to the enemy on the eve of the battle....

And now the main point.... My *Critique of Political Economy* will be published in instalments (the first part in eight or ten days from now) by Franz Duncker (Besser's publishing house) in Berlin. It is only thanks to Lassalle's extraordinary zeal and powers of persuasion that Duncker was induced to take this step. He has however provided himself with a way of escape—the *final contract depends on the sale of the first parts*. I divide political economy as a whole into six books:

Capital; Landed Property; Wage Labour; State; Foreign Trade; World Market.

Book I on capital consists of four sections. *Section I: Capital in General*, which comprises three chapters: (1) *The Commodity*; (2) *Money or Simple Circulation*; (3) *Capital*. (1) and (2), about ten sheets, forms the contents of the parts which are to be published first. You understand the *political* reasons which have moved me to hold back the third chapter, on "Capital", until I have established myself again....

The contents of the instalments about to be published is as follows:

Chapter I. The Commodity.

A. Historical Notes on the Analysis of Commodities.

{William Petty (an Englishman who lived during the reign of Charles II); Boisguillebert (Louis XIV); Benjamin Franklin

(the first of his early works,^a 1729); the Physiocrats; Sir James Steuart; Adam Smith; Ricardo and Sismondi.})

Chapter II. Money or Simple Circulation.

1. *The Measure of Value.*

B. *Theories Regarding the Standard of Money.* (Locke and Lowndes at the end of the 17th century; Bishop Berkeley (1750)^b; Sir James Steuart; Lord Castlereagh; Thomas Attwood; John Gray; the Proudhonists.)

2. *Medium of Circulation.*

- a. *The Metamorphosis of Commodities.*
- b. *The Circulation of Money.*
- c. *Coins and Tokens of Value.*

3. *Money.*

- a. *Hoarding.*
- b. *Means of Payment.*
- c. *World Money.*

4. *The Precious Metals.*

C. *Theories of the Medium of Circulation and of Money.* (The Monetary System; *Spectator*,⁸⁵ Montesquieu, David Hume; Sir James Steuart; Adam Smith, J. B. Say; the Bullion Committee, Ricardo, James Mill; Lord Overstone and his school; Thomas Tooke (James Wilson, John Fullarton).)

In these two chapters the foundation is also destroyed of the Proudhonist socialism now fashionable in France, which wants to leave private property in existence *but to organise* the exchange of private products; which wants *commodities* but not *money*. Communism must first of all get rid of this "false brother". But, apart from any polemical aim, you know that the analysis of the simple money-forms is the most difficult, because it is the most abstract part of political economy.

I hope to win a victory for our Party in the field of science. The party itself however must show now whether it is numerous enough to buy a sufficient number of copies to set the "moral scruples" of the bookseller at rest. The continuation of the whole venture depends on the sale of the first issues. Once I have a firm contract everything will be all right.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. Marx

^a Benjamin Franklin, *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, which was written in 1729 and published in 1731.—Ed.

^b The reference is to Berkeley's *The Querist*, London, 1750.—Ed.

47

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE IN BERLIN

London, February 4, 1859

Dear Lassalle,

No notice of receipt has arrived as yet from Mr. Duncker and I am therefore still not sure whether the manuscript^a is out of the hands of the *authorities*. You can see from the enclosed scrap of paper that it left London on January 26.

With regard to war: *everybody* here thinks that war in Italy is inevitable.⁸⁶ This much is certain: Mr. Emmanuel^b is serious about it and Mr. Bonaparte was serious about it. The latter is swayed by 1) *fear of Italian daggers*. Since Orsini's death he made many attempts in secret to trick the Carbonari,⁸⁷ and Plon-Plon, the husband of "Clotilde", acted as a go-between. 2) *Extremely serious financial straits*. In fact it is impossible to feed the French army any longer "in peace-time"; and Lombardy is a fat morsel. Besides, a war would make "war loans" again possible. Any other loan is "impossible". 3) In the last two years Bonaparte's reputation was daily diminishing in the eyes of all parties in France and his diplomatic transactions were also a string of failures. Something therefore simply *has* to be done to restore his prestige. Even in the rural districts there is much grumbling on account of the ruinously low grain prices and Mr. Bonaparte has sought in vain to screw up the price of wheat artificially by his decrees about granaries. 4) Russia eggs the parvenue in the Tuileries on. With a Pan-Slavic movement in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, South, North and East Hungary, Illyria, etc., and a war in Italy, Russia would be almost certain of breaking the resistance Austria is still offering her. (Russia is horrified by the prospect of an internal agrarian revolution and war abroad would perhaps be welcomed by the government as a diversion, quite apart from all kinds of diplomatic aims.) 5) Mr. Plon-Plon, son of the ex-King of Westphalia,^c and his clique (headed by Girardin and a very mixed mob of Hungarian, Polish and Italian pseudo-revolutionaries) do all in their power to force the issue. 6) War in Italy against Austria is the only war in which England, unable to come out directly *for* the pope, etc., and *against* so-called freedom, will

^a Marx refers to his *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy)* first published in Berlin in 1859 by F. Duncker.—*Ed.*

^b Victor Emmanuel II.—*Ed.*

^c Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia from 1807 to 1813.—*Ed.*

remain neutral, at least in the beginning. Russia, however, would keep Prussia in check in case the latter should evince a desire—which I believe she will not—to intervene already at the beginning of the fight.

On the other hand, it is quite certain that Mr. Louis Bonaparte is devilishly afraid of a really serious war: 1) That man is always full of doubts and, like all gamblers, by no means resolute. He always crawled up to the Rubicon, but people who were back of him always had to throw him in. At Boulogne and Strassburg and in December 1851⁸⁸ he was *invariably compelled* to put his plans at last into practice. 2) The extraordinary coolness with which his project was received in France is naturally not encouraging. The masses are indifferent. On the other hand, direct and serious remonstrances against it were made by: high finance, industry, and trade; the party of the priests; lastly, the top generals (Pélissier, for instance, and Canrobert). The military prospects are in fact not too bright, even if the boasting in the *Constitutionnel*⁸⁹ is taken at its face value. If France can scrape together, all in all, 700,000 men, 580,000 of them, at the highest estimate, will be fit for military service. Deduct 50,000 for Algiers; 49,000 gendarmes, etc.; 100,000 (minimum) for guarding the cities (Paris, etc.) and fortresses in France; 181,000 at the least for an army of observation on the Swiss, German and Belgian frontiers. That leaves 200,000, which is by no means an overwhelming force—even if you add the tiny Piedmontese army—against the Austrians in their entrenched positions on the Mincio and Adige.

However that may be, if Mr. Bonaparte retreats now, he is done for, as far as the mass of the French army is concerned; and this may induce him to advance after all.

You seem to believe that in such a war Hungary will rise. I doubt it very much. Austria will of course draw up an observation corps against Russia on the Galician-Hungarian border and this will at the same time keep Hungary in check. The Hungarian regiments (in so far as they are not, as has already happened to a large extent, divided up among their enemies, such as Czechs, Serbs, Slovenes, etc.), will be stationed in German provinces.

The war would of course have serious consequences, and in the long run certainly revolutionary ones. But at the start it will sustain Bonapartism in France, check the internal movement in England and Russia, arouse anew the pettiest passions in regard to the nationality issue in Germany, etc. and therefore, in my opinion, it will in the beginning have a counter-revolutionary effect in every respect....

48

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE IN BERLIN

London, April 19, 1859

...The class struggle is making most gratifying progress here in England. Unfortunately, at the present moment no Chartist newspaper exists any longer, so that about two years ago I had to discontinue my literary participation in this movement.

I am now coming to *Franz von Sickingen*.^a First of all, I must praise the composition and action, and that is more than can be said of any other modern German drama. In the second instance, leaving aside the purely critical attitude to this work, it greatly excited me on first reading and it will therefore produce this effect in a still higher degree on readers who are governed more by their feelings. And this is a second and very important aspect.

Now the other side of the medal: *First*—this is a purely formal matter—since you have written it in verse, you might have polished up your iambs with a bit more artistry. But however much *professional poets* may be shocked by such carelessness I consider it on the whole as an advantage, since our brood of epigonous poets have nothing left but formal polish. *Second*: The intended conflict is not simply tragic but is really the tragic conflict that spelled the doom, and with reason, of the revolutionary party of 1848-49. I can therefore only most heartily welcome the idea of making it the pivotal point of a modern tragedy. But then I ask myself whether the theme you took is suitable for a presentation of this conflict. Balthasar may really imagine that if Sickingen had set up the banner of opposition to imperial power and open war against the princes instead of concealing his revolt behind a knightly feud, he would have been victorious. But can we subscribe to this illusion? Sickingen (and with him Hutten, more or less) did not go under because of his cunning. He went under because it was as a *knight* and a *representative of a moribund class* that he revolted against the existing order of things or rather against the new form of it. Strip Sickingen of his individual traits and his particular culture, natural ability, etc., and what is left is—Götz von Berlichingen. Götz, that *miserable fellow*, embodies in adequate form the tragic opposition of the knights to the Emperor and princes; and that is why Goethe has rightly made him the hero.^b In so far as Sickingen—and even Hutten to a certain extent, although with regard to him,

^a A drama by Lassalle.—*Ed.*

^b Marx refers to Goethe's drama *Götz von Berlichingen*.—*Ed.*

and all ideologists of a class, statements of this kind ought to be considerably modified—fights against the princes (for the conflict with the emperor arises only because the Emperor of the knights turns into an Emperor of the princes), he is indeed only a Don Quixote, although one historically justified. The fact that he began the revolt in the guise of a knightly feud means simply that he began it in *knightly* fashion. Had he begun it otherwise he would have had to appeal directly and from the outset to the cities and peasants, i.e., precisely to the classes whose development was tantamount to the negation of the knights.

Hence, if you did not want to reduce the collision to that presented in *Götz von Berlichingen*—and that was not your plan—then Sickingen and Hutten had to succumb because they imagined they were revolutionaries (the latter cannot be said of Götz), and, just like the *educated* Polish nobility of 1830, on the one hand, made themselves exponents of modern ideas, while on the other they actually represented the interests of a reactionary class.⁹⁰ The *aristocratic* representatives of the revolution—behind whose watch-words of unity and liberty there still lurked the dream of the old empire and of club-law—should, in that case, not have absorbed all interest, as they do in your play, but the representatives of the peasants (particularly these) and of the revolutionary elements in the cities ought to have formed a quite significant active background. In that case you could to a much greater extent have allowed them to voice the most modern ideas in their most naive form, whereas now, besides *religious* freedom, *civil unity* actually remains the main idea. You would then have been automatically compelled to write more in *Shakespeare's* manner whereas I regard as your gravest shortcoming the fact that à la *Schiller*, you transform individuals into mere mouthpieces of the spirit of the time. Did you not yourself to a certain extent fall into the diplomatic error, like your Franz von Sickingen, of placing the Lutheran-knightly opposition above the plebeian Münzer opposition?...

49

ENGELS TO FERDINAND LASSALLE IN BERLIN

Manchester, May 18, 1859

...Now as far as the historical content^a is concerned, the two sides of the movement of that time which were of greatest interest to you—the national movement of the nobility, represented by

^a The reference is to Lassalle's drama *Franz von Sickingen*.—Ed.

Sickingen, and the humanistic-theoretical movement with its further development in the theological and ecclesiastical sphere, the Reformation—have been depicted by you very vividly and with justified reference to subsequent developments. What I like most here is the scene between Sickingen and the Emperor and that between the legate and the archbishop of Treves. (Here you have succeeded in drawing fine individual portraits when you present the contrast between the well-bred, politically and theoretically far-seeing legate, who has an aesthetic and classical education and the narrow-minded German ecclesiastical prince,—a portrayal which nevertheless follows directly from the *representative* nature of the two characters.) The pen picture in the Sickingen-Karl scene is also very striking. In Hutten's autobiography, whose *content* you rightly described as essential, you have certainly chosen a desperate means of working this content into the drama. Of great importance is also the talk between Balthasar and Franz in Act V, in which the former explains to his master the *really revolutionary* policy he should have followed. It is here that the really tragic manifests itself; and it seems to me that just because it is so significant it should have been emphasised somewhat more strongly already in Act III, where there are several convenient places. But I am again lapsing into minor matters.

The position of the cities and the princes of that time is also set forth on several occasions with great clarity and thus the *official* elements, so to speak, of the contemporary movement are fairly well accounted for. I have the impression however that you have not laid due stress upon the non-official, the plebeian and peasant elements and their concomitant representatives in the field of theory. The peasant movement was in its way just as national and just as much opposed to the princes as was that of the nobility, and the colossal dimensions of the struggle in which it succumbed contrast very strongly with the readiness with which the nobility, leaving Sickingen in the lurch, resigned itself to its historical calling, that of flunkeys. Even accepting your interpretation of the drama—which, as you will have seen, is somewhat too abstract, not realistic enough for me—I think the peasant movement deserves closer attention. Although the peasant scene with Fritz Joss is characteristic and the distinct personality of this "agitator" presented very correctly, it does not however depict with sufficient force the peasant unrest which already at that time was a swelling torrent, in contrast to the movement of the nobility. In accordance with *my* view of drama, which consists in not forgetting the realistic for the idealistic, Shakespeare for Schiller, the inclusion of the sphere of the so wonderfully variegated plebeian society of that day would have

supplied, in addition, entirely new material for enlivening the drama, an invaluable background for the national movement of the nobility in the foreground, and would have set this movement in the proper light. What peculiarly expressive types were produced during this period of the dissolution of the feudal bodies of retainers illustrated by the roaming beggar kings, unemployed *lansquenets* and adventurers of every description—a Falstaffian background which in an historical drama of *this* kind would have even greater effect than it did in Shakespeare! But apart from this, it seems to me that it is precisely by relegating the peasant movement to the rear that you have been induced, I believe, to misrepresent also one aspect of the national movement of the nobility and at the same time to allow the *really* tragic element in Sickingen's fate to escape you. As I see it, the majority of the nobility directly subject to the emperor had no intention of concluding an alliance with the peasantry at that time. Their dependence on incomes obtained by oppressing of the peasants did not permit this. An alliance with the cities would have been more feasible. But no such alliance was effected, or was effected only to a very limited extent. But a national revolution of the nobility could have been accomplished only by means of an alliance with the towns and the peasants, particularly the latter. Precisely herein lies, in my opinion, the whole tragedy of the thing, that this fundamental condition, the alliance with the peasants, was impossible, that the policy of the nobility had therefore to be a petty one, that at the very moment when it wanted to take the lead of the national movement, the *mass* of the nation, the peasants, protested against its leadership and it thus necessarily had to collapse. I am unable to judge to what extent your assumption that Sickingen really did have some connection with the peasants has any basis in history, and it does not really matter. Incidentally, as far as I remember, wherever Hutten in his writings addresses the peasants, he just lightly touches on this ticklish question concerning the nobility and seeks to focus the wrath of the peasants on the priests. But I do not in the least dispute your right to depict Sickingen and Hutten as having intended to emancipate the peasants. However, this put you at once up against the tragic contradiction that both of them were placed between the nobles, who were decidedly *against* this, and the peasants. Here, I dare say, lay the tragic collision between the historically necessary postulate and the practical impossibility of putting it into effect. By ignoring this aspect you reduce the tragic conflict to smaller dimensions, namely, that Sickingen, instead of at once tackling emperor and empire, tackled only a prince (although here too your correct intuition makes you bring in the peasants) and you simply let

him perish as a result of the indifference and cowardice of the nobility. But the motivation of this would have been quite different if you had previously brought out more emphatically the rumbling peasant movement and the mood of the nobility which became undoubtedly more conservative on account of the earlier peasant conspiracies of the "*Bundschuh*" and "*Arme Konrad*".⁹¹ This is of course only *one* way in which the peasant and plebeian movement could have been incorporated in the drama. At least ten other ways of doing this just as well or better are conceivable....

r

1860

50

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London, written after January 11, 1860]

...The notice in the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung* is very welcome.⁹² Your new pamphlet^a has made your position in Germany as military critic secure. As soon as an opportunity presents itself you must publish something signed by yourself and under your name stating: Author of *Po and Rhine*. By and by our dastardly enemies will realise that we impress the public without asking its leave, or that of its Betas, either.

In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America, started by the death of John Brown,⁹³ and on the other the movement of the slaves in Russia. You will have seen that the Russian nobility has thrown itself directly into agitation for a constitution and that two or three people from the most notable families have already wandered to Siberia. Alexander has at the same time spoilt his relations with the peasants by the latest Manifesto, which declares in so many words that "the communistic principle" must cease with emancipation. Thus the "social" movement has started in the West and in the East. This added to the impending collapse in Central Europe will be grandiose.

I have just seen in the *Tribune* that a new revolt of slaves took place in Missouri and was naturally suppressed.⁹⁴ But the signal has now been given. If this business gets serious by and by, what will become of Manchester?

Leonard Horner has resigned from his post. His last short report is full of bitter irony. Can't you find out if the Manchester mill-owners had a hand in this resignation?

The Factory Inspector's Reports (from "1855" to "1859, first half-year") show that the development of industry in England has been fantastic since 1850. The health of the workers (adults) has improved since your *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse* [*Condition of the Working-Class*] (which I read once more here in the Museum^b) but that of the children (mortality) has become worse.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a Engels' *Po und Rhein*, which was published anonymously.—*Ed.*

^b In the British Museum Library.—*Ed.*

1861

51

MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE IN BERLIN

London, January 16, 1861

Darwin's book^a is very important and it suits me well that it supports the class struggle in history from the point of view of natural science. One has, of course, to put up with the crude English method of discourse. Despite all deficiencies, it not only deals the death-blow to "teleology" in the natural sciences for the first time but also sets forth the rational meaning in an empirical way....

52

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] February 27, 1861

...As a relaxation in the evenings I have been reading Appian on the Roman Civil Wars in the original Greek. A very valuable book. The chap is an Egyptian by birth. Schlosser says he has "no soul", probably because in these civil wars he seeks to get to the root of the material foundation. Spartacus is revealed as the most splendid fellow in the whole of ancient history. Great general (no Garibaldi), noble character, real representative of the ancient proletariat. Pompey, an utter rotter; got his undeserved fame by snatching the credit, first for the successes of Lucullus (against Mithridates), then for the successes of Sertorius (Spain) etc., and as the "young man" of Sulla and others. As a general he was the Roman Odilon Barrot. As soon as he had to show his mettle against Caesar—he proved a lousy good-for-nothing.

^a Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*.—Ed.

Caesar made the greatest possible military mistakes—deliberately idiotic—in order to bewilder the philistine who was opposing him. An ordinary Roman general—say Crassus—would have wiped him out six times over during the struggle in Epirus.⁹⁵ But with Pompey everything was possible. Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour's Lost*, seems to have had an inkling of what Pompey really was.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

1862

53

MARX TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, February 26, 1862

...As for subscriptions to your essay,⁹⁶ I shall do *all I possibly can*, but expect little success. The ragtag and bobtail that make up the various societies—with the exception of the Workers' Educational Association which has no *funds* whatever—are all *constitutionally* disposed, and even favour the Prussian National Association.⁹⁷ Those fellows would rather give money to suppress an essay like yours. I must tell you, these Germans, young and old, are all very clever, robust, prudent and practical men; they consider people like you and me immature fools who have still not been cured of their revolutionary fantasies. And that riff-raff is as bad at home as it is here abroad. During my stay in Berlin and elsewhere I convinced myself that any attempt to influence that mob *by means of literature* was absolutely futile. The self-complacent stupidity of those fellows, who regard their press, that woebegone press, as an admirable elixir of life, is simply incredible. Add to this that mental lassitude: *caning* is the only means to resurrect the ordinary German who, ever since he lost his philosophical illusions and took to money-making, and moreover to the idea of "Little Germany" and "practical constitutionalism", has become a superficial impulsive clown....

54

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, May 23, 1862

...McClellan continues in his well-known manner. The Confederates⁹⁸ always escape him because he never goes straight for them, his excuse being that they are a good deal stronger than he. For that reason they of course always run away. Never yet has a war been waged in such a fashion, and for this he moreover gets a vote of thanks. However these small, unlucky rearguard engagements and the continual desertions are still sufficient

to demoralise the Confederates badly, and when it comes to the decisive battle, that will tell.

The capture of New Orleans is a daring feat on the part of the fleet. The passage of the forts was altogether excellent.⁹⁹ After this *everything* was simple. The moral effect on the Confederates was evidently enormous, and the material effect will have already made itself felt. Beauregard has now *nothing* more to defend in Corinth; the position had any meaning only so long as it covered Mississippi and Louisiana, and especially New Orleans. Beauregard has now been put strategically in such a position that the loss of a *single* battle leaves him no other choice than to disband his army into guerilla groups; for without a large town in the rear of his army, with large railway facilities and ample resources, he *cannot* hold masses of men together.

If the Confederate army in Virginia is beaten, it must, after the previous demoralising affairs, soon dissolve of itself into guerillas. It has, true enough, better chances, because the many streams on its line of retreat flow crosswise from the mountains to the sea, and because it is confronted by this donkey McClellan; nevertheless, in the nature of things, it will be driven either to accept a decisive battle or to break up into bands *without* a battle. Just as the Russians had to fight at Smolensk and Borodino, though *against* the will of the generals who judged the situation correctly.

Should Beauregard or the Virginia army win a battle, and be it ever so big, this can avail little. The Confederates are not in a position to make the least use of it. They cannot advance twenty English miles without getting stuck and must consequently await a renewed attack. They lack everything. Incidentally, I consider such an outcome to be quite impossible without direct treachery.

On a single battle, then, now hangs the fate of the Confederate armies; it still remains to examine the chances of guerilla warfare. It is most amazing that the population participated so little—or, rather not at all—in this war. After all in 1813, the lines of communication of the French were continually interrupted and harassed by Colomb, Lützow, Chernyshev and a score of other insurgents and Cossack leaders; in 1812 the population in Russia disappeared completely from the French line of march; in 1814 the French peasants armed themselves and killed patrols and stragglers of the Allies. But here nothing happens at all. People resign themselves to *the fate of the big battles* and console themselves with the thought that "*victrix causa diis*",^a etc. The boasting

^a *Victrix causa diis placuit*—the conquering cause was pleasing for the Gods.—*Ed.*

of war to the hilt has dissolved into mere muck. And guerillas are supposed to move on such terrain? I certainly expect that after the definite dissolution of the armies the "white trash" of the South will attempt something of the sort, but I am too firmly convinced of the bourgeois nature of the planters to doubt for a moment that this will make them rabid Union men forthwith. Just let the former try to engage in brigandage, and the planters will everywhere receive the Yankees with open arms. The bonfires along the Mississippi are due exclusively to the two Kentuckians who are said to have come to Louisville—certainly not *on* the Mississippi. The conflagration in New Orleans was easily organised and will be repeated in other towns; surely much else will be burnt. But this business must necessarily bring the split between the planters and businessmen on one side and the white trash on the other to a head and therewith secession is gone to blazes.

The fanaticism of the New Orleans businessmen for the Confederacy is simply explained by the fact that the fellows have had to take a huge quantity of Confederate scrip for hard cash. I know several instances of this here. This must not be forgotten. A good forced loan is an excellent means of fettering the bourgeois to the revolution and diverting them from their class interests through their personal interests.

Best regards to your wife and the girls.

Yours,
F. E.

55

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 18, 1862

...As for the rest, I am now hard at work and, peculiarly enough, with all the misery round about, my brainpan keeps going better than it has for years. I am stretching out this volume, since those German dogs estimate the value of books by their cubic contents.¹⁰⁰ By the way, I have now at long last got to the bottom of that sickening rent of land (which I do *not* want even to *hint at* in this part). I have long had misgivings concerning the absolute correctness of Ricardo's theory and have finally tracked down this humbug. Moreover, since we saw each other last, I have discovered a few nice and surprising new things concerning the part that will already be included in this volume.

Darwin,^a whom I have looked up again, amuses me when he says he is applying the "Malthusian" theory *also* to plants and animals, as if with Mr. Malthus the whole point were not that he does *not* apply the theory to plants and animals but only to human beings—and with geometrical progression—as opposed to plants and animals. It is remarkable how Darwin recognises among beasts and plants his English society with its division of labour, competition, opening up of new markets, "inventions", and the Malthusian "struggle for existence". It is Hobbes' *bellum omnium contra omnes*,^b and one is reminded of Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, where civil society is described as a "spiritual animal kingdom", while in Darwin the animal kingdom figures as civil society....

56

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] August 2, 1862

...It is a real wonder that I have nevertheless been able to carry on with the theoretical work as I have done. I now intend after all to bring the theory of rent already into this volume as a supplementary chapter, i.e., as an "illustration" of a principle laid down earlier.¹⁰¹ I will tell you in a few words what is set forth as a *lengthy and complicated story*, in order that you may *give me your opinion*.

You know that I divide capital into two parts: *constant capital* (raw material, auxiliary materials, machinery, etc.) whose value merely *reappears* in the value of the product, and, second, *variable capital*, i.e., the capital laid out in wages, which contains less materialised labour than the worker gives in return for it. E.g., if the daily wage = 10 hours and the worker works 12, he replaces the variable capital plus 1/5 of it (2 hours). This latter surplus I call *surplus value*.

Assume that the *rate of surplus value* (that is, the length of the working day and the surplus labour performed by the worker over and above the labour necessary for the reproduction of his pay) is given and that for instance it equals 50 per cent. In this case, with a working day of 12 hours, the worker would work, say, 8 hours for himself and 4 hours (8/2) for the employer. And assume this for all trades, so that any differences in the average

^a Marx refers to Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*.—Ed.

^b War of everyone against everyone.—Ed.

working time are simply compensation for the greater or lesser difficulty of the work, etc.

In these circumstances, with *equal* exploitation of the worker in *different* trades, different capitals of the *same size* will yield very *different* amounts of surplus value in different spheres of production and hence *very different rates of profit*, since profit is nothing but the proportion of the surplus value to the total capital advanced. This will depend on the *organic composition* of the capital, i.e., on how it is divided into constant and variable capital.

Assume, as above, that the surplus labour equals 50 per cent. Then if, e.g., £ 1 = 1 working day (it is immaterial whether you take it as equal to a week, etc.), the working day = 12 hours and the necessary labour (the labour necessary to reproduce the wages) = 8 hours, the wages of 30 workers (or working days) would be = £ 20 and the value of their work = £ 30; the variable capital used for one worker (daily or weekly) = £ 2/3 and the value he produces = £ 1. The amount of surplus value produced in different trades by a capital of £ 100 will be very different, depending on the proportions of constant and variable capital into which this capital is divided. Call the constant capital C, the variable V. If in the cotton industry, for instance, the composition were C 80, V 20, the value of the product would = 110 (given 50 per cent surplus value or surplus labour). The amount of surplus value = 10 and the rate of profit = 10 per cent, since the proportion of profit equals 10 (the surplus value) to 100 (the total value of the capital expended). Assume that in wholesale tailoring the composition is C 50, V 50, then the product = 125, surplus value (at a rate of 50 per cent as above) = 25 and the rate of profit = 25 per cent. Take another industry, where the proportion is C 70, V 30, then the product = 115, and the rate of profit = 15 per cent. And finally an industry where the composition = C 90, V 10, then the product = 105 and the rate of profit = 5 per cent.

We have here, with *equal exploitation* of labour, very different amounts of surplus value for equal sums of capital invested in different trades, and hence very different rates of profit.

But if we take the above four capitals together we get:

	Value of product	Rate of profit	per cent	Rate of surplus value in all cases
1. C 80, V 20	110	= 10	" "	= 50 per cent
2. C 50, V 50	125	= 25	" "	
3. C 70, V 30	115	= 15	" "	
4. C 90, V 10	105	= 5	" "	

Capital = 400

Profit = 55

On 100 this gives a rate of profit of $13\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

If one considers the *total capital* (400) of the *class* the rate of profit equals $13\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. And capitalists are brothers. Competition (transfer of capital or withdrawal of capital from one trade to another) brings it about that *equal sums* of capital in *different* trades, despite their different organic compositions, yield the *same average* rate of profit. In other words: the *average* profit which a capital of £ 100, for instance, yields in a certain trade it yields not as a capital employed in this particular way, hence not in the proportion in which it itself produces surplus value, but as a *proportional part* of the aggregate capital of the capitalist class. It is a share on which, in proportion to its size, dividends are paid from the total sum of surplus value (or unpaid labour) which the total variable capital (i.e., capital laid out in wages) of the class produces.

Now in order that 1, 2, 3, and 4 in the above illustration may make the same *average profit*, they—each category—must sell their commodities at £ $113\frac{3}{4}$. 1 and 4 sell them *above* their values, 2 and 3 *below* their values.

Price regulated in this way = the expenses of capital + the average profit (for instance, 10 per cent) is what Smith calls the *natural price*, *cost price*, etc. It is to this *average price* that competition between the different trades reduces the prices in different trades (by transfer of capital or withdrawal of capital). Competition therefore does *not* reduce commodities to their *values*, but to their *cost prices*, which are *above*, *below* or *equal* to their *values*, according to the organic composition of the respective capitals.

Ricardo confuses *values* with *cost prices*. He therefore believes that if *absolute rent* existed (i.e., rent *independent* of the different productivity of various kinds of land) agricultural produce, etc., would always be sold *above its value*, because it would be sold *above* its cost price (the advanced capital + the average profit). This would overthrow the fundamental law. Hence he denies the existence of absolute rent and recognises only differential rent.

But his identification of *values* of commodities with the *cost prices of commodities* is fundamentally false and traditionally accepted from Adam Smith.

The fact is this:

Assume that the *average* composition of all *non-agricultural* capital is C 80, V 20, then the product (at a 50 per cent rate of surplus value) = 110 and the rate of profit = 10 per cent.

Assume further that the average composition of *agricultural capital* = C 60, V 40. (This figure is statistically fairly correct for England; the pasture rents, etc., are immaterial with regard

to this question because they are determined by the corn rent and not by themselves.) Then the product, exploitation of labour being the same as above, amounts to 120 and the rate of profit = 20 per cent. If therefore the farmer sells this produce *at its value*, he sells it at 120, and not at 110, its *cost price*. But *landed property* prevents the farmer from adjusting the *value* of the product to its *cost price*, as his brother capitalists do. Competition between the capitals cannot enforce this. The landowner intervenes and snatches away the *difference between value and cost price*. In general a low proportion of constant to variable capital is the expression of a low (or relatively low) development of the productivity of labour in a particular sphere of production. Thus if the average composition of agricultural capital is, for instance, C 60, V 40, while that of non-agricultural capital is C 80, V 20, it proves that agriculture has not yet reached the same stage of development as industry. (This is very easy to explain, for, apart from everything else, the precondition of industry is the older science of mechanics while the precondition of agriculture is the entirely new sciences of chemistry, geology and physiology.) If the ratio in agriculture becomes C 80, V 20 (with the above assumption) *absolute rent* disappears. There only remains *differential rent*, which, however, I explain in such a way that Ricardo's assumption of the continual deterioration of agriculture seems most ridiculous and arbitrary.

In the above definition of *cost price* as distinct from *value* it must also be noted that in addition to the distinction between constant and variable capital, which arises directly from the *process of production* in which the capital is involved, there is also a distinction between *fixed and circulating capital*, which arises from the *process of the circulation* of capital. But the formula would become too complicated if I inserted this in the above.

Here you have—roughly, for the thing is rather complicated—the criticism of Ricardo's theory. This much you will admit, that if one takes into consideration the *organic composition of capital* a number of up to now apparently existing contradictions and problems disappear.

By the way. For certain purposes, which I shall tell you in my next letter, I would *very much like* you to send me a detailed military criticism (I'll see to the political end of it) of that Lassalle-Rüstow liberation twaddle.

Yours,

K. M.

Regards to the ladies.

Imandt has announced that he is coming. Itzig^a is leaving on Monday.

You will see that according to my version of "absolute rent" *landed property* (under certain historical circumstances) does indeed *raise* the prices of raw products. This might be very useful from the communist point of view.

If one assumed that the above view is correct it is by *no means essential* that *absolute rent* should be paid in all circumstances or for *every kind of land* (even if the composition of agricultural capital is as assumed above). It is not paid where *landed property* does *not* actually or legally exist. In this case agriculture offers no peculiar resistance to the application of capital. Capital then moves in this element with the same lack of restraint as in the other. The agricultural produce is then sold, as a mass of industrial products always is, *below* its value, at the *cost price*. *Landed property* may in effect also cease to exist where the capitalist and the owner of the land are one and the same person, etc.

But it is superfluous to go into these details here.

Mere differential rent, which does not arise from the fact that capital has been invested in land instead of any other field of employment, presents no difficulty theoretically. It is nothing but surplus profit, which exists also in every sphere of industrial production for any capital which is put to work under conditions better than the average. The only thing is that in agriculture it gets firmly established because it is based on such a solid and (relatively) firm foundation as the different degrees of natural fertility of different types of soil.

57

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, August 7, [1862]

...I do not entirely share your views on the American Civil War. I do not think that all is up. The Northerners have been dominated from the first by the representatives of the border slave states, who pushed McClellan, that old partisan of Breckinridge, to the top. The South, on the other hand, acted with one accord from the beginning. The North itself has turned slavery into a military force of the South, instead of turning it against the South. The South leaves productive labour to the slaves and could thus without difficulty put its whole fighting strength in the field. The South had unified military leadership, the North

^a Ferdinand Lassalle.—Ed.

had not. That no strategic plan existed was already obvious from all manoeuvres of the Kentucky army after the conquest of Tennessee. In my opinion all this will take another turn. The North will finally make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slave statesmen. A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves.

The difficulty of getting the 300,000 men seems to me purely political. The North-West and New England intend, and will be able, to force the government to give up the diplomatic method of conducting war which it has used hitherto, and they are now fixing the terms on which the 300,000 men shall come forth. If Lincoln does not give way (but he will) there will be a revolution.

As to the lack of military talent, the method which has prevailed up till now of selecting generals purely from considerations of diplomacy and party intrigue is scarcely designed to bring talent to the front. General Pope however seems to me to be a man of energy.

With regard to the financial measures, they are clumsy, as they are bound to be in a country where up to now taxes (for the state as a whole) have in fact not existed; but they are not nearly so idiotic as the measures taken by Pitt and Co.¹⁰² The present depreciation of money is to be ascribed, I believe, not to economic but to purely political reasons—distrust. It will therefore change with a different policy.

The long and the short of the story seems to me to be that a war of this kind must be conducted on revolutionary lines, while the Yankees have so far been trying to conduct it on constitutional lines.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M

58

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] August 9, 1862

...With regard to the *theory of rent*, I must first, of course, wait for your letter. But to simplify the "debate", as Heinrich Bürgers would say, I am writing the following:

I. The only thing I have got to prove *theoretically* is the *possibility* of absolute rent, without violating the law of value. This is the point around which the *theoretical* controversy has turned from the days of the physiocrats up till now. Ricardo denies this possibility, I maintain that it exists. I maintain at the same time that his denial is based upon a theoretically false dogma

taken over from Adam Smith—the assumed identity of *cost prices* and *values of commodities*. Further, that where Ricardo illustrates the point *by examples* he always presupposes conditions in which there is either no capitalist production or *no landed property* (actually or legally). But the whole point is to investigate the law when these things do exist.

II. As to the *existence* of absolute rent, that is a question which would have to be solved *statistically* in each country. But the importance of the purely theoretical solution is due to the fact that the statisticians and practical men in general have been maintaining the existence of absolute rent for the last 35 years, while the (Ricardian) theoreticians have been trying to demonstrate it out of existence by very arbitrary and theoretically feeble abstractions. Up to now in all such quarrels I have always found that the theoreticians have invariably been in the wrong.

III. I show that, even assuming the existence of absolute rent, it by no means follows that the worst land under cultivation or the worst mine pays a rent under all circumstances; but that it is quite possible that they have to sell their products at the market value, though *below* their *individual* value. In order to prove the opposite Ricardo always assumes—and this is theoretically wrong—that under all conditions of the market the commodity produced under the *most unfavourable* conditions determines the market value. You already gave the right reply to this in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.¹⁰³

That is what I wanted to add concerning rent....

59

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, November 5, 1862

...As regards America I certainly also think that the Confederates in Maryland have received an unexpected moral blow of great significance. I am moreover convinced that the *definite* possession of the border states will decide the result of the war. But I am by no means certain that the affair is going to proceed along such classic lines as you appear to believe. Despite all the screams of the Yankees, there is still no sign whatever that the people regard this business as a real question of national existence. On the contrary, these election victories of the Democrats go to prove rather that the section which is tired of the war is growing.¹⁰⁴ If there were only some evidence or some indication that the masses in the North are beginning to rise as they did in France in 1792 and 1793, then it would all be very fine. But

the only revolution to be expected seems rather to be a democratic counter-revolution and a rotten peace, including the partition of the border states. That this would not be the end of the affair by a long way—granted. But for the moment it would be the end. I must say I cannot work up any enthusiasm for a nation which on such a colossal issue allows itself to be continually beaten by a fourth of its own population, and which after eighteen months of war has achieved nothing more than the discovery that all its generals are asses and all its officials rascals and traitors. After all the thing must happen differently, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to end in utter failure. I entirely agree with what you say about the meanness of the English way of looking at the business....

60

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, November 15, 1862

...I am impatiently waiting for the steamer that will bring the news of the New York elections. If the Democrats win in the State of New York I do not know any more what I am to think of the Yankees. How a nation put in a great historical dilemma, and when at the same time its very existence is at stake, can, after eighteen months of fighting, become reactionary in its mass and vote for meekly climbing down is a bit beyond my understanding. Good as it is, from one angle, that the bourgeois republic thoroughly discredits itself also in America, so that in future it can never again be preached on its own merits but only as a means and form of transition to social revolution, still it is exasperating that a lousy oligarchy with only half the number of inhabitants should prove just as strong as the unwieldy, great, helpless democracy. At any rate, if the Democrats win, the worthy McClellan and the West Pointers¹⁰⁵ will very nicely gain the upper hand and the whole show will soon come to an end. The fellows are capable of making peace if the South should return to the Union on condition that the President shall always be a Southerner and Congress shall always consist of an equal number of Southerners and of Northerners. They are even capable of proclaiming Jefferson Davis forthwith President of the United States and of sacrificing all the border states, if there is no other way to peace. Then good-bye America.

Of Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation¹⁰⁶ one likewise sees no effect up to the present except that the North-West has voted Democratic for fear of an inundation of Negroes....

1863

61

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] January 28, 1863

...I asked you in the preceding letter about the self-actor. The question is as follows: How did the so-called spinner act *before* the invention of the latter? The self-actor is clear to me but the pre-existing state of things is not.

I am adding some things to the section on machinery. There are some curious questions here which I have ignored in my first treatment. In order to clear up these points I have read through all my note-books (extracts) on technology again and am also attending a practical course (experimental only) for workers by Professor Willis (at the Geological Institute in Jermyn Street, where Huxley also used to give his lectures). As regards mechanics the difficulties for me are the same as in languages. I understand the mathematical laws, but the simplest technical reality demanding visualisation comes harder to me than the biggest problems.

You may or may not know, for in itself the question does not matter, that there is a great dispute as to what distinguishes a *machine* from a *tool*. The English (mathematical) mechanists, in their crude way, call a tool a simple machine and a machine a complex tool. The English technologists, however, who pay somewhat more attention to economics, base the distinction between the two on the fact (and in this they are followed by many, or by most, of the English economists) that in one case the motive power is derived from human beings, in the other from a natural force. The German asses, who are great at these small things, have therefore concluded that, for instance, a *plough* is a machine, while the most complex jenny,¹⁰⁷ etc., in so far as it is worked by hand, is not. But now if we look at the machine in its *elementary* form there is no question at all that the industrial revolution starts not from the *motive power* but from that section of the machinery which the English call the *working machine*; hence not, for instance, from the replacement of the foot, which turns the spinning-wheel, by water or steam, but from the transformation of the immediate process of spinning itself and from the elimination of that portion of human labour which is not

merely "exertion of power" (as in treading a wheel) but which is concerned with processing, with direct action on the material to be worked up. On the other hand it is likewise not open to question that as soon as the point at issue is no longer the *historical* development of machinery, but machinery on the basis of the present mode of production, the *working machine* (for instance, in the case of the sewing-machine) is the only determining factor; for once this process has been mechanised everyone nowadays knows that the thing can be moved by hand, water-power or a steam-engine, depending on its size.

To pure mathematicians these questions are immaterial, but they become very important when it is a question of proving the connection between the social relations of men and the development of these material modes of production.

The re-reading of my excerpts bearing on the history of technology has led me to the opinion that, apart from the discovery of gunpowder, the compass and printing—those necessary prerequisites of bourgeois development—the two material bases on which the preparations for machine-operated industry proceeded within manufacture during the period from the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century (the period in which manufacture was developing from handicraft into large-scale industry proper) were the *clock* and the *mill* (at first the corn mill, specifically, the water-mill). Both were inherited from the ancients. (The water-mill was introduced into Rome from Asia Minor at the time of Julius Caesar.) The clock was the first automatic device applied to practical purposes; the whole theory of the *production of regular motion* was developed through it. Its nature is such that it is based on a combination of semi-artistic handicraft and direct theory. Cardanus, for instance, wrote about (and gave practical formulas for) the construction of clocks. German authors of the sixteenth century called clockmaking "learned (non-guild) handicraft" and it would be possible to show from the development of the clock how entirely different the relation between science and practice was on the basis of handicraft from what it is, for instance, in modern large-scale industry. There is also no doubt that in the eighteenth century the idea of applying automatic devices (moved by springs) to production was first suggested by the clock. It can be proved historically that *Vaucanson's* experiments on these lines had a tremendous influence on the imagination of the English inventors.

On the other hand, from the very beginning, as soon as the water-mill was invented, the *mill* possessed the essential elements of the organism of a machine. The mechanical motive power. Firstly, the motor, on which it depends; the transmitting mechanism; and, finally, the working machine, which deals with

the material—each existing independently of the others. The theory of *friction*, and connected with it the investigations into the mathematical forms of gear-wheels, cogs, etc., were all developed in connection with the mill; the same applies to the theory of measurement of the degree of motive power, of the best way of employing it, etc. Almost all the great mathematicians since the middle of the seventeenth century, so far as they dealt with practical mechanics and worked out its theoretical side, started from the simple water-driven corn mill. And indeed this was why the name *Mühle* and *mill*, which arose during the manufacturing period, came to be applied to all mechanical forms of motive power adapted to practical purposes.

But in the case of the mill, as in that of the press, the forge, the plough, etc., the work proper, that of beating, crushing, grinding, pulverising, etc., has been performed from the very first *without* human labour, even though the moving force was human or animal. This kind of machinery is therefore very ancient, at least in its origins, and mechanical propulsion proper was first applied to it. Hence it is practically the only machinery found in the manufacturing period. The *industrial revolution* begins as soon as mechanisms are employed where from ancient times the final result has required human labour; hence not where, as with the tools mentioned above, the material actually to be worked up has *never* been dealt with by the human hand, but where, in the nature of things, man has not from the very first acted merely as *power*. If one is to follow the German asses in calling the use of animal power (which is just as much *voluntary movement* as human power) machinery, then the use of this kind of locomotive is at any rate much older than the simplest tool....

62

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, April 9, 1863

...The day before yesterday he^a sent me his open *Letter in Reply* to the Central Workers' Committee for the Leipzig Workers' (read *craftsmen's*) Congress.¹⁰⁸ He behaves—importantly bandying about phrases he borrowed from us—altogether like a future labour dictator. Settling the problem of wage labour and capital is (literally) “child's play” to him. The workers simply have to agitate in favour of *universal suffrage* and then send people like him equipped “with the bright weapon of science” to the Chamber

^a Ferdinand Lassalle.—*Ed.*

of Deputies. Then they will form workers' factories the capital for which will be advanced by the *state* and these establishments will by and by embrace the entire land. This at any rate is surprisingly new!...

I attended the meeting held by Bright¹⁰⁹ at the head of the Trade Unions. He looked quite like an Independent and every time he said, "In the United States no kings, no bishops", there was a burst of applause. The workers themselves spoke *excellently*, with a complete absence of middle-class rhetoric and without in the least concealing their opposition to the capitalists (whom Father Bright, by the way, also attacked).

How soon the English workers will free themselves from their apparent bourgeois infection one must wait and see. By the way, as far as the main points in your book^a are concerned, they have been confirmed down to the smallest detail by developments since 1844. For I have compared the book again with my notes on the later period. Only the small German petty bourgeois, who measure world history by the yard and the latest "interesting news in the papers", would imagine that in developments of such magnitude twenty years are more than a day—though later on days may come again comprising twenty years.

Re-reading your book has made me regretfully aware of our increasing age. How freshly and passionately, with what bold anticipations and no learned and scientific doubts, matters are treated here! And the very illusion that the result too will leap into the daylight of history tomorrow or the day after gives the whole thing a warmth and high-spirited humour—compared with which the later "gray in gray" makes a damned unpleasant contrast.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

63

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, June 11, 1863

...The business in Poland no longer seems to be going so well of late. The movement in Lithuania and Little Russia is obviously weak, and the insurgents in Poland do not seem to be advancing either. All the leaders fall in the fighting or else are taken prisoner

^a *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England (The Condition of the Working-Class in England)*.— Ed.

and shot, which seems to indicate that they have to expose themselves greatly in order to get their people to advance. The quality of the insurgents is no longer what it was in March and April; the best fellows have been used up. These Polacks are quite incalculable, however, and the business may still turn out well all the same, although the chances of success are smaller. If they hold out they may yet get involved in a general European movement which will save them; on the other hand if it turns out badly Poland will be finished for ten years—an insurrection of this kind exhausts the fighting strength of the population for many years.

A European movement seems to me very probable, because the middle class has now once more lost all their fear of the Communists and in an emergency will again join in the fray. The French elections prove this, and so do the events in Prussia since the last elections.¹¹⁰ I hardly think however that a movement of this kind will start in France. The election results in Paris were really *too* predominantly middle class. Wherever the workers put up separate candidates they were defeated and they had not even the strength to force the bourgeoisie at least to elect radicals. Besides Bonaparte knows how to keep big cities in check.

In Prussia they would still be chattering if the worthy Bismarck had not stopped their mouths. However the business there may turn out, peaceful constitutional development is at an end and the philistine must prepare himself for a row. This means a lot already. Much as I despise the valour of our old friends the Democrats, it seems to me nevertheless that the largest amount of inflammable material is concentrated here, and as it is scarcely possible that the Hohenzollerns will not commit the greatest stupidities in their foreign policy, it might well happen that the troops, sent partly to the Polish frontier and partly to the Rhine, would leave Berlin free, and that a coup would follow. Bad enough for Germany and Europe if Berlin should be at the head of the movement.

What surprises me most is that no peasant movement is breaking out in Russia proper. The Polish rising seems actually to have an unfavourable effect there....

64

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, July 6, 1863

...If you find it possible in this heat, look with some care at the enclosed *Economic Table* which I use in place of Quesnay's

Table,¹¹¹ and tell me of any objections you may have. It embraces the whole process of reproduction.

You know that according to *Adam Smith* the "natural" or "necessary price" is composed of wages, profit (interest), rent—and is thus entirely resolved into *revenue*. This nonsense was taken over by Ricardo, although he excludes rent, as merely accidental, from the list. Nearly *all* economists have accepted this from Smith and those who combat it commit some other imbecility.

Smith himself is aware of the absurdity of resolving the *total product* of society *merely into revenue* (which can be annually consumed), whereas in *every separate* branch of production he resolves price into *capital* (raw materials, machinery, etc.) and *revenue* (wages, profit, rent). According to this, society would have to start afresh, *without capital*, every year.

Now with regard to my table, which will figure as a *summary* in one of the last chapters of my book, the following information is necessary to understand it.

1) The figures are immaterial, represent millions.

2) *Means of subsistence* are here to be taken to mean *everything* which goes annually into the *consumption fund* (or which could go into the consumption fund *without accumulation*, this being *excluded* from the table).

In Class I (means of subsistence) the *whole product* (700) consists of *means of subsistence* which by their nature do *not* enter into *constant capital* (raw material and machinery, buildings, etc.). Similarly in Class II the *whole product* consists of commodities which constitute *constant capital*, i.e., which re-enter the process of reproduction as raw material and machinery.

3) *Ascending* lines are *dotted*, *descending* lines are *plain*.

4) *Constant capital* is that part of capital which consists of raw material and machinery. *Variable capital* that part which is exchanged for labour.

5) In agriculture, for instance, one part of the same product (e.g., wheat) constitutes means of subsistence, whereas another part (e.g., wheat) enters in its natural form (e.g., as *seed*) into reproduction again as raw material. But this makes no difference. For such branches of production figure in the one capacity in Class II and in the other in Class I.

6) The point of the whole business is therefore this:

Category I. Means of Subsistence.

Working materials and machinery (i.e., that portion of the *machinery* which is included in the yearly product as *depreciation*; the part of the machinery, etc., which is not used up does *not* appear in the table at all) are equal, say, to £400. The variable capital exchanged for labour = 100 and is reproduced as 300

since 100 replaces the wages in the product and 200 represents the surplus value (*unpaid surplus labour*). The product = 700, of which 400 represents the value of the constant capital, the whole of which has, however, entered into the product and must therefore be replaced.

In this relation between variable capital and surplus value it is assumed that the worker works one-third of the working day for himself and two-thirds for his natural superiors.

100 (variable capital) is therefore paid out in money as wages, as indicated by the dotted line; with this 100 (indicated by the descending line) the worker buys the *product* of this class, i.e., means of subsistence, for 100. Thus the money flows back again to capitalist Class I.

The surplus value of 200 in its general form = profit, which is split up, however, into *industrial* (including *commercial*) *profit*, into *interest*, which the industrial capitalist pays in money, and into rent, which he also pays in money. The money thus paid out as industrial profit, interest and rent flows back again (indicated by the descending lines) since it is spent on the products of Class I. Thus the whole of the money laid out by the industrial capitalist within Class I flows back to him again, while 300 of the product of 700 is consumed by the workers, entrepreneurs, monied men and landlords. There remains in Class I a *surplus*, 400, of the product (in means of subsistence) and a deficit of 400 in constant capital.

Category II. Machinery and Raw Materials.

As the *total product of this category* (not only that part of the product which replaces the constant capital but also that which represents the equivalent of the wages and surplus value) consists of *raw materials* and *machinery*, the revenue of this category cannot be realised in its own product, but only in the product of Category I. If one leaves aside accumulation, as we do here, Category I can buy from Category II only the amount required to replace its constant capital, while Category II can expend on the product of Category I only that part of its product which represents wages and surplus value (*revenue*). The workers of Category II therefore spend their money = $133 \frac{1}{3}$ on the product of Category I. The same takes place with the surplus value of Category II, which, like that of I, is split up into industrial profit, interest and rent. Thus, 400 in money flows from Category II to the industrial capitalists of Category I, who in return transfer the remainder of their product = 400 to the former.

With this 400 in money Class I buys the necessary replacement of its constant capital = 400 from Category II, to which the money spent in wages and consumption (by the industrial capitalists themselves, the monied men and the landlords) thus flows back

again. There remains therefore in Category II, $533 \frac{1}{3}$ of its total product, with which it replaces its own used-up constant capital.

The movement, partly within Category I, partly between Categories I and II, shows at the same time how the money with which they pay new wages, interest and rent of land flows back to the respective industrial capitalists of both categories.

Category III represents the whole process of reproduction.

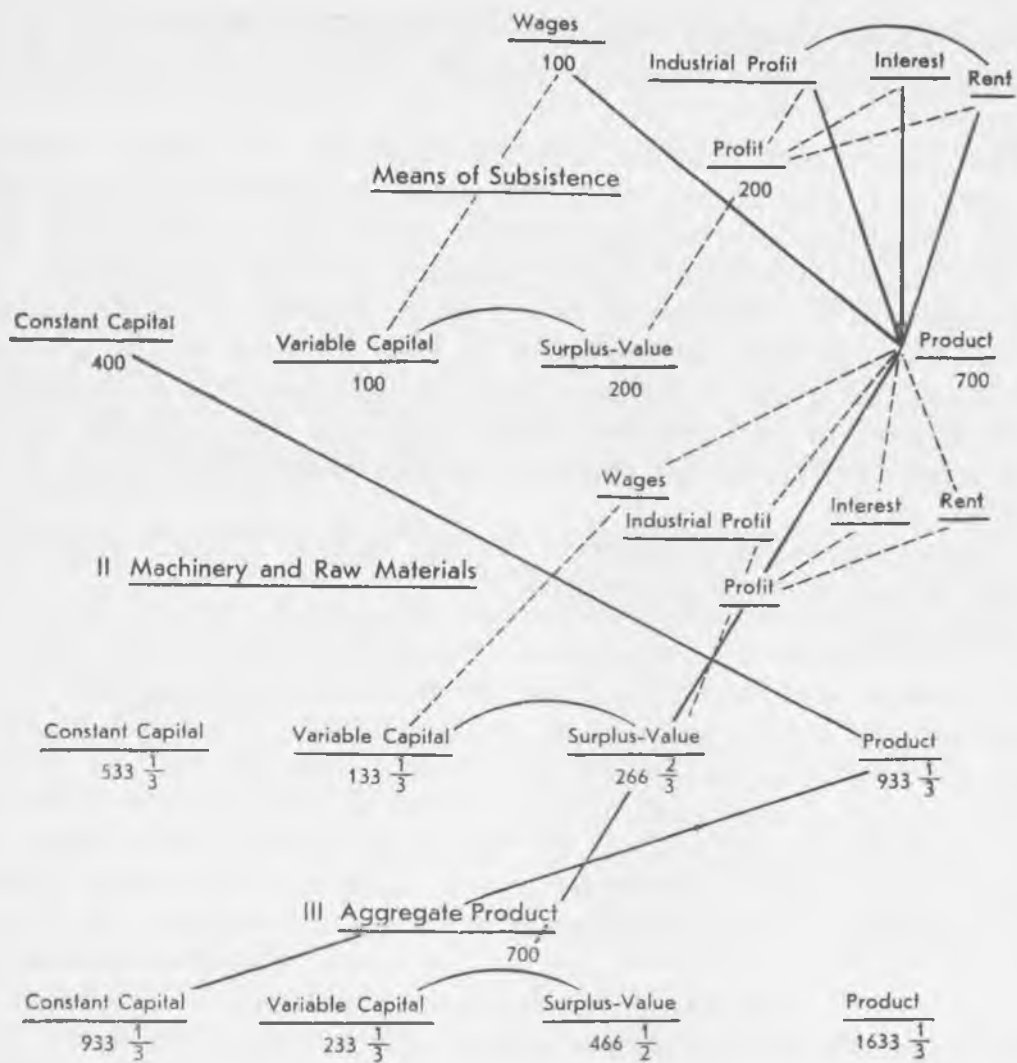
The total product of Category II here appears as the constant capital of the whole of society, and the total product of Category I as that part of the product which replaces the variable capital (the wage fund) and the revenues of the classes that share in the surplus value.

I have appended Quesnay's Table, which I shall explain in a few words in my next letter.^a

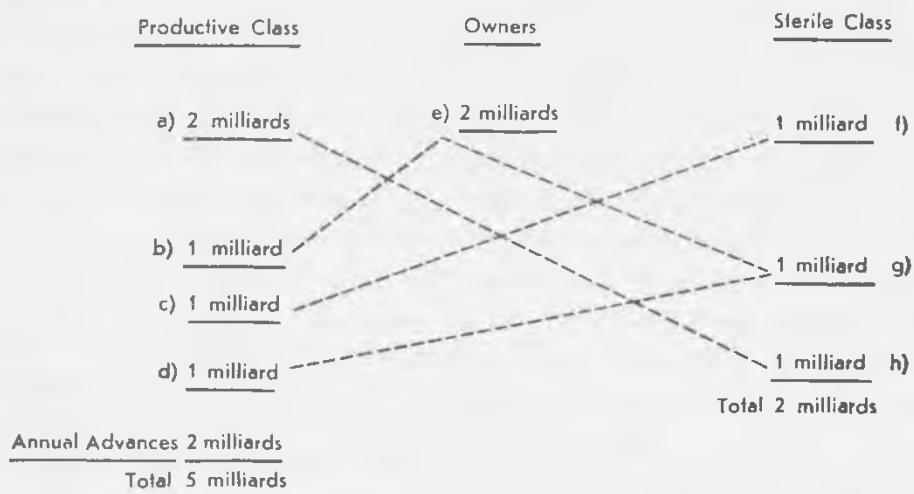
Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a The letter mentioned here by Marx has not been found.—*Ed.*



Dr. Quesnay's Tableau économique



Tables attached by Marx to his letter of July 6, 1863

1864

65

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] November 4, 1864

...*Working Men's International Association.*

Some time ago the London workers had sent an address about Poland to the Paris workers calling upon them to act jointly in this matter.

The Parisians on their part sent over a deputation headed by a worker called *Tolain*, the real workers' candidate at the last election in Paris, a very nice fellow. (His companions too were quite nice lads.) A public meeting was called in St. Martin's Hall for September 28, 1864, by Odger (shoemaker, President of the Council here of all London Trades Unions and especially also of the Trades Unions Suffrage Agitation Society,¹¹² which is connected with Bright) and Cremer, mason and secretary of the Masons' Union. (These two had organised the big meeting of the Trade Unions in St. James's Hall for North America, under Bright, and also the Garibaldi manifestations.) A certain *Le Lubez* was sent to me to ask whether I would take part on behalf of the German workers, and especially if I would supply a German worker to speak at the meeting, etc. I provided them with Eccarius, who made a creditable showing, and was also present myself as a mute figure on the platform. I knew that this time real "powers" were involved both on the London and Paris sides and therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to decline any such invitations....

At the meeting, which was packed to *suffocation* (for a revival of the working classes is now evidently taking place), Major Wolff (Thurn-Taxis, Garibaldi's adjutant) represented the London *Italian Workers' Association*.¹¹³ It was decided to set up a "Working Men's International Association", the General Council of which should have its seat in London and should act as an "intermediary" between the workers' societies in Germany, Italy, France and England. Likewise that a General Working Men's Congress should be convened in Belgium in 1865. A Provisional Committee was appointed at the meeting: Odger, Cremer and many others, some of them old Chartists, old Owenites, etc.,

for England; Major Wolff, Fontana and other Italians for Italy; Le Lubez, etc., for France; Eccarius and I for Germany. The Committee was empowered to co-opt as many members as it chose.

So far so good. I attended the first meeting of the Committee. A *Subcommittee* (including myself) was appointed to draft a declaration of principles and provisional rules. Being unwell I was prevented from attending the meeting of the Subcommittee and the meeting of the whole Committee which followed.

At these two meetings which I had missed—that of the Subcommittee and the subsequent one of the whole Committee—the following had taken place:

Major Wolff had handed in the *réglement* (rules) of the *Italian Workers' Associations* (which possess a central organisation but, as later transpired, are essentially mutual benefit associations) to be used for the new Association. I saw the stuff later. It was evidently a concoction of *Mazzini's*, so you already know the spirit and phraseology in which the real question, the labour question, was dealt with. Also how nationalities were shoved in.

In addition an Old Owenite, Weston—now a manufacturer himself, a very amiable and worthy man—had drawn up a programme of indescribable breadth and extreme confusion.

The subsequent general Committee meeting instructed the Subcommittee to remodel Weston's programme, and also Wolff's regulations. Wolff himself left in order to attend the Congress of Italian Workers' Associations in Naples and to persuade them to affiliate to the Central Association in London.

Another meeting of the Subcommittee—which I again failed to attend because I was informed of the *rendezvous* too late. At this a "declaration of principles" and a recast version of Wolff's rules were put forward by Le Lubez and accepted by the Subcommittee for submission to the whole Committee. The whole Committee met on October 18. As Eccarius had written me that delay would be dangerous I appeared and was really alarmed when I heard the worthy Le Lubez read out an appallingly wordy, badly written and quite raw preamble, pretending to be a declaration of principles, in which Mazzini could be detected everywhere, the whole coated over with the vaguest scraps of French socialism. The Italian rules moreover were adopted in the main, which, apart from all their other faults, aimed in fact at something that was utterly impossible, a sort of central government of the *European* working classes (with Mazzini in the background, of course). I put up a mild opposition and after a lot of talking pro and con Eccarius proposed that the Subcommittee should once more "edit" the thing. On the other hand the "sentiments" contained in Lubez's declaration were voted for.

Two days later, on October 20, Cremer (for the English),

Fontana (Italy), and Le Lubez assembled in my house. (Weston could not come.) I had never yet had the documents (those of Wolff and Le Lubez) in my hand, so could not prepare anything, but was fully determined that if possible not one single line of the stuff should be allowed to stand. In order to gain time I proposed that before we "edited" the preamble we should "discuss" the rules. This was done. It was an hour after midnight by the time the first of forty rules was agreed to. Cremer said (*and this was what I had aimed at*): We have nothing to put before the Committee, which is to meet on October 25. We must postpone the meeting till November 1. The Subcommittee on the other hand can meet on October 27 and attempt to reach a definite conclusion. This was agreed to and the "papers" "left behind" for my perusal.

I saw that it was impossible to make anything out of the stuff. To justify the extremely strange way in which I intended to edit the "sentiments" already "voted for" I wrote *An Address to the Working Classes* (which was not in the original plan; a sort of review of the adventures of the Working Classes since 1845); on the pretext that all factual material was included in this *Address* and that we ought not to repeat the same things three times over I altered the whole preamble, threw out the declaration of principles and finally replaced the forty rules by ten. In so far as international politics occurred in the *Address*, I speak of countries, not of nationalities, and denounce Russia, not the *minores gentium*.^a My proposals have all been accepted by the Subcommittee. But I was obliged to insert two phrases about "duty" and "right" into the Preamble to the Rules,^b and also about "truth, morality and justice", but these are placed in such a way that they can do no harm.

At the meeting of the General Committee my *Address*, etc., was (unanimously) carried with great enthusiasm. The discussion on the method of printing, etc., takes place next Tuesday.^c Le Lubez has a copy of the *Address* for translation into French and Fontana one for translation into Italian. (First of all there is a weekly paper called the *Beehive*¹¹⁴ edited by Potter, the Trade Unionist, a sort of *Moniteur*^d.) I myself am to translate the stuff into German.

It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. In a few weeks the same people will be hold-

^a The lesser nations.—*Ed.*

^b The Preamble to the Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association.—*Ed.*

^c The 8th of November.—*Ed.*

^d Official journal.—*Ed.*

ing meetings for the franchise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*. As soon as the stuff is printed, you will get it....

66

ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER IN ST. LOUIS

Manchester, November 24, 1864

...These are boring times here in Europe. The crushing of the Polish insurrection¹¹⁶ was the last decisive event; for his assistance in this affair Bismarck received permission from the tsar^a to seize Schleswig-Holstein from the Danes. It will be a long time before Poland can rise again—even with outside help—yet Poland is absolutely indispensable to us. The meanness of the German liberal philistines is to blame for the whole thing. If those dogs had displayed more understanding and courage in the Prussian Diet, everything might have turned out all right. Austria was ready to come to Poland's defence at any time. The only factors that prevented this were Prussia's position and the treason of Monsieur Bonaparte, who, of course, intended to keep his promises to the Poles only if he could play *safe*, i.e., if he had been backed up by Prussia and Austria.

Your war over there is one of the most imposing experiences one can ever live through. Despite the numerous blunders committed by the Northern armies (and the South has committed its share), the conquering tide is slowly but surely rolling on, and the moment must certainly come in 1865 when the *organised* resistance of the South will fold up with a snap like a pocket knife, and the war will degenerate into banditry, as was the case in the Carlist War in Spain¹¹⁶ and, more recently, in Naples.¹¹⁷ Since the establishment of powerful states such a people's war, on both sides, has never been waged; its outcome will doubtless determine the future course of America as a whole for hundreds of years. As soon as slavery—that greatest of obstacles to the political and social development of the United States—has been smashed, the country will experience a boom that will very soon assure it an altogether different place in the history of the world, and the army and navy created during the war will then soon find employment.

^a Alexander II.—*Ed.*

It was after all easy to see why the North found it hard to create an army and generals. From the start the Southern oligarchy had the country's small armed forces under its own control—it was this oligarchy that had supplied the officers and looted the arsenals into the bargain. The North had no ready military forces except the militia, while the South had been preparing for years. From the outset the South had a population accustomed to the saddle for use as light cavalry, while it was not available to the same extent in the North. The North adopted the method, introduced by the South, of allotting posts to adherents of a certain party; the South, engulfed in a revolution and under the rule of a military dictatorship, was able to disregard this. Hence all the blunders. I do not deny that Lee is a better general than any that the North has and that his latest campaigns around the fortified Richmond encampment¹¹⁸ are masterpieces, from which the glorious Prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia could learn a great deal. But the determined attacks of Grant and Sherman have finally rendered all strategy useless. It is obvious that Grant is sacrificing an enormous number of men—but could he have acted otherwise? I do not know anything about the state of discipline in your army, its steadfastness under fire, its capacity and readiness to endure hardships, and, in particular, its morale, i.e., what can be demanded of it without demoralising it. One must know all that before venturing a judgment on this side of the ocean, without adequate information and without any decent maps. But it seems to me certain that the army now commanded by Sherman is the best of your armies, as superior to Hood's army as Lee's army is to Grant's.

Your Army rules and your elementary tactics are, I have heard, borrowed entirely from the French, so that the basic formation is probably the column, with intervals between the platoons. What sort of field artillery have you at present? If you could give me some information on these points I should be very grateful....

1865

67

MARX TO JOHANN BAPTIST SCHWEITZER

London, January 24, 1865

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I received a letter in which you demand from me a detailed judgment of *Proudhon*. Lack of time prevents me from fulfilling your desire. Added to which I have *none* of his works to hand. However, in order to assure you of my good will I am hastily jotting down a brief sketch. You can complete it, add to it or cut it—in short do anything you like with it.

Proudhon's earliest efforts I no longer remember. His school work about the *Universal Language*^a shows how unceremoniously he tackled problems for the solution of which he still lacked the first elements of knowledge.

His first work, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*,^b is undoubtedly his best. It is epoch-making, if not because of the novelty of its content, at least because of the new and audacious way of expressing old ideas. Of course "property" had been not only criticised in various ways but also "abolished" in an utopian manner by the French Socialists and Communists whose works he knew. In this book Proudhon stands in approximately the same relation to Saint-Simon and Fourier as Feuerbach stands to Hegel. Compared with Hegel, Feuerbach is certainly poor. Nevertheless he was epoch-making *after* Hegel because he laid *stress* on certain points which were disagreeable to the Christian consciousness but important for the progress of criticism, points which Hegel had left in mystic semi-obscurity.

It is Proudhon's still strong muscular style, if I may be allowed the expression, that prevails in this book. And its style is in my opinion its chief merit. It is evident that even where he is only reproducing old stuff, Proudhon discovers things in an independent way and, that what he is saying is new to him and is treated as new. The provocative defiance, which lays hands on the economic

^a The reference is to the *Essai de grammaire générale* by Proudhon.—Ed.

^b P. J. Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? Ou recherches sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement*, Paris, 1840 (*What Is Property? Or Investigations into the Principles of Law and Government*).—Ed.

“holy of holies”, the brilliant paradoxology which teased the ordinary bourgeois mind, the withering criticism, the bitter irony, and, revealed here and there behind these, a deep and genuine feeling of indignation at the infamy of the existing order, a revolutionary earnestness—all these electrified the readers of *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* and provided a strong stimulus on its first appearance. In a strictly scientific history of political economy the book would hardly be worth mentioning. But sensational works of this kind play their part in the sciences just as much as in the history of the novel. Take, for instance, *Malthus's* book on *Population*.^a Its first edition was nothing but a “sensational pamphlet” and plagiarism from beginning to end into the bargain. And yet what a stimulus was produced by this *lampoon on the human race!*

If I had Proudhon's book before me I could easily give a few examples to illustrate his *early style*. In the passages which he himself regarded as the most important he imitates Kant's treatment of the *antinomies*—Kant was at that time the only German philosopher whose works he had read, in translations—and he leaves one with a strong impression that to him, as to Kant, the resolution of the antinomies is something “beyond” the human understanding, i.e., something that remains obscure to him.

But in spite of all his apparent iconoclasm one already finds in *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* the contradiction that Proudhon is criticising society, on the one hand, from the standpoint and with the eyes of a French small peasant (later petty bourgeois) and, on the other, that he measures it with the standards he inherited from the Socialists.

The very title of the book indicates its shortcomings. The question is so badly formulated that it cannot be answered correctly. *Ancient “property relations”* were superseded by *feudal property relations* and these by “*bourgeois*” property relations. Thus history itself had expressed its criticism upon past *property relations*. What Proudhon was actually dealing with was *modern bourgeois property* as it exists today. The question of what this is could have only been answered by a critical analysis of “*political economy*”, embracing the totality of these *property relations*, considering not their *legal aspect as relations of volition* but their real form, that is, as *relations of production*. But as Proudhon entangled the whole of these economic relations in the general legal concept of “*property*”, he could not get beyond the answer which, in a similar work published before 1789, *Brissot* had already given in the same words: “Property is theft.”

^a T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*, London, 1798.—Ed.

The upshot is at best that the bourgeois legal conceptions of "theft" apply equally well to the "honest" gains of the bourgeois himself. On the other hand, since "theft" as a forcible violation of property *presupposes the existence of property*, Proudhon entangled himself in all sorts of fantasies, obscure even to himself, about *true bourgeois property*.

During my stay in Paris in 1844 I came into personal contact with Proudhon. I mention this here because to a certain extent I am also to blame for his "sophistication", as the English call the adulteration of commercial goods. In the course of lengthy debates often lasting all night, I infected him very much to his detriment with Hegelianism, which, owing to his lack of German, he could not study properly. After my expulsion from Paris Mr. *Karl Grün* continued what I had begun. As a teacher of German philosophy he also had the advantage over me that he himself understood nothing about it.

Shortly before the appearance of Proudhon's second important work, the *Philosophie de la misère, etc.*,^a he himself announced this to me in a very detailed letter in which he said, among other things: "I await your severe criticism." This criticism, however, when it was made (in my *Misère de la philosophie, etc.* [*Poverty of Philosophy, etc.*], Paris, 1847), was of a kind which ended our friendship for ever.

From what I have already said you can see that the real answer to the question *What Is Property?* was given by Proudhon only in his *Philosophie de la misère ou Système des contradictions économiques*. In fact it was only after the publication of his *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* that he had begun his economic studies; he had discovered that the question he had raised could not be answered by *invective*, but only by an *analysis* of modern "political economy". At the same time he attempted to present the *system* of economic categories dialectically. In place of *Kant's* insoluble "antinomies", the *Hegelian "contradiction"* was to be introduced as the means of development.

For an estimate of his book, which is in two fat volumes, I must refer you to the refutation I wrote. There I have shown, among other things, how little he has penetrated into the secret of scientific dialectics and that, on the contrary, he shares the illusions of speculative philosophy for he does not regard *economic categories as the theoretical expression of historical relations of production, corresponding to a particular stage of development in material production*, but arbitrarily transforms them into pre-

^a P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère* (*The System of Economic Contradictions, or Philosophy of Poverty*), Vol. I-II, Paris, 1846.—*Ed.*

existing *eternal ideas*, and that in this roundabout way he arrives once more at the standpoint of bourgeois economy.

I show furthermore how extremely deficient and sometimes even schoolboyish is his knowledge of "political economy" which he undertook to criticise, and that he and the utopians are hunting for a so-called "science" by means of which they want to devise *a priori* a formula for the "solution of the social question", instead of deriving their science from a critical knowledge of the historical movement, a movement which itself produces the *material conditions of emancipation*. My refutation shows in particular that Proudhon's knowledge of *exchange value*, the basis of the whole theory, remains confused, wrong and superficial, and that he even mistakes the utopian interpretation of *Ricardo's* theory of value for the basis of a new science. With regard to his general point of view I have summarised my conclusions thus:

"Every economic relation has a good and a bad side; it is the one point on which M. Proudhon does not give himself the lie. He considers that the good side is emphasised by the economists, the bad side denounced by the Socialists. He derives the necessity of eternal relations from the economists, and from the Socialists he derives the illusion of seeing in poverty nothing but poverty (instead of seeing in it the revolutionary, destructive aspect which will overthrow the old society). He is in agreement with both and tries moreover to rely on the authority of science. Science for him reduces itself to the slender proportions of a scientific formula; he is the man in search of formulas. Accordingly M. Proudhon likes to imagine that he has given a critical study both of political economy and of communism: he is inferior to both of them. He is inferior to the economists, because as a philosopher who has at his elbow a magic formula, he thinks he can dispense with going into purely economic details; he is inferior to the Socialists, because he has neither enough courage nor enough insight to rise, if only speculatively, above the bourgeois horizon.... As a man of science he wants to be poised above the bourgeois and the proletarians; *he is merely a petty bourgeois* who is continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour, between political economy and communism."

Severe though the above judgment may sound I must even now endorse every word of it. At the same time, however, one has to bear in mind that when I declared his book to be the code of socialism of the petty bourgeois and proved this theoretically, Proudhon was still being decried as an ultra-arch-revolutionary both by political economists and by Socialists. That is why later on I never joined in the outcry about his "*treachery*" to the revolution. It was not his fault that, originally misunderstood by others as well as by himself, he failed to fulfil unjustified hopes.

In the *Philosophie de la misère* all the defects of Proudhon's method of presentation stand out very unfavourably in comparison with *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* The style is often what the French call ampoulé.^a High-sounding speculative jargon, supposed to be German-philosophical, appears regularly on the scene when his Gallic astuteness fails him. A noisy, self-glorifying, boastful tone and especially the twaddle about "science" and sham display of it, which are always so unedifying, are continually jarring on one's ears. Instead of the genuine warmth which permeates his first work, he here systematically works himself up into a sudden flush of rhetoric in certain passages. There is in addition the clumsy repugnant show of erudition of the self-taught, whose natural pride in his original reasoning has already been broken and who now, as a *parvenu* of science, feels it necessary to give himself airs with what he neither is nor has. Then the mentality of the petty bourgeois who for instance makes an indecently brutal attack, which is neither shrewd nor profound nor even correct, on a man like *Cabet*—worthy of respect for his practical attitude towards the proletariat¹¹⁹ and on the other hand pays compliments to a man like *Dunoyer* (a "State Councillor", it is true) although the whole significance of this *Dunoyer* lay in the comic zeal with which, throughout three fat, unbearably boring volumes, he preached a rigorism characterised by Helvétius as follows: "*It is demanded that the unfortunate should be perfect.*"

The February Revolution certainly came at a very inconvenient moment for Proudhon, who had irrefutably proved only a few weeks before that "the era of revolutions" was past for ever. His speech in the National Assembly, however little insight it showed into existing conditions, was worthy of every praise.¹²⁰ After the June insurrection it was an act of great courage. In addition it had the fortunate consequence that by his reply (which was then issued as a special booklet) in which he opposed Proudhon's proposals, Mr. *Thiers* proved to the whole of Europe what infantile catechism served this intellectual pillar of the French bourgeoisie as a pedestal. Compared with Mr. *Thiers*, Proudhon's stature indeed seemed that of an antediluvian colossus.

Proudhon's discovery of "*Crédit gratuit*"^b and the "*banque du peuple*"^c, based upon it, were his last economic "deeds". My book *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, Heft 1 [*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part I], Berlin 1859 (pp. 59-64), contains the proof that the theoretical basis of his idea arises from a misunderstanding of the basic elements of bourgeois "political economy", namely of the relation between *commodities*

^a Bombasti.—*Ed.*

^b Free credit.—*Ed.*

^c People's bank.—*Ed.*

and *money* ; while the practical superstructure is simply a reproduction of much older and far better developed schemes. That under certain economic and political conditions the credit system can be used to accelerate the emancipation of the working class, just as, for instance, at the beginning of the eighteenth and again at the beginning of the nineteenth century in England, it facilitated the transfer of wealth from one class to another, is quite unquestionable and self-evident. But to regard *interest-bearing capital* as the *main form of capital* and to try to make a particular form of the credit system, comprising the alleged abolition of interest, the basis for a transformation of society is an out-and-out *petty-bourgeois* fantasy. This fantasy, further diluted, can therefore actually already be found among the *economic spokesmen of the English petty bourgeoisie in the seventeenth century*. Proudhon's polemic with Bastiat (1850) about interest-bearing capital^a is on a far lower level than the *Philosophie de la misère*. He succeeds in getting himself beaten even by Bastiat and breaks into burlesque bluster when his opponent drives his blows home.

A few years ago Proudhon wrote a prize essay on *Taxation*,^b the competition was sponsored, I believe, by the government of Lausanne. Here the last flicker of genius is extinguished. Nothing remains but the petty bourgeois pure and simple.

So far as Proudhon's political and philosophical writings are concerned they all show the same contradictory, dual character as his economic works. Moreover their value is purely local, confined to France. Nevertheless his attacks on religion, the church, etc., were of great merit locally at a time when the French Socialists thought it desirable to show by their religiosity how superior they were to the bourgeois Voltairianism of the eighteenth century and the German godlessness of the nineteenth. Just as Peter the Great defeated Russian barbarism by barbarity, Proudhon did his best to defeat French phrase-mongering by phrases. His work on the *Coup d'état*,^c in which he flirts with Louis Bonaparte and, in fact, strives to make him palatable to the French workers, and his last work, written against *Poland*,¹²¹ in which for the greater glory of the tsar he expresses moronic cynicism, must be described as works not merely bad but base, a baseness, however, which corresponds to the petty-bourgeois point of view.

^a *Gratuité du crédit*. Discussion entre M. Fr. Bastiat et M. Proudhon (*Credit Free of Interest*. A Discussion between M. Bastiat and M. Proudhon), Paris, 1850.—Ed.

^b P. J. Proudhon, *Théorie de l'impôt (Theory of Taxation)*, Brussels and Paris, 1861.—Ed.

^c P. J. Proudhon, *La révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du 2 décembre (The Social Revolution in the Light of the Coup d'état of December 2)*, Paris, 1852.—Ed.

Proudhon has often been compared to *Rousseau*. Nothing could be more erroneous. He is more like *Nicolas Linguet*, whose *Théorie des lois civiles* [*Theory of Civil Law*], by the way, is a very brilliant book.

Proudhon had a natural inclination for dialectics. But as he never grasped really scientific dialectics he never got further than sophistry. This is in fact connected with his petty-bourgeois point of view. Like the historian *Raumer*, the petty bourgeois is made up of on-the-one-hand and on-the-other-hand. This applies to his economic interests and *therefore* to his politics and to his scientific, religious and artistic views. And likewise to his morals, and to everything else. He is a living contradiction. If, like *Proudhon*, he is in addition an ingenious man, he will soon learn to play with his own contradictions and develop them according to circumstances into striking, ostentatious, now scandalous now brilliant paradoxes. Charlatanism in science and accommodation in politics are inseparable from such a point of view. There remains only one governing motive, the *vanity* of the subject, and the only question for him, as for all vain people, is the success of the moment, the *éclat* of the day. Thus the simple moral sense, which always kept a *Rousseau*, for instance, from even the semblance of compromise with the powers that be, is bound to disappear.

Posterity will perhaps sum up the latest phase of French development by saying that Louis Bonaparte was its Napoleon and *Proudhon* its Rousseau-Voltaire.

You yourself have now to accept responsibility for having imposed upon me the role of a judge of the dead so soon after this man's death.

Yours very respectfully,
Karl Marx

68

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] January 30, 1865

...What kind of people our Progressives¹²² are is shown once more by their conduct in the combination question. (*By the way*, the Prussian Anti-Combination Law, like all continental laws of this description, takes its origin from the decree of the *Constituent Assembly of June 14, 1791*, in which the French bourgeois strictly punish anything of the sort, and indeed any kind of workers' associations—condemning violators to, for instance,

a year's loss of civil rights—on the pretext that this is a *restoration of the guilds* and a contravention of constitutional liberty and the “rights of man”. It is very characteristic of Robespierre that at a time when it was a crime punishable by guillotining to be “constitutional” in the sense of the Assembly of 1789 all its laws *against* the workers remained in force.)...

69

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

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[London,] February 1, 1865

...Cremer, our Honorary General Secretary, had received a written invitation for the “Council”, as well as a private visit, on behalf of a Provisional Committee which is meeting *privately* in the London Tavern next Monday. Object: Monster meeting for manhood suffrage.¹²³ *President—Richard Cobden!*

The point is this. As E. Jones had already told us, the fellows had had a complete failure in Manchester. Consequently they adopted a broader platform, in which, however, in place of manhood suffrage, *registration* “for paying poor-rate” figured. This is what is stated in the printed circular sent to us. Since, however, various indications made it clear to them that nothing under manhood suffrage could attract any co-operation whatever on the part of the working classes they announced that they would accept manhood suffrage. A *big* demonstration in London would lead to similar ones in the provinces, write the provincials “once again”, who have “all-ready” arrived at the realisation that they are unable to set the ball a-going.

The next point, which was discussed yesterday, was this: should our Society, i.e., Council, agree to the wish of these fellows (who include all the old sham City agitators like Sam Morley, etc.) and send some delegates who would attend the transactions of their provisional committee as “observers”? Secondly, if these fellows *directly* pledge themselves to the slogan of manhood suffrage and call the public meeting in its name, should we promise to support them? *This support* is just as decisive for these chaps as it was in the American business. Without the trade unions no mass meeting is possible and without us the trade unions are not to be had. This is also the reason why the gentlemen are applying to us.

Opinions were *very* divided, largely as a result of *Bright's* latest imbecility in Birmingham.¹²⁴

On my motion it was decided: (1) To send the deputation merely as "observers" (in my motion I excluded foreigners, but Eccarius and Lubez were elected as "English" and as *silent* witnesses¹²⁵); (2) So far as the meeting is concerned, to co-operate with them if, in the *first* place, manhood suffrage is directly and openly proclaimed in the programme, and, in the *second*, if people *elected by us* are brought on to the *permanent* Committee, so that they can watch the fellows and when a *fresh treachery*, which, as I made clear to them all, is *certainly planned*, takes place, can compromise them. I am writing to E. Jones about the affair today.

Yours,
K. M.

70

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] February 3, 1865

Dear Frederick,

I enclose:

1) letter from Siebel giving a report of his meeting with Klings, whom he met at my "request". On this I will merely remark that I shall mix *no further* in the affair. If Klings succeeds—without *our* help—in removing B. Becker and his testamentary importance together with the old bitch^a I am quite agreeable. Nothing can be done with the Workers' Association,¹²⁶ as bequeathed by Baron Itzig.^b The quicker it is dissolved the better.

2) The *Rheinische Zeitung* with a leading article, probably by Red Becker.^c It is an appeal for mercy on the part of the "Progressives".

My opinion is now that *we two* must make a statement, and that this crisis gives us just the opportunity for resuming our "legitimate" position. I had written about ten days ago to Schweitzer telling him that he must array himself against Bismarck, that even the appearance of a flirtation with Bismarck on the part of the workers' party must be dropped, etc. In return he is "already" philandering with Pissmarck more than ever.

On the other hand, in No. 16 of the *Social-Demokrat*¹²⁷—where, bristling with misprints, my letter on Proudhon^d appears—Moses Hess, for the second time "already", *denounces* the "International Association". I wrote a furious letter about this to Liebknecht yesterday and told him that he had now had the *very last*

^a An allusion to the Countess von Hatzfeldt.—*Ed.*

^b Ferdinand Lassalle.—*Ed.*

^c Hermann Becker.—*Ed.*

^d See pp. 142-48 of this volume.—*Ed.*

warning; that I did not give a farthing for "good intentions" which did the work of bad intentions; that I cannot explain to the members of the "International Committee" here that such things are done in good faith out of sheer stupidity; that their filthy rag^a, while it continues to glorify Lassalle, although they know now what treachery he was secretly preparing, and while it cowardly flirts with Bismarck, has the shamelessness to accuse us here, through the Plonplonist Hess, of Plonplonism, etc.

Now, my opinion is as follows: We start from Moses' denunciation or insinuation in order first to issue a brief declaration of war against Bonaparte Plon-Plon, taking the opportunity to give honourable mention also to Moses' friend, the Rabbi Ein-Horn. We then use this to make also a statement against Bismarck and against the knaves or fools who dream or drivel about an alliance of the working class with him. In conclusion the rotten Progressives should of course be told on the one hand that owing to their political cowardice and helplessness, matters have got stuck, on the other that if they demand an alliance with the working class against the government—and this is certainly the only proper thing to do at the moment—then they must at least make those concessions to the workers that correspond to their own principle of "free trade" and "democratism", namely, repeal of all exceptional laws against the workers, including, in addition to the combination laws, quite specifically the present Prussian press laws. They would also have at least to express their intention to restore universal suffrage, which was abolished in Prussia by the *coup d'état*.^b This is the least that can be expected of them. Perhaps something should also be included on the military question. In any case the thing ought to be done quickly. And you must jot down on paper your "ideas" about the whole statement. I will then add mine, knead it together, send you the whole thing again and so forth. The moment seems to me favourable for this "*coup d'état*". Neither out of consideration for Liebknecht nor for anybody else can we let this opportunity for our "reinstatement in all our rights" slip by.¹²⁸

At the same time you must not fail to let the *Social-Demokrat* have your article on the military question as soon as possible.

With regard to the statement I should of course write them that if they themselves did *not* accept it at once it would appear "immediately" in other papers.

If they take it, well and good; and it will not do any harm even if that should destroy them. (Although Bismarck will be careful to avoid forcible measures at the moment.) If they do not accept

^a The reference is to the newspaper *Social-Demokrat*.—*Ed.*

^b The counter-revolutionary coup which took place in Prussia in November-December 1848.—*Ed.*

it we have a decent excuse for getting rid of them. In any case the air must be purified and the Party swept clean of this stench left behind by Lassalle.

Yours,
K. M.

71

MARX AND ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE *SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*

[London, February 6, 1865]

*Statement*¹²⁹

In No. 16 of your paper Mr. M. Hess in Paris casts suspicion on the *French members*, who are entirely unknown to him, of the *Central Council in London* of the International Working Men's Association by writing:

"It is indeed, quite inconceivable why it should matter that a few friends of the *Palais Royal*¹³⁰ also belong to the London Association, for it is a public one," etc.

In an earlier issue, in a chat about the paper *L'Association*,¹³¹ this same Mr. M. Hess made a similar insinuation against the *Parisian friends* of the London Council. We declare that his insinuations are absurd slanders.

By the way, we are glad that this incident has confirmed our conviction that the Paris proletariat continues to be irreconcilably opposed to Bonapartism, in both its forms, the form of the *Tuileries*^a and the form of the *Palais Royal*, and that it never contemplated selling its historical honour (or shall we say "its historical birthright as the protagonist of the revolution" instead of "its historical honour"?) for a mess of pottage. We recommend to the German workers that they follow this example.

72

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] February 11 [,1865]

Dear Fred,

As today is Saturday I imagine you will not be sending off your thing^b on the same day, in which case there will still be time for these "additional" proposals for modification:

^a The allusion is to Napoleon III who lived in the Tuileries.—Ed.

^b Marx is referring to the pamphlet *Die Preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (*The Military Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party*) by Engels.—Ed.

1) In the passage where you *ask what the workers want* I should not answer as you do that the workers in Germany, France and England demand so and so. For the answer sounds as if we accepted *Itzig's*^a slogans (at least it will be so *interpreted*). I should say rather somewhat the following:

It would seem that the demands put forward at the present moment by the most advanced workers in *Germany* amount to the following, etc. This does not commit you at all, which is all the better considering that later on you yourself criticise universal suffrage without the requisite conditions. (The word "direct" moreover would indeed have no sense in England, etc., for example, and is only the opposite of the "indirect" franchise invented by the Prussians.) The form in which the philistines in Germany conceive state intervention *à la* Lassalle is of such a kind that one must avoid identifying oneself with "them in any way". It is much grander (and safer) if you take the philistines at their word and *let them say themselves* what *they* want. (I say the *philistines*, because they are the really argumentative and *Lassalleanised* section.)

2) I should not say that the movement of 1848-49 failed because the middle class was against *direct universal suffrage*. On the contrary, the latter was declared an ancient German right by the Frankfurters and it was proclaimed with due formality by the imperial Regent. (I think moreover that as soon as the matter comes to be discussed seriously in Germany, this franchise must be treated as part of the rightfully *existing* law.) As that is not the place for a longer exposition, I would extricate myself by using the phrase that the middle class at that time preferred peace with slavery to the mere *prospect* of a struggle with freedom, or something of the sort.

As a whole the thing is very good and I am especially tickled by the part where it is shown that the present movement of the philistines exists in fact only by the grace of the police.

I'm in a great hurry.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

73

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] February 18, 1865

Dear Fred,

Enclosed are two letters from Liebknecht—one to you and one to me. Also an *earlier* one from Schweitzer.

^a Ferdinand Lassalle.—Ed.

My opinion is:

Once Liebknecht has given notice¹³² one must put an end to it. If he had postponed the matter we could also have delayed it as your pamphlet^a is still in hand.

I consider Schweitzer incorrigible (he is probably in secret understanding with Bismarck).

What confirms me in this is:

1) The passage which I have underlined in the enclosed letter of the 15th;

2) The *time* at which his *Bismarck III*¹³³ appeared.

In order to justify both points I herewith give you a *word for word copy* of a passage from my letter to him of February 13:

"...as the correspondence of Moses Hess in No. 21, received today, renders our statement partly out of date, the matter^b may now be allowed to rest. True, our statement also included another point, praise of the anti-Bonapartist attitude of the Parisian proletariat and a hint to the German workers to follow this example. This was more important to us than the attack on Hess. However, we shall express our views about the attitude of the workers to the Government of Prussia in detail elsewhere.

"In your letter of February 4 you say that I myself warned Liebknecht not to overstep the mark in order not be sent to the devil. Quite true. But at the same time I wrote to him that *anything* could be said if it is put in the right 'form'. A form of polemic *against* the government which is 'possible' even for the meridian of Berlin is undoubtedly very different from flirtation or even a semblance of compromise with the government! I wrote to you yourself that the *Social-Demokrat* must avoid even such a semblance.^c

"I see from your paper that the Government makes ambiguous pronouncements about the repeal of the combination laws and plays for time. A *Times* telegram reports, on the other hand, that Government statements are in favour of the proposed state assistance for co-operative societies. It would not surprise me at all if for once, by way of exception, the *Times* had telegraphed correctly!

"Combinations and the trade unions growing out of them are of the utmost importance not only as a means of organising the working class for struggle against the bourgeoisie. This importance is demonstrated, for instance, by the fact that even the workers of the United States, despite franchise and republic, cannot do

^a Engels' pamphlet *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (*The Military Question in Prussia and the German Workers' Party*).—*Ed.*

^b See Marx's letter of February 3, 1865, pp. 150-52 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^c See p. 150-51 of this volume.—*Ed.*

without them. The right of combination in Prussia and in Germany at large means furthermore a breach in the rule of the police and bureaucracy; it tears to bits the Rules Governing Servants¹³⁴ and the power of the aristocracy in the rural districts. In short it is a measure designed to declare the 'subjects' of age, a measure which the Progressive Party, i.e., any middle-class opposition party in Prussia which is not crazy, could allow a hundred times sooner than the Prussian Government, and above all the government of a Bismarck! On the other hand aid for co-operative societies from the Royal Prussian Government—and anyone who knows Prussian conditions knows beforehand its necessarily minute dimensions—is of no value whatever as an economic measure, while at the same time it extends the system of tutelage, corrupts a section of the workers and emasculates the movement. The middle-class party in Prussia discredited itself and brought on its present misery chiefly because it seriously believed that with the 'new era' power,¹³⁵ by the grace of the Prince Regent, had fallen into its lap. But the workers' party will discredit itself far more if it imagines that in the Bismarck era or any other Prussian era the golden apples will drop into its mouth by the grace of the king. That disappointment will follow Lassalle's hapless illusion that a Prussian Government would carry out a socialist intervention is beyond all doubt. The logic of things will tell. But the *honour* of the workers' party demands that it should reject such illusions even before their hollowness is exposed by experience. The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing."

Well! To this letter of mine dated the 13th he replies with his of the 15th in which he demands that in all "practical" questions I should submit to *his* tactics—he replies with "*Bismarck III*" as a fresh specimen of these tactics!! And indeed it seems to me now that the *impudent* way in which he raised the question of confidence on the occasion of the statement against Hess, was not due to tenderness for Moses but to a *firm determination* that no space should be given *under any circumstances* in the *Social-Demokrat* to our hint to the German workers.

Since we, therefore, must break with that fellow anyhow, it had better be done at once. As to the German philistines, let them scream as much as they like. The useful elements among them are bound to join us sooner or later. If you agree with the statement below, copy it out, sign it and send it to me. It has been scribbled down hurriedly, so alter what seems unsuitable to you or rewrite it entirely, just as you like.

Yours,
K. M.

74

MARX AND ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE *SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT*

*Statement*¹³⁶

London, February 23, 1865

The undersigned promised to collaborate with the *Social-Demokrat* and allowed their names to be published as collaborators on the express condition that the paper should be edited in the spirit of the short programme communicated to them. Not for a moment did they fail to appreciate the difficult position of the *Social-Demokrat* and therefore made no demands unsuitable to the Berlin meridian. But they repeatedly demanded that at least equally bold language should be used towards the Cabinet and the feudal-absolutist party as with regard to the Progressives. The tactics followed by the *Social-Demokrat* precludes their further participation in its work. The opinion of the undersigned on Royal Prussian Government socialism and the proper attitude of the workers' party to such delusion was already set forth at length in No. 73 of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, dated September 12, 1847, in reply to No. 206 of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*,¹³⁷ then appearing in Cologne, in which an alliance of the "proletariat" with the "Government" against the "liberal bourgeoisie" had been proposed. We still subscribe today to every word of *our* statement made at that time.

Frederick Engels, Karl Marx

75

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, February 23, 1865

Dear Friend,

I received your letter, which was very interesting, yesterday and shall now reply to the various points you raise.

First of all I shall briefly describe my attitude to *Lassalle*. While he was engaged in agitation relations between us were suspended: 1) because of his self-praise and bragging, to which he added the most shameless plagiarism from my writings and those of others; 2) because I *condemned* his *political* tactics; 3) because, even *before* he began his agitation, I fully explained and "proved" to him here in London! that direct *socialist* interference by "*official Prussia*" was nonsense. In his letters to me

(from 1848 to 1863), as in our personal meetings, he always declared himself an adherent of the party which I represented. When he realised (in London, end of 1862) that he could not play his games *with* me he decided to set himself up as the "workers' dictator" *against* me and the old party. In spite of all that, I recognised his merits as an agitator, although towards the end of his brief career even that agitation appeared to me to assume a more and more ambiguous character. His sudden death, the old friendship, despondent letters from Countess Hatzfeldt, indignation over the *cowardly impertinence* of the middle-class press towards one whom in his lifetime they had so greatly feared—all that induced me to publish a short statement against the wretched Blind, which did not, however, deal with the *substance* of Lassalle's doings. (Hatzfeldt sent the statement to the *Nordstern*.¹³⁸) For the same reasons, and in the hope of being able to remove elements which appeared dangerous to me, Engels and I promised to contribute to the *Social-Demokrat* (it has published a translation of the *Address*^a and at its request I wrote an article about Proudhon^b on the death of the latter) and, after Schweitzer had sent us a *satisfactory programme of its editorial board*, we allowed our names to be given out as contributors. We had a further guarantee in the presence of *W. Liebknecht* as an unofficial member of the editorial board. However, it soon became clear—the proofs fell into our hands—that *Lassalle* had in fact *betrayed* the Party. He had entered into a regular contract with Bismarck (of course, *without* having *any* sort of guarantees in *his* hands). At the end of September 1864 he was to go to Hamburg and there (together with the crazy Schramm and the Prussian police spy Marr) "*force*" Bismarck to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein, that is, to proclaim its incorporation in the name of the "workers", etc., in return for which Bismarck promised universal suffrage and a few socialist charlatanries. It is a pity that Lassalle could not play the comedy through to the end. It would have made him look damned ridiculous and outwitted! And it would have put a stop for ever to all attempts of that sort!

Lassalle went astray in this fashion because he was a "*realistic politician*" of the type of Mr. Miquel, but cut on a larger pattern and with bigger aims. (By the bye, I had long ago seen through Miquel sufficiently to explain his public utterances by the fact that the National Association¹³⁹ offered an excellent way for a petty *Hanoverian* lawyer to make his voice heard in Germany outside his own borders, and thus cause the enhanced "*reality*" of himself to assert itself retroactively in his Hanoverian home-

^a *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association* by Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

^b See pp. 142-48 of this volume.—*Ed.*

land, playing the "Hanoverian" Mirabeau under "Prussian" auspices.) Just as Miquel and his present friends used the "new era"¹⁴⁰ inaugurated by the Prussian Prince Regent, in order to join the National Association and to cling to the "Prussian lead"; just as they developed their "civic pride" generally under *Prussian auspices*, so Lassalle wanted to play the Marquis Posa of the proletariat with Philip II of the Uckermark,¹⁴¹ Bismarck acting as procurer between him and the Prussian kingdom. He only copied the behaviour of the gentlemen of the National Association. But while these invoked the Prussian "reaction" in the interests of the middle class, Lassalle shook hands with Bismarck in the interests of the proletariat. These gentlemen had greater justification than Lassalle, in so far as the middle class is accustomed to regard the interest immediately in front of their nose as "reality", and as in fact this class has concluded a compromise everywhere, even with feudalism, whereas in the very nature of things the working class must be sincerely "revolutionary".

For a theatrically vain character like Lassalle (who was not, however, to be bribed by paltry trash like office, a mayoralty, etc.), it was a most tempting thought: an act directly on behalf of the proletariat, executed by Ferdinand Lassalle! He was in fact too ignorant of the real economic conditions required for such an act to be critical of himself. The German workers, on the other hand, were too "demoralised" by the despicable "realistic politics" which had induced the German middle class to tolerate the reaction of 1849-59 and witness the stupefying of the people, not to hail such a quack saviour, who promised to get them at one bound into the promised land.

Well, to pick up again the thread broken off above. Hardly was the *Social-Demokrat* founded when it became clear that old Hatzfeldt wanted belatedly to execute Lassalle's "last will and testament". Through Wägener (of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*¹⁴²) she was in touch with Bismarck. She placed the "Workers' Association" (the *General Association of German Workers*¹⁴³), the *Social-Demokrat*, etc., at his disposal. The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein was to be proclaimed in the *Social-Demokrat*, Bismarck to be recognised in general as patron, etc. The whole pretty plan was *frustrated* because we had Liebknecht in Berlin and on the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*. Although Engels and I disliked the editorial board of the paper, with its lickspittle cult of Lassalle, its occasional flirting with Bismarck, etc., it was, of course, more important to stand publicly by the paper for the time being in order to thwart old Hatzfeldt's intrigues and prevent the discrediting of the workers' party. We therefore made *bonne mine à mauvais jeu*,^a

^a The best of a bad bargain.—Ed.

although privately we were always writing to the *Social-Demokrat* that they must oppose Bismarck just as much as they oppose the Progressives. We even put up with the intrigues of that affected coxcomb, Bernhard Becker—who takes the importance bequeathed him by Lassalle's testament quite seriously—*against the International Working Men's Association*.

Meanwhile Mr. Schweitzer's articles in the *Social-Demokrat* became more and more Bismarckian. I had written to him earlier that the Progressives could be *intimidated* on the "question of combinations", but that the *Prussian Government would never under any circumstances* agree to the complete abolition of the Combination Laws, because that would involve breaching the bureaucratic system, would cause the workers to be declared of age, would disrupt the Rules Governing Servants,¹⁴⁴ abolish the aristocracy's flogging of posteriors in the countryside, etc., etc.; Bismarck could never allow this and it was altogether incompatible with the Prussian *bureaucratic* state. I added that if the Chamber repudiated the Combination Laws, the government would have recourse to *phrases* (such phrases, for example, as that the social question demanded "more thoroughgoing" measures, etc.) in order to retain them. All this proved to be correct. And what did Herr von Schweitzer do? He goes and writes an article *for* Bismarck¹⁴⁵ and reserves all his heroic spirit to fight such infinitely small people as Schulze, Faucher, etc.

I think that Schweitzer and the others have *honest* intentions, but they are "*realistic politicians*". They want to accommodate themselves to *existing* circumstances and refuse to leave this *privilege* of "realistic politics" to the exclusive use of Messrs. Miquel et Comp. (The latter seem to want to reserve to themselves the right of intermixture with the Prussian Government.) They know that the workers' press and the workers' movement in Prussia (and therefore in the rest of Germany) exist solely by the grace of the police. So they want to take things as they are, and not irritate the government, etc., just like our "*republican*" realistic politicians, who are willing to "put up with" a Hohenzollern *emperor*. But since I am not a "realistic politician" I together with Engels have found it necessary to give notice to the *Social-Demokrat*^a in a public statement (which you will probably soon see in one paper or another) of our intention to quit.

You will understand at the same time why at the present moment I can do *nothing* in Prussia. The government there has refused point-blank to reinstate me as a Prussian citizen. I should be allowed to *agitate* there only in a form acceptable to Herr v. Bismarck.

^a See p. 156 of this volume.—*Ed.*

I prefer a hundred times over my agitation here through the *International Association*. Its influence on the *English* proletariat is direct and of the greatest importance. We are now stirring up here the general suffrage question, which here of course has a *significance quite different* from what it has in Prussia.

On the whole the progress of this "Association" is *beyond all expectation*, here, in Paris, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Only in Germany, of course, I am opposed by Lassalle's successors, who:

1) are stupidly afraid of losing their importance;

2) are aware of my avowed opposition to what the Germans call "realistic politics". (It is this sort of "realism" that places Germany so far behind all civilised countries.)

Since anybody who pays one shilling for a card can become a member of the Association; for the French have chosen this form of individual membership (also the Belgians), because the law prevents them from affiliating to us as an "association" and as the situation is similar in Germany, I have now decided to ask my friends here and in Germany to form small societies—irrespective of the number of members in each locality—and that each member acquires an English membership card. Since the English society is *public*, nothing stands in the way of following such a procedure, even in France. I would be glad if you as well as the people closest to you were to get into touch with London in this way.

Thank you for your prescription. Curiously enough, the disgusting illness had started again three days before the prescription arrived. It therefore came quite opportunely.

In a few days I shall send you 24 additional *Addresses*.^a I have just been interrupted in my writing by a friend and since I should like to get this letter off I shall answer other points in your letter the next time.

Yours,
K. M.

76

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ALBERT LANGE
IN DUISBURG

Manchester, March 29, 1865

...The involuntary delay in answering your letter has given me the opportunity of obtaining your book on the labour question; I have read it with much interest.¹⁴⁶ The very first time

^a i. e., 24 copies of the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association* written by Marx.—Ed.



K. Marx, F. Engels and Marx's daughters—
Jenny, Eleanor and Laura (1860s)

I read Darwin,^a I too noticed the remarkable likeness between his account of plant and animal life and the Malthusian theory. But my conclusion was entirely different from yours: namely, that the supreme disgrace of modern bourgeois development is the fact that it has not yet got beyond the economic forms of the animal world. To us so-called "economic laws" are not eternal laws of nature but historical laws which appear and disappear; and the code of modern political economy, in so far as it has been drawn up accurately and objectively by the economists, is to us simply a summary of the laws and conditions under which alone modern bourgeois society can exist—in short, its conditions of production and exchange expressed in an abstract way and summarised. To us therefore none of these laws, in so far as it expresses *purely bourgeois relations*, is older than modern bourgeois society; those which have been more or less valid throughout all hitherto existing history express only those relations which are common to all forms of society based on class rule and class exploitation. To the former belongs the so-called law of Ricardo, which is valid neither for feudal serfdom nor ancient slavery; to the latter belongs what is tenable in the so-called Malthusian theory.

Like all his other ideas, Parson Malthus had stolen this theory direct from his predecessors; all that belongs to him is the purely arbitrary application of the two progressions. In England the theory itself has long ago been reduced to a rational scale by the economists; the pressure of population is not upon the means of subsistence but upon the means of *employment*; mankind could multiply more rapidly than is compatible with modern bourgeois society. This is to us another reason for declaring that this bourgeois society is an obstacle to development, which must fall.

You yourself ask how increase of population and increase in the means of subsistence are to be brought into harmony; but except for one sentence in the preface I find no attempt to solve the question. We start from the premise that the same forces which have created modern bourgeois society—the steam-engine, modern machinery, mass colonisation, railways, steamships, world trade—and which now, through the permanent trade crises, are already working towards its ruin and ultimate destruction—that these means of production and exchange will suffice to reverse the relation in a short time, and to raise the productive power of each individual so much that he is able to produce enough for the consumption of two, three, four, five or six individuals; that urban industry will be able to spare people enough to provide agriculture with quite different forces than it could up to now; that science

^a Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*.—Ed.

will then at last be applied in agriculture too on a large scale and with the same consistency as in industry; that the exploitation of the apparently inexhaustible regions fertilised by nature herself in South-Eastern Europe and Western America will be carried out on a magnificent scale hitherto quite unknown. The time to sound the alarm will come only when all these regions have been ploughed up and a shortage sets in nevertheless.

Too little is produced—that is the whole trouble. But *why* is too little produced? Not because the limits of production—even today and with present-day means—are exhausted. No, but because the limits of production are determined not by the number of hungry bellies but by the number of *purses* able to buy and to pay. Bourgeois society does not and cannot wish to produce any more. The moneyless bellies, the labour which cannot be employed *with profit* and therefore cannot buy, go to increase the death-rate. Let us assume that a sudden industrial boom, such as occurs every now and then, makes it possible for this labour to be employed with profit, then the workers get money to buy things, and the means of subsistence have up to now always been found. This is the endless vicious circle in which the whole economic system revolves. One presupposes the totality of bourgeois conditions, and then proves that every part of it is a necessary part—and hence an eternal law.

I was much amused by your description of the Schulze co-operative societies.¹⁴⁷ All that sort of thing existed here in its own way but is now more or less past history. Proletarian pride has yet to be acquired by the people in Germany.

I cannot leave unnoticed a remark you make about old Hegel, who you say lacked the more profound kind of mathematical and natural-scientific knowledge. Hegel knew so much mathematics that not one of his pupils was equal to the task of editing the numerous mathematical manuscripts he left behind. The only man I know who understands enough mathematics and philosophy to do this is Marx. The absurdities of detail in Hegel's philosophy of nature I grant you of course readily enough, but his *real* philosophy of nature is to be found in the second part of his *Logic*, in the doctrine of Essence, the true kernel of the whole theory. But the modern scientific doctrine of the correlation of natural forces (Grove, *Correlation of Forces*, which I think first appeared in 1838) is after all only another expression, or rather is the positive proof, of the Hegelian exposition of cause, effect, correlation, force, etc. I am of course no longer a Hegelian, but I still have a great feeling of piety and devotion towards the colossal old chap.

Yours truly,

Frederick Engels

77

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] May 1, 1865

...The great success of the International Association is this: The Reform League is our work.¹⁴⁸ The working men on the inner Committee of twelve (6 middle-class men and 6 working men) are all members of our Council (including Eccarius). We have baffled all attempts of the middle class to mislead the working class. The movement in the provinces is this time wholly dependent on that of London. Ernest Jones, for example, had despaired till we set the ball a-going. If we succeed in re-electrifying the political movement of the English working class, our Association, without making any fuss, will have done more for the working class of Europe than has been possible in any other way. And there is every prospect of success....

78

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] May 20, 1865

...There is a special meeting of the International this evening. A good old fellow, an old Owenist, *Weston* (carpenter) has put forward the following two propositions, which he is continually defending in the *Beehive*:

1) that a general rise in the rate of wages would be of no use to the workers;

2) that therefore, etc., the trades unions have a *harmful* effect.

If these two propositions, in which *he* alone in our society believes, were accepted, we should be in a great mess with regard to both the trades unions here and the infection of strikes which now prevails on the Continent.

On this occasion—as non-members may be admitted to this meeting—he will be supported by a man who is born in England, and has written a pamphlet to the same effect. I am of course expected to supply the refutation. I therefore ought really to have worked out my reply for this evening, but thought it more important to continue writing my book^a and so shall have to depend upon improvisation.

^a The reference is to *Capital*.—Ed.

Of course I know beforehand what the two main points are:

- 1) that *wages* determine the value of commodities;
- 2) that if the capitalists pay 5 instead of 4 shillings today, they will sell their commodities for 5 instead of 4 shillings tomorrow (being enabled to do so by the increased demand).

Although this is really trite and considers only the most superficial external appearance, it is nevertheless not easy to explain to ignorant people all the economic questions which compete with one another here. You can't compress a course of political economy into one hour. But we shall do our best.¹⁴⁹

Edgar^a regards it as a good omen that you were the first person he met in England. He liked Lizzy very much.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a Edgar von Westphalen, the brother of Jenny Marx.—*Ed.*

1866

79

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, January 15, 1866

Dear Friend,

Best wishes for the new year and best thanks for your kind letter.

You must excuse the brevity of these lines because at the moment I am overburdened with work. Next time I shall write more fully.

I am enclosing two membership cards and in my next letter I shall tell you the questions which are to be discussed at the public Congress in Geneva at the end of May.

Our Association has made great progress. It already has three official organs: one in London, *The Workman's Advocate*, one in Brussels, *La Tribune du Peuple*, and one issued by the French Section in Switzerland, *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de la Suisse Romande* (Geneva); *Der Vorbote*, a paper issued by the German-Swiss Section, will appear in a few days under the editorship of *J. P. Becker*. (Address: 6, Rue du Môle, Geneva, *J. P. Becker*, in case you should like to send him contributions occasionally, political or social.)

We have succeeded in drawing into the movement the one really big workers' organisation, the English "*Trade Unions*", which formerly concerned themselves *exclusively* with wage questions. It was with their help that the English society which we founded for achieving *universal suffrage*^a (one half of its Central Committee—i.e., the workers—are members of our Central Committee) held a monster meeting a few weeks ago, at which only workers spoke. You can judge of the effect by the fact that the meeting was discussed by the *Times* in leading articles appearing in two consecutive issues.

As for my book,^b I am working twelve hours a day in order to produce a fair copy. I intend to bring the manuscript of the first volume myself to Hamburg in March, and to use the opportunity to see you....

^a Marx refers to the Reform League (see Note 148).—*Ed.*

^b Volume I of *Capital*.—*Ed.*

80

ENGELS TO MARX IN MARGATE

[Manchester,] April 13, 1866

...So Bismarck has brought off his universal suffrage stroke even though without his Lassalle. It looks as if the German bourgeois will agree to it after some resistance, for Bonapartism is after all the real religion of the modern bourgeoisie. It is becoming more and more clear to me that the bourgeoisie has not the stuff in it to rule directly itself, and that therefore unless there is an oligarchy, as here in England, capable of taking over, for good pay, the management of state and society in the interests of the bourgeoisie, a Bonapartist semi-dictatorship is the normal form. It upholds the big material interests of the bourgeoisie even against the will of the bourgeoisie, but allows the bourgeoisie no share in the government. The dictatorship in its turn is forced against its will to adopt these material interests of the bourgeoisie as its own. So we now get Monsieur Bismarck adopting the programme of the National Association.¹⁵⁰ To carry it out is something quite different, of course, but Bismarck is hardly likely to come to grief through the German middle class. A German who has just returned relates that he has already found many who swallowed this bait; according to Reuter the Karlsruhe people have accepted the business and the profound embarrassment which this affair has caused the *Kölnische Zeitung*¹⁵¹ clearly indicates the forthcoming turn of events....

81

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 7, 1866

...So there is to be war after all unless some miracle happens. The Prussians will suffer for their bragging and in any case the idyll in Germany is a thing of the past. The Proudhonist clique among the students in Paris (*Courrier français*) preaches peace, declares war to be obsolete and nationalities to be an absurdity, attacks Bismarck and Garibaldi, etc. As polemics against chauvinism their doings are useful and explicable. But as believers in Proudhon (Lafargue and Longuet, two very good friends of mine here, also belong to them), who think all Europe must and will sit quietly on their hindquarters until the gentlemen in France

abolish "poverty and ignorance", under the latter of which they themselves labour in inverse proportion to their vociferations about "social science", they are grotesque....

82

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 20, 1866

Dear Fred,

The abominable weather is particularly baneful for my constitution; and that is the reason why I have not yet notified you about the receipt of the wine nor written to you about anything else. It is impossible for me to come to Manchester for I cannot leave the house in my present state. Besides, I must be here on account of the International, since my French friends have already once taken advantage of my absence to do some silly things under these trying circumstances in the name of the Association.

With regard to the newspapers here it is my opinion that if nothing comes of that Manchester business the best thing for you to do would be to send the *Times* a snappy military article, introducing yourself as the English correspondent of the Darmstadt *Militär-Zeitung*.¹⁵² There is no need to take any political considerations into account, for one London paper is just as bad as another and what matters is the widest publicity.

You must now keep me "critically" posted on affairs in Italy and Germany.

Yesterday there was a discussion in the International Council on the present war. The question had been announced beforehand and our room was very crowded. The Italian gentry too had sent delegates. The discussion wound up, as was to be foreseen, with the "question of nationality" in general and the attitude we take towards it. This subject¹⁵³ was adjourned till next Tuesday.

The French, who were there in great numbers, gave vent to their cordial dislike of the Italians.

By the way, the representatives of "Young France" (*non-workers*) came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were "antiquated prejudices". Proudhonised Stirnerism. Everything is to be dissolved into small "groups" or "communes", which in turn are to form an "association", but no state. And this "individualisation" of humanity and the corresponding "mutualism" are to go on while history comes to a stop in all other countries and the whole world waits until the French are ripe for a social revolution. Then they will demonstrate the experiment

to us, and the rest of the world, overwhelmed by the force of their example, will follow suit. Exactly what Fourier expected of his model phalanstery. Anyhow, whoever encumbers the "social" question with the "superstitions" of the old world is a "reactionary".

The English laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friend Lafargue and others, who had done away with nationalities, had spoken "*French*" to us, i.e., a language which nine-tenths of the audience did not understand. I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities he appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption by the model French nation.

The situation is moreover rather difficult at present, because one must oppose on the one hand silly English Italianism and on the other the erroneous French polemics against it, and it is necessary to prevent in particular every demonstration that would involve our Association in a one-sided course.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

83

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] July 7, 1866

...The workers' demonstrations in London, which are marvelous compared with anything we have seen in England since 1849, are purely the work of the *International*. Mr. Lucraft, for instance, the leader in Trafalgar Square, is one of our Council.¹⁵⁴ This shows the difference between *working* behind the scenes and not appearing in public and the Democrats' way of making oneself important in public and *doing nothing*.

The *Commonwealth* will soon give up the ghost. Fox is leaving it next week. By the way, Stumpf writes to me from Mainz that the demand for your book *The Condition, etc.*, among the workers is growing daily and that you must definitely put out a second edition, if only for Party reasons. He says at the same time that according to his personal experience immediately after the war the "labour question" will come prominently to the fore in Germany....

Bonaparte of course does not want war until he has introduced the needle gun or some equivalent. A *Yankee*¹⁵⁵ has offered the War Ministry here a rifle which, as I am assured by a refugee

Prussian officer (Wilke), excels the needle gun by as much as the latter does "Old Bess"¹⁵⁶ because of the absolute simplicity of its construction, the small amount of heat produced, the less cleaning required and its cheapness. Is our theory that the *organization of labour* is determined *by the means of production* confirmed anywhere more convincingly than in the manslaughter industry? It would really be worth the trouble for you to write something about this (I lack the knowledge required) which I could introduce over your name into my book as an appendix. Think it over. If yes it has to be done for the first volume, in which I am expressly writing about this subject. You can imagine what great joy it would give me to have you appear also in my main work (hitherto I did only small things) as a direct collaborator and not merely by way of quotations!

I am studying Comte on the side because the British and French make so much fuss over that fellow. What captivates them is the encyclopaedic form, the synthesis. But compared with Hegel it is wretched (in spite of the fact that Comte being a mathematician and physicist is by profession, superior to him, i.e., superior in details; but even here Hegel is infinitely greater when one considers the whole). And this trashy positivism appeared in 1832!

84

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, July 25, 1866

...The business in Germany seems to me fairly simple now. As soon as Bismarck by using the Prussian army carried out the Little-Germany scheme¹⁵⁷ of the bourgeoisie with such colossal success, the development in Germany has so firmly taken this direction that we, like others, must acknowledge the *fait accompli*, may we like it or not. As to the *national* side of the affair, Bismarck will in any case establish the Little-German Empire in the dimensions intended by the bourgeoisie, i.e., including South-West Germany—for the phrases about the line of the Main and the optional separate South German Confederacy are no doubt meant for the French, and in the meantime the Prussians are marching on Stuttgart. Moreover, before very long the German provinces of Austria will also fall to this empire, since Austria is now bound to become Hungarian,¹⁵⁸ and the Germans will be the third nationality in the empire—even after the Slavs.

Politically Bismarck will be compelled to rely on the middle class, whom he needs against the imperial princes. Not at the moment, perhaps, because his prestige and the army are still sufficient. But he will have to give something to the middle class

even if only to secure from Parliament the necessary conditions for the central power, and the natural course of the affairs will always force him or his successors to appeal to the middle class again; so that if at present, as is possible, Bismarck does not concede more to the middle class than he actually *has to*, he will still be driven more and more into their camp.

The good side of the affair is that it simplifies the situation; it makes a revolution easier by doing away with the brawls between the petty capital cities and will certainly accelerate developments. After all a German Parliament is something quite different from a Prussian Chamber. The petty states in their totality will be swept into the movement, the worst localising influences will disappear and parties will at last become really national parties instead of merely local ones.

The chief disadvantage—a very great one—is the unavoidable flooding of Germany with Prussianism. Also—the temporary separation of German Austria, which will result in an immediate advance of the Slav elements in Bohemia, Moravia and Carinthia. Unfortunately *nothing* can be done against *either* of these consequences.

In my opinion, therefore, we have to accept the fact, without approving of it, and to use, as far as we can, the greater facilities now bound at any rate to become available for the *national* organisation and unification of the German proletariat.

There was no need for Stumpf to write to me that brother Liebknecht's view on Austria was bound to become increasingly fanatical. It could not possibly be otherwise. He moreover published furious articles, undoubtedly sent from Leipzig, in the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung*. Blind's prince-devouring *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* went so far as to reproach the Prussians for their disgraceful treatment of the "venerable Elector of Hesse",^a and waxed enthusiastic over the poor blind Guelph!^b

Nothing more has appeared in the *Guardian*.^c

Yours,
F. E.

85

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] July 27, 1866

...I am quite of your opinion that this trash has to be taken the way it is. It is however congenial to be at a distance during

^a Ludwig III.—*Ed.*

^b George V of Hanover.—*Ed.*

^c *The Manchester Guardian*.—*Ed.*

the early period of this first love. The arrogance of the Prussians and the foolishness of handsome William, who believes that nothing has changed since that triumphal dream except that he has become a powerful potentate, etc., will have their effect after all. The Austrians are now where the fanatical Slavs of Prague wanted them to be in 1848. But, for the time being, their loss of Venice and the enforced concentration of their strength are by no means favourable to the Russians. Being themselves a Pan-Slavic empire the Austrians will become still more antagonistic to the Muscovites. Although, considering the extraordinary debasement of the Habsburgs, one must fear that by and by they will be induced by the Russians to make a joint attack on Turkey.

Everything that centralises the bourgeoisie is of course advantageous to the workers. Anyhow the peace, even if concluded tomorrow, will be still more provisional than that of Villafranca and Zurich. As soon as the "arms reform" has been carried out by the various sides the "whacking" will start all over again, as Schapper would say. At any rate Bonaparte too has had a setback although the formation of military kingdoms right and left fits into the Plon-Plon plan of "universal democracy".

Here the government has nearly produced a revolt. The Englishman first needs a revolutionary education, of course, and two weeks would be enough for that if Sir Richard Mayne had absolute control. Matters were indeed hanging upon a thread. If the railings—and it was touch and go—had been used offensively and defensively against the police and about twenty of the latter had been killed, the military would have had to "intervene" instead of only parading. And then there would have been some fun. One thing is certain, these thick-headed John Bulls, whose brainpans seem to have been specially manufactured for the constables' bludgeons, will never get anywhere without a really bloody encounter with those in power....

86

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, October 9, 1866

...I had great apprehensions concerning the first Congress at Geneva. On the whole however it turned out better than I had anticipated. The effect in France, England and America was unexpected. I could not, and did not want to go there, but wrote the programme for the London delegates.¹⁵⁹ I deliberately restricted it to those points which allow of immediate agreement and

concerted action by the workers, and give direct nourishment and impetus to the requirements of the class struggle and the organisation of the workers into a class. The Parisian gentlemen had their heads full of the emptiest Proudhonist phrases. They babble about science and know nothing. They reject all *revolutionary* action, that is, action arising out of the class struggle itself, all concentrated, social movements, and therefore also those which can be carried through by *political means* (for instance the *legal* shortening of the working day). Under the *pretext of freedom*, and of anti-governmentalism or anti-authoritarian individualism, these gentlemen—who for sixteen years have so quietly endured the most miserable despotism, and still endure it!—actually preach ordinary bourgeois economy, only Proudhonistically idealised! Proudhon did enormous mischief. His sham criticism and sham opposition to the utopians (he himself is only a petty-bourgeois utopian, whereas in the utopias of a Fourier, an Owen, etc., there is the anticipation and imaginative expression of a new world) attracted and corrupted first the “*jeunesse brillante*”,^a the students, and then the workmen, particularly those of Paris, who as workers in luxury trades are strongly attached, without knowing it, to the old rubbish. Ignorant, vain, presumptuous, talkative, blusteringly arrogant, they were on the point of spoiling everything, for they rushed to the Congress in numbers which bore no relation whatever to the number of their members. In the report I shall, on the quiet, rap them on the knuckles.

The American Workers' Congress at Baltimore, which took place at the same time, caused me great joy. The slogan there was organisation for the struggle against capital, and remarkably enough, most of the demands which I drew up for Geneva were also put forward there by the right instinct of the workers.

The Reform movement^b here, which our Central Council called into existence (*quorum magna pars fui*^c) has now reached immense dimensions and become irresistible. I have kept behind the scenes all the time and do not trouble myself further about the affair, now it has been set going.

Yours,
K. Marx

^a Brilliant youth.—*Ed.*

^b The movement for electoral reform.—*Ed.*

^c In which I played a great part.—*Ed.*

1867

87

MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER IN NEW YORK

Hanover, April 30, 1867

Dear Friend,

You must have a very bad opinion of me, the more so when I tell you that your letters gave me not only *great pleasure* but were a *real solace* to me during the harrowing period in which I received them. The knowledge that an able man of high principles has been won for our Party compensates me for the worst. Moreover your letters were full of the kindest friendship for me personally, and you will understand that I, being engaged in the bitterest conflict with the whole world (the official one), am least capable of underestimating this.

Well, why didn't I answer you? Because I was constantly hovering at the edge of the grave. Hence I had to make use of *every* moment when I was able to work to complete my book, to which I have sacrificed health, happiness, and family. I trust that I need not add anything to this explanation. I laugh at the so-called "practical" men with their wisdom. If one chose to be to an ox, one could of course turn one's back on the sufferings of mankind and look after one's own skin. But I should have really regarded myself as *impractical* if I had pegged out without completely finishing my book, at least in manuscript.

The *first volume* of the work will be published in a few weeks by Otto Meissner in Hamburg. The title is: *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* [*Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*]. I have come to Germany in order to bring the manuscript across

and am staying for a few days with a friend in Hanover^a on my way back to London.

Volume I comprises the "*Process of Capitalist Production*". Besides the general scientific exposition, I describe in great detail, from hitherto unused *official* sources, the condition of the English agricultural and industrial proletariat *during the last 20 years*, ditto *Irish* conditions. You will, of course, understand that all this serves me only as an "*argumentum ad hominem*".

I hope the whole work will have been published in a year from now. *Volume II* gives the continuation and conclusion of the theoretical part,¹⁶⁰ *Volume III* the history of political economy since the middle of the seventeenth century.

As for the International Working Men's Association, it has become a power in England, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. Establish as many branches as possible in America. Contribution per member one penny (about one Silbergroschen) per annum, but every commune contributes what it can. Congress this year in Lausanne, September 3. Each commune can send one representative. Write me about this, about how you yourself are getting on in America, and about general conditions. If you keep silent, I shall consider it proof that you still have not absolved me from blame.

Cordially yours,
Karl Marx

88

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, June 16, 1867

Dear Moor,

I have been so upset the last eight days by all kinds of squabbles with Monsieur Gottfried¹⁶¹ and other such affairs and disturbances that I seldom had the leisure for studying the form of value. Otherwise I would have returned the sheets^b to you long ago. The second sheet especially appears somewhat heavy due to your

^a Ludwig Kugelmann.—*Ed.*

^b Engels is referring to the proofs of Volume I of *Capital*.—*Ed.*

carbuncles, but that cannot be altered now and I do not think you should do anything more about it in an addendum, for, after all, the philistine is not accustomed to this sort of abstract thought and will certainly not wear himself out to acquire this art. At most the points here arrived at dialectically might be set forth historically at somewhat greater length, to furnish the historical proof, so to speak, although what is most necessary in this respect has already been said. But you have so much material that you can certainly still make quite a good digression upon it, which will in a historical manner demonstrate to the philistine the necessity for the development of money and the process which takes place in connection with it.

In these rather abstract elaborations you have committed the great mistake of not making the sequence of thought clear by a larger number of small sub-sections and separate headings. You ought to have dealt with this part in the manner of Hegel's *Encyclopaedia*, with short paragraphs, every dialectical transition marked by a special heading and so far as possible all excursuses and mere illustrations printed in special type. The thing would have looked rather pedantic, but it would have been made much more comprehensible to a very large class of readers. For the people, even the learned section, are not at all accustomed to this kind of thinking any longer and one must make it as easy for them as possible.

Compared with the earlier account (Duncker) ^a the progress in the sharpness of the dialectical development is very marked, but in the account itself I like many things better in the first wording. It is a great pity that it should be just the important second sheet which suffers from the carbuncle imprint. But there is nothing to be done about this now, and anyone capable of thinking dialectically will understand it all the same. The other sheets are very good and have given me great delight....

Have read Hofmann. ^b The more recent chemical theory, with all its faults, is a great advance on the former atomic one. The molecule as the smallest part of matter *capable of independent existence* is a perfectly rational category, a "nodal point",¹⁶² as Hegel put it, in the infinite series of divisions, which does not conclude them but establishes a qualitative difference. The atom—formerly represented as the limit of divisibility—is now nothing more than a *relation*, although Monsieur Hofmann himself relapses

^a Engels refers to the *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*), first published in Berlin in 1859 by F. Duncker.—Ed.

^b August Wilhelm Hofmann, *Einleitung in die moderne Chemie* (*Introduction to Modern Chemistry*).—Ed.

every minute into the old idea of actually indivisible atoms. For the rest the progress of chemistry which the book records is really enormous, and Schorlemmer says that this revolution is still going on all the time, so that one may expect new upheavals any day.

Best regards to your wife, the girls, and the electrician. ^a

Yours,
F. E.

Sending 5 sheets back today.

89

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 22, 1867

...I hope you are satisfied with the four sheets. ^b Your satisfaction up to now is more important to me than anything the rest of the world may say of it. At any rate I hope the bourgeoisie will remember my carbuncles all the rest of their lives. Here is yet another proof what swine they are. You know that the Children's Employment Commission has been functioning for five years. As a result of their first report, which appeared in 1863, "measures" were at once taken against the branches of industry denounced. At the beginning of this session the Tory cabinet had introduced a bill, through Walpole, the weeping willow, accepting all the proposals of the Commission, though on a very reduced scale. The fellows against whom measures were to be taken, among them the big metal manufacturers, and especially the vampires of "domestic work", kept an embarrassed silence. Now they are presenting a petition to Parliament and demanding a *fresh investigation!* They say the previous one was prejudiced! They are calculating on the Reform Bill¹⁶³ absorbing all public attention so that the thing can be smuggled through quite comfortably and

^a This is a reference to Paul Lafargue, who was inclined to use electricity in medicine.—*Ed.*

^b Marx is referring to the proofs of Volume I of his *Capital*.—*Ed.*

privately while at the same time the Trade Unions¹⁶⁴ have stormy weather to face. The worst thing in the "Reports" is the *testimony of the fellows themselves*. Thus they know that a fresh investigation can mean only *one thing*, but it is just "what we bourgeois want"—a new five years' term of exploitation. Fortunately my position in the International enables me to upset the nice calculations of these curs. The thing is of the utmost importance. It is a question of *abolishing the torture* of one and a half million human beings, not including the adult male working men!¹⁶⁵

As to the development of the *form of value* I have and have not followed your advice, in order to behave dialectically in this respect as well. That is to say 1) I have written an *appendix* in which I describe *the same thing* as simply and as pedagogically as possible, and 2) I have followed your advice and divided each successive proposition into paragraphs, etc., *with separate headings*. In the *preface* I then tell the "non-dialectical" reader that he should skip pages x-y and read the appendix¹⁶⁶ instead. This concerns not merely philistines but also youth eager for knowledge, etc. Besides, the matter is too decisive for the whole book. The economists have hitherto overlooked the extremely simple point that the form: *20 yards of linen = 1 coat* is only the undeveloped basis of *20 yards of linen = £ 2*, and that therefore the *simplest commodity form*, in which its value is not yet expressed as a relation to all other commodities but only as something *differentiated* from the natural form of the commodity itself contains the *whole secret of the money form* and with it, in embryo, of *all the bourgeois forms of the product of labour*. In my first account (Duncker)^a I avoided the difficulty of setting this forth by giving an actual analysis of the *expression of value* only when it appears already developed and expressed in money.

You are quite right about Hofmann.^b Incidentally, you will also see from the conclusion of my Chapter III,¹⁶⁷ where the transformation of the handicraft-master into a capitalist—as a result of merely *quantitative* changes—is touched upon, that *in that text* I quote Hegel's discovery regarding the *law that merely quantitative changes turn into qualitative changes* and state that it holds good alike in history and natural science. In a *note* to the text (at that time I was just attending Hofmann's lectures) I mention the *molecular theory* but not Hofmann, who discovered *nothing*

^a Marx refers to his *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy)*, first published in Berlin in 1859 by F. Duncker.—Ed.

^b Hofmann, *Einleitung in die moderne Chemie (Introduction to Modern Chemistry)*.—Ed.

in this field but only gave the matter a final *polish*; instead I mention Laurent, Gerhardt, and *Wurtz*, of whom the last-named is *the real man*.¹⁶⁸ Your letter brought a dim recollection of the thing to my mind and I therefore looked up my manuscript....

90

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, June 26, 1867

...The following additional remark regarding the origin of surplus value: the manufacturer and the vulgar economist as well will immediately reply: if the capitalist pays the worker for his 12 hours' labour only the price of 6 hours, then this cannot be a source of surplus value, for in this case each hour of the factory worker's labour counts merely as half an hour's labour—commensurate with what has been paid for it—and only this value enters into the value of the product of labour. A calculation in accordance with the usual formula will then be given as an example: so much paid for raw material, so much for wear and tear, so much for wages (*wages actually paid* for the actual product per hour), etc. Even though this argument is frightfully shallow and completely equates exchange value with price, and value of labour with wages, and though it is based on the quite absurd assumption that, if for one hour's labour the price of only half an hour is paid, then it enters into the value merely as half an hour—I am nevertheless surprised that you have not already taken this argument into consideration, for you will *quite certainly* be confronted with it immediately and it is better to answer it in advance. Perhaps you return to this point in the following sheets....

91

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 27, 1867

...The last sheet I received was the twentieth. ^a The whole thing will surely come to 40-42 sheets. *No more clean proofs* received up

^a Of the first volume of *Capital*.—Ed.

to date after those sent to you. Send me back those you have when you leave.

In regard to what you say about the inevitable doubts of the philistine and vulgar economist (who naturally forget that if they reckon *paid labour* as *wages* they reckon *unpaid labour* as *profit*, etc.), the whole thing boils down, scientifically expressed, to the following question:

How is the value of a commodity transformed into its price of production, in which

- 1) *the whole labour seems to be paid in the form of wages;*
- 2) *but surplus labour, or surplus value, assumes the form of an increase in price, called interest, profit, etc., over and above the cost price (=price of the constant part of capital + wages).*

Answering this question presupposes:

I. That the *transformation of, for example, the value of a day's labour power into wages, or the price of a day's labour* has been explained. This is done in *Chapter V* of this volume.¹⁶⁹

II. That the *transformation of surplus value into profit, and profit into average profit, etc.,* has been explained. This presupposes that the *circulation process of capital* has been previously explained, since the turnover of capital, etc., plays a role here. This matter therefore cannot be presented before the third book (*Volume II* contains books two and three). There it will be seen how the philistine's and vulgar economist's *way of looking at things* arises, namely, because it is only the *immediate phenomenal form* of these relations that is reflected in their brains and not their *inner connection*. Incidentally, if the latter were the case what need would there be of *science*?

If I were to *cut short* all such doubts *in advance* I would spoil the whole method of dialectical exposition. On the contrary. This method has the advantage of constantly *setting traps* for those fellows which provoke them to an untimely manifestation of their asininity.

Moreover, immediately after para 3: "*The Rate of Surplus Value*", the last you had in hand, follows *The Working Day* (struggle over the length of the working time), the treatment of which plainly shows that *in practice* Mister Bourgeois understands very well the source and substance of his profit. This is also apparent in the *Senior case*, in which the bourgeois asserts that all his profit and interest are derived from the *last unpaid working hour*.

Best regards to Mrs. Lizzy.

Yours,
K. M.

92

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] August 16, 1867, 2 o'clock at night

Dear Fred,

Have just finished correcting the *last sheet* (49th) of the book. The appendix—*form of value*—takes up $1\frac{1}{4}$ sheets *in small print*.¹⁷⁰

Preface, too, I sent back yesterday corrected. So *this volume is finished*. It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!

Enclosed two sheets of clean proofs.

The £ 15 received with best thanks.

Greetings, my dear, beloved friend!

Yours,

K. Marx

I shall not want the clean proofs back *until the whole book has appeared*.

93

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] August 24, 1867

...The best points in my book are: 1) the *two-fold character of labour*, according to whether it is expressed in use value or exchange value. (*All* understanding of the facts depends upon this.) It is emphasised immediately, in the *first* chapter; 2) the treatment of *surplus value independently of its particular forms* as profit, interest, rent, etc. This will be seen especially in the second volume. The treatment of the particular forms by classical economy, which always mixes them up with the general form, is a regular hash.

Please *insert* your desiderata, critical remarks, queries, etc., into the clean proofs. This is very important to me, since I count on a second edition sooner or later. As for Chapter IV, it cost me much hard toil to ascertain *the things themselves*, i.e., their *interconnection*. Then, after that had been done, one Blue Book after another arrived while I was in the midst of the *final elaboration*, and I was delighted to find my theoretical results fully con-

Zu Maxen Briefe

2. Brief 2. - 2. Brief Maxen. 16 Aug. 1867
Merkung auf Brief, habe die Briefe eingesehen

Dear Fred,

Es ist das erste Buch (49.) das heißt
fastig kommt das Buch - Maxen -
Abendblatt, umfasst $1\frac{1}{4}$ Bände
Werde die ersten einigen vielleicht
alle die ersten einigen. Das die erste
Denke ich es, das die ersten einigen vielleicht erste die
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Die erste einigen.

Marx's letter to Engels of August 16, 1867, announcing
that the first volume of *Capital* is finished

firmed by the facts. Finally it was written, amidst carbuncles and the daily calls of creditors!

The concluding part of the second book (*Process of Circulation*), the part I am *now* writing, contains a point concerning which I must once more apply to you for help, as I did many years ago.

Fixed capital has to be replaced in kind only after, say, 10 years. In the meantime its value returns partially and gradually as the commodities produced by it are sold. This progressive return of the fixed capital is needed for its replacement (leaving repairs and the like out of consideration) only when its material form, for instance that of a machine has ceased to exist. *In the meantime* however the capitalist has these successive returns on hand.

Many years ago I wrote to you that it seemed to me that in this way an *accumulation fund* is formed, since the capitalist naturally *employs* the returned money *in the interval* elapsing before *replacing* the fixed capital with it. In one letter you argued somewhat superficially against this. *Later* I found that McCulloch describes this *sinking fund* as an *accumulation fund*. Convinced that no idea of McCulloch's could ever be right I dropped the matter. The *apologetic* purpose he pursued in this connection has already been refuted by the Malthusians, but *they too admit the fact*.

Now, you as a manufacturer must know what you do with the returns you receive for the fixed capital *before* it has to be replaced *in kind*. And you must give me an answer on this point (without theory, *purely as a matter of practice*).

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

(Greetings to Mrs. Lizzy!)

94

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] September 11, 1867

...At the next Congress in Brussels I shall personally deliver a knock-out blow to these Proudhonist jackasses.¹⁷¹ I have managed the whole thing diplomatically and did not want to come out *personally* until my book was published and our Association had struck root. I will moreover give them a hiding in the Official Report of the General Council (despite all their efforts, the Parisian babblers could not prevent our re-election).¹⁷²

Meanwhile our Association has made great progress. The wretched *Star*, which wanted to ignore us entirely, has announced in a leading article published yesterday that we are more important than the Peace Congress.¹⁷³ Schulze-Delitzsch was not able to prevent his "*Workers' Association*" in Berlin from joining us.¹⁷⁴ The scoundrels among the English trade unionists, who thought we went too "far", now come running to us. In addition to the *Courrier français*, the *Liberté* of Girardin, the *Siècle*, the *Mode*, the *Gazette de France*, etc., have printed reports on our Congress. Things are moving. And in the next revolution, which is perhaps nearer than it appears, *we* (i.e., you and I) will have this powerful engine *in our hands*. Compare this with the results of the operations conducted by Mazzini, etc., during the last thirty years! And moreover without any financial means! Considering the intrigues of the Proudhonists in Paris, the Mazzinis in Italy, the jealous Odgers, Cremers, and Potters in London, and the Schulze-Delitzschists and Lassalleans in Germany!—We can be very well satisfied....

95

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] November 2, 1867

...The trial of the Fenians in Manchester is just what one expected it to be.¹⁷⁵ You will have seen what a row "our men" have made in the Reform League. I did everything I could to provoke this demonstration of English workers for Fenianism.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

I used to think the separation of Ireland from England impossible. I now think it inevitable, although after the separation there may come *federation*. The way the English are going on is shown by the agricultural statistics for this year, published a few days ago. In addition the form of the evictions. The Irish Viceroy, Lord Abicorn^a (this is *roughly* the name) has "cleared" his estate of thousands within recent weeks by compulsory executions. Among the evicted are well-to-do farmers whose improvements and capital investments are confiscated in this fashion! There is

^a Lord Abercorn, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—*Ed.*

no other European country in which foreign rule takes this direct form of native expropriation. The Russians only confiscate for political reasons; the Prussians in West Prussia buy out.

96

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, November 30, 1867

...If you have read the journals you will have seen that 1) the Memorial of the International Council for the Fenians¹⁷⁶ was sent to Hardy, and that 2) the debate^a on Fenianism was public (last Tuesday^b week) and reported in the *Times*.^c Reporters of the *Dublin Irishman* and *Nation* were also present. I came very late (I ran a temperature for about a fortnight and the fever passed only two days ago) and really did not intend to speak, firstly because of my troublesome physical condition, and secondly because of the ticklish situation. Nevertheless Weston, who was in the chair, tried to force me to, so I moved that the meeting be adjourned. This obliged me to speak last Tuesday.^d As a matter of fact I had prepared for Tuesday last not a speech but the points of a speech. But the Irish reporters failed to come.... After the opening of the meeting I therefore stated I would yield the floor to Fox on account of the belated hour. Actually, owing to the executions that had taken place in the meantime in Manchester, our subject, Fenianism, was liable to inflame the passions to such heat that *I* (but not the abstract *Fox*) would have been forced to hurl revolutionary thunderbolts instead of soberly analysing the state of affairs and the movement as I had intended. The Irish reporters therefore, by staying away and delaying the opening of the meeting, did signal service for me. I don't like to get involved with people like Roberts, Stephens, and the rest.

Fox's speech was good, for one thing because it was delivered by an *Englishman* and for another because it concerned only the political and international aspects. For that very reason however he merely skimmed along the surface of things. The resolution he handed up was absurd and inane. I objected to it and had it referred to the Standing Committee.

^a Of the General Council.—*Ed.*

^b The 19th of November.—*Ed.*

^c The reference is to an article headed "London Meetings", which appeared in the *Times* No. 25974 on November 21, 1867.—*Ed.*

^d November 26th.—*Ed.*

What the English do not yet know is that since 1846 the economic content and therefore also the political aim of English domination in Ireland have entered into an entirely new phase, and that, precisely because of this, the characteristic features of Fenianism are socialistic tendencies (in a negative sense, directed against the appropriation of the soil) and the fact that it is a movement of the lower orders. What can be more ridiculous than to confuse the barbarities of Elizabeth or Cromwell, who wanted to supplant the Irish by English colonists (in the Roman sense), with the present system, which wants to supplant them by sheep, pigs and oxen! The system of 1801-46 (when evictions were exceptional and occurred mainly in Leinster where the land is especially good for cattle raising) with its rackrents and middlemen, collapsed in 1846. The repeal of the Corn Laws, partly the result of or at any rate hastened by the Irish famine, deprived Ireland of its monopoly of supplying corn to England in normal times. Wool and meat became the slogan, hence conversion of tillage into pasture. Hence from then onwards systematic consolidation of farms. The Encumbered Estates Act, which turned a mass of farmer middlemen who had become rich into landlords, hastened the process. *Clearing of the Estates of Ireland!* is now the only purpose of English rule in Ireland. The *stupid* English Government in London knows nothing of course of this immense change since 1846. But the Irish know it. From *Meagher's Proclamation* (1848) down to the *election manifesto of Hennessy* (Tory and Urquhartite) (1866), the Irish have expressed their awareness of this in the clearest and most forcible manner.

The question now is, what advice shall we give to the *English* workers? In my opinion they must make the *repeal of the Union* (in short, the *affair of 1783*, but in a more democratic form and adapted to the conditions of the present time) an article of their *pronunziamento*.¹⁷⁷ This is the only *legal* and therefore only possible form of Irish emancipation which can be embodied in the programme of an *English* party. Experience must show later whether the merely personal union can continue to subsist between the two countries. I half think it can if it takes place in time.

What the Irish need is:

- 1) Self-government and independence from England.
- 2) An agrarian revolution. With the best intentions in the world the English cannot accomplish this for them, but they can give them the legal means of accomplishing it for themselves.
- 3) *Protective tariffs against England*. Between 1783 and 1801 all branches of Irish industry flourished. The Union, by abolishing the protective tariffs established by the Irish Parliament, destroyed all industrial life in Ireland. The bit of linen industry is no compensation whatever. The Union of 1801 had just the

same effect on Irish industry as the measures for the suppression of the Irish woollen industry, etc., taken by the English Parliament under Anne, George II, and others. Once the Irish are independent, necessity will turn them into protectionists, as it did Canada, Australia, etc. Before I present my views in the Central Council (next Tuesday, this time fortunately *without* reporters), I should be glad if you gave me your opinion in a few lines.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

1868

97

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] January 8, 1868

Dear Fred,

With regard to Dühring.^a It is a great deal from this man that he almost positively receives the section on *Primitive Accumulation*. He is still young. As a follower of Carey, he is in direct opposition to the freetraders. Added to this he is a *university lecturer* and therefore not grieved that *Professor Roscher*, who blocks the way for all of them, should get some kicks.¹⁷⁸ One thing in his appraisal has struck me very much. Namely, so long as the determination of value by working time is left "vague", as it is with Ricardo, it does not make people shaky. But as soon as it is brought into exact connection with the working day and its variations, a very unpleasant new light dawns upon them. I believe that an additional reason for Dühring to review my book at all was malice against Roscher. His fear of being treated like Roscher is certainly very easily perceptible. It is strange that the fellow does not sense the three fundamentally new elements of the book:

1) That in contrast to *all* former political economy, which *from the very outset* treats the different fragments of surplus value with their fixed forms of rent, profit, and interest as already given, I first deal with the general form of surplus value, in which all these fragments are still undifferentiated—in solution, as it were.

2) That the economists, without exception, have missed the simple point that if the commodity has a double character—use value and exchange value—then the labour represented by the commodity must also have a two-fold character, while the mere analysis of labour as such, as in Smith, Ricardo, etc., is bound to come up everywhere against inexplicable problems. This is, in fact, the whole secret of the critical conception.

3) That for the first time wages are presented as an irrational manifestation of a relation concealed behind them, and that

^a Marx refers to Eugen Dühring's review of the first volume of *Capital*.—Ed.

this is scrupulously demonstrated with regard to the two forms of wages—time rates and piece rates. (It was a help to me that similar formulae are often found in higher mathematics.)

And as for Dühring's modest objections to the determination of value, he will be astonished to see in Volume II how little the determination of value "directly" counts in bourgeois society. Indeed, *no form* of society can prevent the working time at the disposal of society from regulating production one way or another. So long, however, as this regulation is accomplished not by the direct and conscious control of society over its working time—which is possible only with common ownership—but by the movement of commodity prices, things remain as you have already quite aptly described them in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.^a...

98

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, March 6, 1868

...I can now understand the curiously embarrassed tone of Mr. Dühring's criticism. He is usually a most bumptious, cheeky boy, who sets himself up as a revolutionary in political economy. He has done two things. He has published, firstly (proceeding from Carey) a *Kritische Grundlegung der Nationalökonomie* [*Critical Foundation of Political Economy*] (about 500 pages) and, secondly, a new *Natürliche Dialektik* [*Natural Dialectics*] (against Hegelian dialectics). My book^b has buried him in both respects. He reviewed it because of his hatred for the Roschers, etc. By the way, half intentionally and half from lack of insight, he practices deception. He knows very well that my method of presentation is *not* Hegelian, since I am a materialist and Hegel is an idealist. Hegel's dialectics is the basic form of all dialectics, but only *after* it has been stripped of its mystical form, and it is precisely this which distinguishes *my* method. As for Ricardo, it was precisely the fact that in my treatment the weak points, which Carey and a hundred others before him disputed, do *not* exist, which vexed Mr. Dühring. Consequently he attempts, in bad faith, to burden me with all of Ricardo's limitations. But never mind.

^a An allusion to Engels' essay "Umrisse zu einer Kritik der National Ökonomie" (Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy) see Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. Appendix*, pp. 175-209, Moscow, 1961.—Ed.

^b *Capital*, Volume I.—Ed.

I must be grateful to the man, since he is the first expert who has said anything at all.

In the second volume (which most likely will never appear if my health does not improve) property in land will be one of the points examined, competition only in so far as it is required for the treatment of the other subjects.

During my illness (which I hope will soon cease altogether) I was unable to write, but managed to force down my gullet an enormous amount of "material", statistical and otherwise, which would have been enough to make anybody sick who was not used to that sort of fodder and did not possess a stomach accustomed to digesting it rapidly.

My circumstances are rather worrying, for I have been unable to do any part-time work which would bring in money, and yet have always to maintain a certain appearance for the children's sake. If I did not still have these two damned volumes to produce (in addition to looking for an *English* publisher) which can be done only in London, I would go to Geneva, where I could live very well with the means at my disposal. My daughter No. 2^a is getting married at the end of this month.

Greetings to Fränzchen.^b

Yours,
K. M.

99

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] March 25, 1868

Dear Fred,

I wanted to write to you yesterday from the Museum^c but I suddenly felt so very bad that I had to close the very interesting book I was reading. Everything turned black in front of my eyes. And in addition a most awful headache and oppressive pain in the chest. I therefore strolled home. The air and the light did me good and at home I slept for some time. My state of health is such that I really ought to give up working and thinking for some time. But that *would be difficult for me, even if I had the means for loafing.*

With regard to Maurer. His books are exceptionally important. Not only primitive times but the whole later development of the free imperial cities, of the landlords who had immunity of public

^a Laura Marx.—*Ed.*

^b Franziska Kugelmann, the daughter of Ludwig Kugelmann.—*Ed.*

^c i.e., the British Museum Library.—*Ed.*

authority, and of the struggle between free peasantry and serfdom is given an entirely new form.

It is the same with human history as with palaeontology. Even the best minds fail to see—on principle, owing to a certain judicial blindness—things which lie in front of their noses. Later, when the moment has arrived, one is surprised to find traces everywhere of what one has failed to see. The first reaction against the French Revolution and the Enlightenment which is connected with it was naturally to regard everything mediaeval as romantic; even people like Grimm are not free from this. The second reaction is to look beyond the Middle Ages into the primitive age of every nation, and that corresponds to the socialist trend, although those learned men have no idea that they have any connection with it. Then they are surprised to find what is newest in what is oldest—even equalitarians, to a degree which would have made Proudhon shudder.

To show how much we all labour under this judicial blindness: Right in *my own* neighbourhood, on the *Hunsrück*,^a the old Germanic system survived up till the *last few* years. I now remember that my father being a lawyer talked to me about it! Another proof: Just as the geologists, even the best, like Cuvier, interpreted certain facts quite wrongly, so philologists of the calibre of a Grimm *mistranslated* the simplest Latin sentences because they were under the influence of Möser (who, I remember, was enchanted that “liberty” never existed among the Germans but that “the air makes the serf”) and others. For example, the well-known passage in Tacitus: “*Arva per annos mutant et superest ager*,” which means: they exchange the fields, *arva* (by lot, hence *sortes* in all the later *Leges Barbarorum*¹⁷⁹) and common land (*ager* as *ager publicus* in contrast to *arva*) remains over—is translated by Grimm, etc.: they cultivate fresh fields every year and still there is always (uncultivated) land left over!

So too the passage: “*Colunt discreti ac diversi*”^b is supposed to prove that from time immemorial the Germans carried on cultivation on individual farms like Westphalian junkers. But the *same* passage continues: “*Vicos locant non in nostrum morem connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suum quisque locum spatio circumdat*”^c; and such primitive Germanic villages still exist here and there in Denmark in the form described. Scandinavia was of course bound to become as important for German jurisprudence and economics as for German mythology. And only by starting from there were we able to decipher our past again. Besides, even Grimm

^a Hunsrück—mountain range in the Rhine Province.—*Ed.*

^b “They till the land *separately* and independently.”—*Ed.*

^c “They do not *build their villages of connected and adjoining buildings*, as is our custom: each *surrounds his dwelling with a clear strip of land.*”—*Ed.*

etc., find in Caesar that the Germans always settled as kinship groups and not as individuals: "*gentibus cognationibusque, qui uno coiereant.*"^a

But what would old Hegel say if he heard in the next world that the *general* [das *Allgemeine*] in German and Norse means nothing but the common land, and the particular [das *Sundre, Besondre*]*—*nothing but the separate property divided off from the common land? The logical categories are in that case damn well arising out of "our intercourse".

Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit, eine Geschichte beider [Climate and the Vegetable World Throughout the Ages, a History of Both], by Fraas (1847), is very interesting, that is as a demonstration that climate and flora have changed in *historic* times. He is a Darwinist before Darwin and makes even the *species* arise in historic times. But he is also an agronomist. He asserts that as a result of cultivation and in proportion to its degree, the "moisture" so much beloved by the peasant is lost (hence plants migrate from south to north) and eventually the formation of steppes begins. The first effects of cultivation are useful, but in the end it lays the land waste owing to deforestation, etc. This man is both a very learned philologist (he has written books *in Greek*) and a chemist, agronomist, etc. The conclusion is that cultivation when it progresses spontaneously and is not *consciously controlled* (as a bourgeois he of course does not arrive at this), leaves deserts behind it — Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., Greece. Hence again socialist tendencies without being aware of them!...

100

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, April 6, 1868

...The Irish question predominates here just now. It has been exploited by Gladstone and company, of course, only in order to get into office again, and, above all, to have an *electoral cry* at the next elections, which will be based on household suffrage.¹⁸⁰ *For the moment* this turn of affairs is bad for the workers' party; for the intriguers among the workers, such as Odger and Potter, who want to get into the next Parliament, have now a new *excuse* for attaching themselves to the bourgeois Liberals.

However, this is only a *penalty* which England—and consequently also the English working class—is paying for the great

^a "In gentes and kinships, which settled together."—*Ed.*

crime it has been committing for many centuries against Ireland. And in the long run it will benefit the English working class itself. For, the *English Established Church in Ireland*—or what they call here the *Irish Church*—is the religious bulwark of *English landlordism* in Ireland, and at the same time the outpost of the Established Church in England itself. (I am speaking here of the Established Church as a *landowner*.) The overthrow of the Established Church in Ireland will mean its downfall in England and the two will be followed by the doom of landlordism—first in Ireland and then in England. I have, however, been convinced from the first that the social revolution must begin *seriously* from the bottom, that is, from landownership.

The whole thing will moreover have the very useful result that, once the Irish Church is dead, the *Protestant* Irish tenants in the province of Ulster will join the Catholic tenants and their movement in the three other provinces of Ireland, whereas up to the present landlordism has been able to exploit this *religious* antagonism....

101

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, April 30, 1868

...But it is proper that you should know the method by which the rate of profit is explained. I will therefore give you the *most general* features of the procedure. In *Book II*, as you know, the *process of circulation* of capital is described on the basis of the premises set forth in *Book I*. Hence the new formal categories which spring from the process of circulation, such as fixed and circulating capital, turnover of capital, etc. In *Book I*, lastly, we content ourselves with the assumption that if in the self-expansion process £ 100 becomes £ 110, the latter will *find already in existence* in the market the elements into which it will change once more. But now we investigate the conditions under which these elements are found at hand, namely the social intertwining of the different capitals, of the component parts of capital and of revenue (—s).

In *Book III* we come to the transformation of surplus value into its different forms and separate component parts.

I. *Profit* is for us first of all only *another name* or another category of *surplus value*. As, owing to the form of wages, the whole of labour appears to be paid for, the unpaid part of labour seems necessarily to come not from labour but from capital, and not

from the variable part of capital but from capital as a whole. In this way *surplus value* assumes the form of *profit*, without *any quantitative* differentiation between the one and the other. This is only its illusory manifestation.

Further, the part of capital consumed in the production of a commodity (the capital, constant and variable, advanced for its production *minus* the utilised but not actually consumed portion of the *fixed* capital) appears now as the *cost price* of the commodity; for to the capitalist that part of the value of the commodity which *he* has to pay for is *its* cost price, whereas the unpaid labour the commodity contains is not included in *its* cost price, from his point of view. Surplus value = profit now appears as the *excess of the price at which the commodity is sold over its cost price*. Let us call the value of the commodity A and its cost price B; then $A = B + S$, therefore $A - S = B$, therefore A is greater than B. This new category, cost price, is very necessary for the details of the later development. It is evident from the outset that the capitalist can sell a commodity *below its value* at a profit (so long as he sells it *above* its cost price) and this is the *fundamental law* explaining the equalisation effected by competition.

If profit, then, at first differs *only formally* from surplus value, the *rate of profit*, on the other hand, is from the very beginning essentially different from the *rate of surplus value*, for in one case the formula is $\frac{s}{v}$ and in the other $\frac{s}{c+v}$, from which it follows from the outset, since $\frac{s}{v}$ is greater than $\frac{s}{c+v}$, that the rate of profit is smaller than the rate of surplus value, unless $c = 0$.

Taking into consideration the points developed in Book II, it follows however that we do not have to compute the rate of profit on any output of commodities we choose—e.g., a weekly output—but that $\frac{s}{c+v}$ here denotes the surplus value produced *during the year* in relation to the capital *advanced* (as distinct from the capital *turned over*) during the year. The formula $\frac{s}{c+v}$ stands here, therefore, for the *annual rate of profit*.

We next examine how variations in the *turnover* of capital (partly depending on the relation between the circulating and fixed portions of capital, partly on the number of turnovers of circulating capital in a year, etc.) modify the *rate of profit* while *the rate of surplus value remains the same*.

Taking the turnover as given, and $\frac{s}{c+v}$ as the yearly rate of profit, we examine how the latter can change, independently of the changes in the rate of surplus value and even in its total amount.

Since s , the total amount of surplus value = *the rate of surplus value multiplied by the variable capital*, if we call the rate of surplus value r and the rate of profit p' , then $p' = \frac{r \times v}{c + v}$. Here

we have the four quantities p' , r , v , c , with any three of which we can work, when we seek the fourth as an unknown quantity. This covers all possible cases of movements in the rate of profit, in so far as they are distinct from the movements in the rate of surplus value, and to a certain extent even from its total amount. This has, of course, been *inexplicable* to everybody hitherto.

The laws thus discovered, which are very important for understanding for instance how the price of raw material influences the rate of profit, hold good *no matter how* the surplus value may later be divided between the producer, etc. This can only change the *form in which it appears*. These laws, moreover, remain *directly*

applicable if $\frac{s}{c + v}$ is treated as the relation of the socially produced surplus value to the social capital.

II. The aspects that were treated in section I as *movements*, whether of capital in a given branch of production or of social capital—movements changing the composition, etc., of capital—are now regarded as *differences* in the *amount of capital invested in the various branches of production*.

It then follows that, *the rate of surplus value*, i.e., the exploitation of labour, being assumed as *equal*, the production of value and therefore the production of surplus value and therefore *the rate of profit*, are *different* in different branches of production. But out of these different rates of profit a mean or general rate of profit is formed by competition. This rate of profit, expressed in absolute terms, can be nothing else than the *surplus value* produced (annually) by the *capitalist class* in relation to the total capital advanced by *society* as a whole. For instance, if the social capital = $400c + 100v$ and the surplus value annually produced by it = $100s$, then the composition of the social capital = $80c + 20v$ and that of the product (in percentages) = $80c + 20v \parallel + 20s$ = a rate of profit of 20 per cent. This is the *general rate of profit*.

What competition between the various amounts of capital—which are invested in different spheres of production and have a different composition—is striving to produce is *capitalist communism*, namely that the *mass of capital belonging to each sphere of production* receives an aliquot part of the total surplus value proportionate to the part of the total social capital which it constitutes.

This can only be achieved if in each sphere of production (assuming as before that the total capital = $80c + 20v$ and the social rate of profit = $\frac{20s}{80c + 20v}$) the yearly output of commodities is sold at *cost price* plus 20 per cent *profit* on the *capital value advanced* (in what proportion the advanced fixed capital enters into the annual cost price is quite irrelevant). But this means that the *prices* of the commodities must *deviate* from their *values*. Only in those branches of production where the composition of the capital equals $80c + 20v$ will the price B (*cost price*) + 20 per cent *on the capital advanced* coincide with the *values* of the commodities. Where the composition is higher (e.g., $90c + 10v$), the price is *above* their value; where the composition is lower (e.g., $70c + 30v$) the price is *below* their value.

The price thus equalised, which distributes the social surplus value equally among the individual capitals in proportion to their size, is the *price of production* of commodities, the centre around which the market prices oscillate.

Those branches of production which constitute natural *monopolies* are excluded from this equalisation process even if their rate of profit is higher than the social rate. This is important later for the development of *rent of land*.

It is furthermore necessary to explain in this chapter the various *causes leading to the equalisation* of different capital investments, they appear to the vulgar economist as so many *sources* of profit.

Further: the *changed outward form* of the laws of value and of surplus value—which were previously set forth and which are still valid—*after the transformation of value into price of production*.

III. *The tendency of the rate of profit to fall as society progresses*. This follows from what has been said in Book I on the *changes in the composition of capital following the development of the social productive forces*. This is one of the greatest triumphs over the *pons asinorum* of all previous economics.

IV. Previously we have only dealt with *productive capital*.¹⁸¹ Now modifications occur caused by *merchant capital*.

According to our previous assumption the *productive capital* of society = 500 (whether millions or milliards makes no difference). And consisting of $400c + 100v|| + 100s$. The general rate of profit, $p' = 20$ per cent. Now let the merchant capital = 100.

The 100s has now to be calculated on 600 instead of 500. The general rate of profit is therefore reduced from 20 per cent to $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. The *price of production* (for the sake of simplicity, we will here assume that all 400c, that is the whole fixed capital, enters into the *cost price* of the commodities produced annually) now = $583\frac{1}{3}$. The merchant sells at 600 and, if we ignore the fixed portion of his capital, he thus realises $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent on his

100, that is, as much as the manufacturing capitalists; in other words, he appropriates to himself $\frac{1}{6}$ of the social surplus value. The commodities—considered in the aggregate and on a social scale—are sold *at their value*. His £ 100 (apart from the fixed portion) only serves him as circulating money capital. Whatever more the merchant swallows up he gets either simply by trickery, or by speculation on the oscillations of commodity prices, or, in the case of the actual retailers, as wages of labour—though for wretchedly unproductive labour—in the shape of profit.

V. We have now reduced profit to the form in which it appears in practice, i.e., according to our assumption, $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. *Next comes the splitting up of this profit into entrepreneur's profit and interest. Interest-bearing capital. The credit system.*

VI. *Transformation of surplus profit into rent.*

VII. At last we have arrived at the *phenomena* which serve as the *starting point* for the vulgar economist: rent originating from the land, profit (interest) from capital, wages from labour. But from our point of view the thing now looks differently. The apparent movement is explained. Moreover, Adam Smith's nonsense, which has become the *main pillar* of all hitherto existing economics, i.e., that the price of a commodity consists of those three revenues, that is only of variable capital (wages) and surplus value (rent, profit, interest), is overthrown. The whole movement in this apparent form. Finally since these three (wages, rent, profit (interest)) constitute the respective sources of income of the three classes of landowners, capitalists and wage labourers, we have, in conclusion, the *class struggle* into which the movement and the analysis of the whole business resolves itself....

102

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, July 11, 1868

Dear Friend,

The children are getting on well, although still weak.

Thank you very much for the things you sent. Do *not* write to Faucher, otherwise that *Mannequin piss* will take himself too seriously. All that he has achieved is to induce me, when a second edition^a comes out, to make a few deserved thrusts at Bastiat in the part about the *magnitude of value*. This was not done because the third volume will contain a separate and detailed chapter

^a of the first volume of *Capital*.—Ed.

about the "vulgar economists". Incidentally, you will find it quite natural that Faucher & Co. deduce the "exchange value" of their own scribbling not from the *amount of labour power expended* but from the *absence of such expenditure*, that is, from "saved labour". And the worthy Bastiat did not even himself make this "discovery", so welcome to those gentlemen but, as was his custom, just "copied" from much earlier authors. His sources are of course unknown to Faucher & Co.

As for the *Centralblatt*, the man is making the greatest possible concession in admitting that, if one means anything at all by value, the conclusions I draw must be accepted. The unfortunate fellow does not see that, even if there were no chapter on "value" in my book, the analysis of the real relations which I give would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relations. All that palaver about the necessity of proving the concept of value comes from complete ignorance both of the subject dealt with and of scientific method. Every child knows that a nation which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but even for a few weeks, would perish. Every child knows, too, that the volume of products corresponding to the different needs require different and quantitatively determined amounts of the total labour of society. That this *necessity* of the *distribution* of social labour in definite proportions cannot possibly be done away with by a *particular form* of social production but can only change the *mode of its appearance*, is self-evident. Natural laws cannot be abolished at all. What can change in historically different circumstances is only the *form* in which these laws assert themselves. And the form in which this proportional distribution of labour asserts itself, in a social system where the interconnection of social labour manifests itself through the *private exchange* of individual products of labour, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

Science consists precisely in demonstrating *how* the law of value asserts itself. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to "explain" all the phenomena which seemingly contradict that law, one would have to present the science *before* science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter on value^a he takes *as given* a variety of categories that have not yet been explained in order to prove their conformity with the law of value.

On the other hand, as you have correctly assumed, the *history of the theory* certainly shows that the concept of value relations has *always been the same*—sometimes clearer, sometimes hazier, more hedged around with illusions or scientifically more precise. Since the reasoning process itself proceeds from the existing con-

^a Marx refers to Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.—Ed.

ditions, and is itself a *natural process*, intelligent thinking must always be the same, and can vary only gradually, according to the degree of development, including the development of the organ by which the thinking is done. Everything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the faintest idea that the actual everyday exchange relations can *not be directly identical* with the magnitudes of value. The essence of bourgeois society consists precisely in this, that *a priori* there is no conscious social regulation of production. The rational and naturally necessary asserts itself only as a blindly working average. And then the vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery when, in face of the disclosure of intrinsic interconnection, he proudly states that on the surface things look different. In fact, he boasts that he sticks to appearance, and takes it for the ultimate. Why, then, have any science at all?

But the matter has also another background. Once the interconnection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions collapses before their collapse in practice. Here, therefore, it is absolutely in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate this senseless confusion. And for what other purpose are the sycophantic babblers paid, who have no other scientific trump to play save that in political economy one must not think at all?

But *satis superque*^a. In any case the fact that workers and even manufacturers and merchants understand my book and find their way about in it, whereas these "*learned scribes*" (!) complain that I make excessive demands on their understanding shows how debased these priests of the bourgeoisie are.

I would *not* advise to reprint Schweitzer's article, although Schweitzer has made a good job of it for his paper.^b

You will oblige me by sending a few copies of the *Staatsanzeiger*.

You can get Schnake's address by asking the *Elberfelder Zeitung*. Best regards to your wife and Fränzchen.^c

Yours,
K. M.

Apropos. I have received an article by Dietzgen about my book^d; I am sending it to Liebknecht.

^a Enough and more than enough.—*Ed.*

^b *Der Social-Demokrat* (see Note 129).—*Ed.*

^c Franziska Kugelmann, Ludwig Kugelmann's daughter.—*Ed.*

^d Joseph Dietzgen, "Das Kapital": Kritik der politischen Ökonomie von Karl Marx. Hamburg, 1867" ("Karl Marx, *Capital*. Critique of Political Economy. Hamburg, 1867").—*Ed.*

103

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, August 26, 1868

...The invitation which I received to the Congress of the General Association of German Workers¹⁸² (Hamburg, August 22 to 25) was signed by Schweitzer as President and by more than twenty workers from various parts of Germany (members of the *Executive*). I had to take the latter into consideration in my reply.^a The reason I gave for not coming was the work of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association, and I said I was glad to see that the starting points of any "serious" working-class movement—agitation for full political freedom, regulation of the working day and international co-operation of the working class—were emphasised in their *programme* for the Congress. That is, in other words, I congratulated them on having given up *Lassalle's programme*. Whether they get the point remains to be seen. Schweitzer, the only one who has brains in the whole Lassalle gang, will certainly smell it. But whether he will think it more advisable to show this or to pretend to be dense, we shall see.

Yours,
K. M.

104

MARX TO GEORG ECCARIUS AND FRIEDRICH LESSNER
IN BRUSSELS

London, September 10, 1868

Dear Eccarius and Lessner,

First my thanks to Lessner for his long and interesting letter.

You must not allow the Congress^b to last longer than this week. So far nothing discrediting has happened as far as England is concerned.

Should the Belgians and French again put a lot of new stuff on the agenda, give them to understand that this will not do because:

^a To the president and the Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers.—*Ed.*

^b Marx refers to the Congress of the First International held in Brussels from September 6 to 13, 1868.—*Ed.*

1) the Germans are very poorly represented, as their congresses¹⁸³ are taking place about the same time in Germany;

2) England is hardly represented at all on account of the suffrage movement;

3) the German Swiss are not represented at all as yet since they have just become affiliated and their long-existing branches have exhausted their funds in the Geneva strike;

4) discussions are now carried on one-sidedly, in the French language only;

5) *decisions on general theoretical problems* must therefore be avoided as this can later only call forth protests on the part of non-Belgians and non-French.

The public is of course mostly interested in the question of war. Lengthy declamations and highflown phrases will not do any harm in this context. The decision to be adopted on this question seems to be simply this: that the working class is not yet sufficiently organised to throw any substantial weight into the scales; that the Congress, however, protests in the name of the working class and denounces the instigators of the war; that a war between France and Germany is a civil war, ruinous for both countries and ruinous for Europe in general. A statement that war can only benefit the Russian Government will scarcely win the endorsement of the French and Belgian gentlemen.

Regards to friend Becker.^a

K. Marx

If the question of mutual credit comes up Eccarius will simply have to explain that the workers of England, Germany and the United States have nothing to do with the Proudhonist dogmas and that they consider the credit question of secondary importance.

The Congress resolutions must be sent by wire to the London newspapers. Well then, don't do anything discreditable!

K. M.

105

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, October 10, 1868

...When you were here last you saw the Blue Book on the land situation in Ireland 1844-45. By chance I found in a small second-hand book-shop the Report and Evidence on Irish Tenant Right,

^a Johann Philipp Becker.—*Ed.*

1867 (House of Lords). This was a real find. While the economists treat the question whether rent is payment for natural differences in land, or merely interest on the capital invested in the land as a pure conflict of dogmas, we have here an actual life-and-death struggle between farmer and landlord on the question of *how far, in addition to* payment for different qualities of land, rent *should also* include interest on the capital invested in the land, not by the landlord but by the tenant. It is only by replacing conflicting dogmas by the conflicting facts and real antagonisms which form their hidden background that political economy can be transformed into a positive science.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

106

MARX TO JOHANN BAPTIST SCHWEITZER
IN BERLIN

[Draft]

London, October 13, 1868

Dear Sir,

A misunderstanding on my part accounts for the fact that you received no reply to your letter of September 15. I understood your letter to mean that you would send me your "proposals" for examination and I waited for them. Then came your Congress¹⁸⁴ and after that (being much overworked) I no longer considered a reply urgent. Already before your letter of October 8 arrived I had *repeatedly* called for *peace* in my capacity as Secretary of the International for Germany. The answer I was given (and in addition excerpts from the *Sozialdemokrat* were sent in proof of the assertion) was that you yourself were provoking *war*. I declared that my role must necessarily be confined to that of the "impartial referee" at a duel....

To begin with, as far as the Lassallean Association is concerned, it was founded in a period of reaction. Lassalle—and this remains his immortal service—re-awakened the workers' movement in Germany after its fifteen years of slumber. But he committed great mistakes. He allowed himself to be governed too much by the immediate circumstances of the time. He made a minor starting point—his opposition to a dwarf like Schulze-Delitzsch—into the central point of his agitation—state aid versus self-help. In so doing he merely took up again the watchword which *Buchez*, the leader of French *Catholic* socialism, had given out in 1843 seqq.

against the genuine workers' movement in France. Much too intelligent to regard this watchword as anything but a temporary makeshift, Lassalle could only justify it on the ground of its (alleged!) immediate practicability. For this purpose he had to assert that it could be carried out in the *near* future. The "State" was consequently transformed into the Prussian State. Thus he was driven into making concessions to the Prussian monarchy, the Prussian reaction (feudal party) and even the clericals. With Buchez's state aid for associations he combined the Chartist cry of universal suffrage. He overlooked the fact that conditions in Germany and England were different. He overlooked the lessons of the *bas empire*^a with regard to universal suffrage in France. Moreover, like everyone who maintains that he has a panacea for the sufferings of the masses in his pocket, he gave his agitation from the outset a religious and sectarian character. Every sect is in fact religious. Furthermore, just because he was the founder of a sect, he denied all natural connection with the earlier working-class movement both inside Germany and abroad. He fell into the same mistake as Proudhon: instead of looking among the genuine elements of the class movement for the real basis of his agitation, he wanted to prescribe the course to be followed by this movement according to a certain doctrinaire recipe.

Most of what I am now saying, *post factum*, I had already told Lassalle in 1862, when he came to London and urged me to place myself with him at the head of the new movement.

You yourself have personally experienced the contradiction between the movement of a sect and the movement of a class. The sect sees its *raison d'être* and its point of honour not in what it has in *common* with the class movement but in the *particular shibboleth* which *distinguishes* it from the movement. Therefore when at Hamburg you proposed calling a congress for the formation of trade unions you were able to smash the opposition of the sect only by threatening to resign from the office of president. In addition you were obliged to assume a dual personality by announcing that in one case you were acting as the head of the sect and in the other as the representative of the class movement.

The dissolution of the General Association of German Workers gave you the opportunity to take a great step forward and to declare, to prove if necessary, that a new stage of development had now been reached, and that the moment was ripe for the sectarian movement to merge in the class movement and make an end of all sectarianism. As for the true content of the sect it would, as was the case with all previous working-class sects, be carried on into the general movement as an element enriching it. Instead

^a A reference to the Second Empire in France.—*Ed.*

of this you actually demanded of the class movement that it should subordinate itself to the movement of a particular sect. Those who are not your friends have concluded from this that whatever happens you want to preserve your "own workers' movement".

With regard to the Berlin Congress there was in the first place no rush as the Combination Law had not yet been passed. You therefore should have come to an understanding with the leaders *outside* the Lassallean circle, worked out the plan conjointly with them and convoked the Congress. Instead of that you only left them the alternative of either publicly *joining you* or *opposing you*. The Congress itself had the appearance of merely an enlarged edition of the Hamburg Congress.

As for the draft Rules, I consider them erroneous in principle, and I believe I have had as much experience in the trade union field as any of my contemporaries. Without going further into details I only want to remark that *centralist* organisation, although very suitable for secret societies and sectarian movements, goes against the nature of trade unions. Even if it were possible—I state outright that it is impossible—it would not be desirable, and least of all in Germany. Here where the worker's life is regulated from childhood on by bureaucracy and he himself believes in the authorities, in the bodies appointed over him, he must be *taught before all else to walk by himself*.

Your plan is unpractical in other respects too. There are three independent powers, each of different origin in the "Association": 1) the *Committee* elected by *trade unions*; 2) the *President* (a wholly superfluous person here), elected by *universal suffrage*; 3) the Congress, elected by *local organisations*. Hence everywhere collision, and that is supposed to promote "prompt action"! (The Rules of the International Working Men's Association also mention a President of the Association. But in actual fact he never had any other function than that of presiding at the meetings of the General Council. On my motion this office, which I had declined in 1866, was entirely abolished in 1867 and replaced by a chairman elected at every weekly meeting of the General Council. The *London Trades Council*¹⁸⁵ too has only a chairman. Its *Secretary* is its only permanent official because he performs a business function requiring continuity.) Lassalle committed a gross blunder when he took over the "president elected by universal suffrage" from the French Constitution of 1852. And, moreover, in a trade union movement! The latter revolves largely around money questions and you will soon discover that here all dictatorship comes to an end.

However no matter what the mistakes of the organisation, it may perhaps be possible to eradicate them more or less by

reasonable practice. I am ready, as Secretary of the International, to act as mediator between you and the Nuremberg majority, which has directly affiliated to the International, of course on a reasonable basis. I have written to the same effect to Leipzig. I do not underestimate the difficulties of your position and do not forget the fact that every one of us is dependent more on circumstances than his own will.

I promise you that in any event I shall be impartial, as is my duty. But on the other hand I cannot promise you that some day—as soon as I think that the interests of the working-class movement absolutely dictate it—I shall not openly criticise the Lassallean superstition as a *private individual*, just as I once criticised the Proudhonian superstition.^a

Assuring you personally of my best intentions toward you I remain

Yours truly,
K. M.

107

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, November 6, 1868

Dear Moor,

I am herewith returning to you Eichhoff and the Dietzgen manuscript.^b On account of the women who keep the rooms in order I had put the manuscript in a *safe* place and there it was completely forgotten.

It is difficult to express a quite definite opinion about the thing. The man is not a born philosopher, and besides is only half self-taught. Some of his sources (e.g., Feuerbach, your book,^c and various trashy popular works on natural science) can be immediately recognised from his terminology, but one cannot tell what else he has read. His terminology is of course still very confused—hence there is a lack of precision and frequent repetitions in new terms. There is also dialectics in it, but appearing more in flashes than connectedly. The presentation of the thing-

^a Marx refers to his book *Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon* (*The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon*). See also Marx's letter of January 24, 1865 to Schweitzer, pp. 142-48 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^b Joseph Dietzgen had sent Marx part of his manuscript, "Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit" ("The Nature of Mental Work").—*Ed.*

^c Marx's *Capital*, Volume I.—*Ed.*

in-itself as a conceptual entity would be very nice and even brilliant if one could be *sure* that he had discovered it *for himself*. There is a lot of wit and, despite the poor grammar, a marked talent for style. On the whole, however, a remarkable instinct: to think out so much that is correct with such deficient preliminary studies....

108

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, November 7, 1868

...He [Borkheim] is translating the chief passages from the Russian book on the disintegration of agriculture^a for me, and has also given me a French book about it by the Russian Schédo-Ferroti. The latter is greatly mistaken—he is altogether quite a superficial fellow—when he says the Russian communal system originated as a consequence of the peasants being forbidden to leave the land. The whole thing, *down to the smallest detail*, is absolutely identical with *the ancient Germanic* communal system. Additional features in the case of the Russians (and this is also found *in a section of the Indian communities*, not in the Punjab but in the South) are 1) the *non-democratic* but *patriarchal* character of the commune management, and 2) the *collective responsibility* for taxes to the state, etc. It follows from the second point that the more industrious a Russian peasant is, the more he is exploited by the state, not only as regards taxes but also the supply of produce in kind, horses, etc., during the continual passage of bodies of troops, for government couriers, etc. The whole mess is in process of collapse.

I regard Dietzgen's development, in so far as Feuerbach, etc.—in short, his sources—do not peep through, as entirely his own independent achievement. For the rest, I agree with everything you say. I shall tell him about the repetitions. It is his hard luck that it is precisely Hegel whom he did *not* study....

^a Павел Лилиенфельд, "Земля и воля" (Pavel Lilienfeld, *Land and Freedom*).—Ed.

1869

109

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, March 3, 1869

...A very interesting movement is going on in France.

The Parisians are making a regular study of their recent revolutionary past in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution. First the *origin of the Empire*—then the *coup d'état of December*. This had been completely forgotten, just as the reaction in Germany succeeded in stamping out completely the memory of 1848-49.

That is why *Ténot's* books on the *coup d'état*^a attracted such enormous attention in Paris and the provinces that in a short time they went through ten printings. They were followed by dozens of other books on the same period. It was all the rage and therefore soon became a speculative business for the book dealers.

These books came from the *opposition*—*Ténot*, for example, is one of the *Siècle*^b men (I mean the liberal bourgeois newspaper, not our century). All the liberal and illiberal scoundrels who belong to the official opposition patronise this movement. Also the republican democrats, people like, for example, *Delescluze*, formerly *Ledru-Rollin's* adjutant, and now, as a republican patriarch, editor of the Paris *Réveil*.

Up to the present everybody has been revelling in these posthumous disclosures or rather reminiscences—everybody who is not Bonapartist.

But then came the other side of the medal.

First of all the French Government itself got the renegade Hippolyte Castille to publish *Les Massacres de juin 1848* [*The Massacres in June 1848*]. This was a blow to Thiers, Falloux, Marie, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Pelletan, etc., in short, to the leaders of what is called in France *The Liberal Union*,¹⁸⁶ who want to tamper with the next elections, the infamous old scoundrels!

^a Eugène Ténot, *Paris en décembre 1851* and *La Province en décembre 1851*, which deal with Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état.—*Ed.*

^b *The Century*.—*Ed.*

Then, however, came the socialist party, which "exposed" the opposition and the republican democrats of the old cast.

Among others, *Vermorel: Les Hommes de 1848* [*The Men of 1848*] and *L'Opposition* [*The Opposition*].

Vermorel is a Proudhonist.

Last came the Blanquists, for example, *G. Tridon: Gironde et Girondins* [*The Gironde and the Girondists*].

And so the whole historical witches' cauldron is bubbling. When will *our country* be so far!

To show you how well the French police are served:

I intended to go to Paris early next week to see my daughter.

Last Saturday a police agent enquired at Lafargue's whether Monsieur Marx had already arrived. He said he had a commission for him. Forewarned!

My most cordial greetings to your dear wife and Fränzchen.^a How is Madame Tenge?

Yours,
K. M.

110

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] March 5, 1869

Dear Fred,

The enclosed little document arrived *yesterday* (although dated February 27).¹⁸⁷ You must send it back as soon as you have read it, as I have to submit it to the Council on Tuesday next. The gentlemen of the Alliance have taken a long time to achieve this opus.

As a matter of fact we would have preferred that they should keep their "innumerable legions" in France, Spain and Italy for themselves.

Bakunin thinks: if we approve his "radical programme" he can make a big noise about this and compromise us, even if only just a little. If we declare ourselves against it they will decry us as counter-revolutionaries. Moreover: if we admit them he will see to it that he is supported by some of the riff-raff at the Congress in Basle. I think the answer should be on the following lines:

According to para 1 of the Rules every working men's society

^a Franziska Kugelmann.—*Ed.*

“aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and *complete emancipation of the working classes*”, shall be admitted.

As the stage of development reached by different sections of workers in the same country and by the working class in different countries is bound to vary greatly, the actual movement necessarily expresses itself in very diverse theoretical forms.

The community of action called into being by the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas by means of the different organs of the sections in all countries, and finally the direct discussions at the General Congresses will by degrees create for the general workers' movement a common theoretical programme too.

With regard to the programme of the Alliance, therefore, it is not necessary for the General Council to submit it to a critical examination. The Council has not to examine whether it is an adequate scientific expression of the working-class movement. It has only to ask whether the *general tendency* of the programme is not in opposition to the general tendency of the International Working Men's Association—the complete emancipation of the working classes!

This reproach could apply to only one phrase in the programme, para 2: “above all things it desires the political, economic, and social equalisation of the classes.” The “equalisation of the classes”, literally interpreted, is nothing but another way of saying the “harmony of capital and labour” preached by the bourgeois Socialists. Not the logically impossible “equalisation of classes” but the historically necessary “abolition of classes” constitutes the final aim of the International Working Men's Association. But from the context in which this phrase occurs in the programme it would appear that it is only a slip of the pen. The less, therefore, does the General Council doubt that this phrase, which might lead to serious misunderstanding, will be deleted from the programme.¹⁸⁸

This being assumed, it is in accordance with the principle of the International Working Men's Association to leave to each section the responsibility for its own programme. There is therefore nothing to prevent the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association.

As soon as this has taken place, a list of the newly joined sections stating country, residence, and number of members must be sent to the General Council in accordance with the regulations.

This last point—the census of their legions—will of course tickle the gentlemen especially. Tell me everything you want altered in this draft of the reply when you return the letter....

111

ENGELS TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

Manchester, July 10, 1869

...The dissolution of the Lassallean sect and on the other hand the separation of the Saxon and South-German workers from the apron-strings of the People's Party are the two fundamental conditions for the formation of a new, genuine German workers' party. The Lassalleans will now attend to their business themselves and will chew each other's heads off, but the narrow-minded South-German, republican, philistine notions systematically drummed into the heads of the workers by Liebknecht are much harder to get rid of. Take alone the stupidity of inscribing on his paper¹⁸⁹: "Organ of the People's Party", i.e., of the South-German philistines! If Bebel had only some theoretical knowledge such a thing could not happen. He seems to be a quite efficient chap who has however this one handicap. And along comes Liebknecht and demands that we directly take his part and that of the People's Party against Schweitzer! Yet it goes without saying that, for one thing, we have much less in common with the People's Party, since it is a bourgeois party, than with the Schweitzer Lassalleans, who after all are a sect of workers, and that, for another, Marx, in his capacity as Secretary of the International Working Men's Association for Germany, is *obliged* to treat decently *every* leader whom a sufficient number of workers have placed at their head and sent to Parliament....

112

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] August 10, 1869

...The part of Wilhelm's speech (held in *Berlin*)¹⁹⁰ that was printed in the supplement shows beneath its stupidity an undeniable cunning in arranging the affair in a suitable manner. This, by the way, is very fine! *Because* the Reichstag must be used *only* as a *means of agitation*, one must *never agitate* there for anything that is reasonable and directly affects the interests of the workers! The worthy Wilhelm's illusion that because Bismarck "is fond of" using expressions friendly to the workers he would therefore not oppose *real measures on behalf of the workers* is really charming! "As if"—to follow Bruno Bauer's manner of talking—Mr. Wagoner's speech in the Reichstag was not in theory *for* the factory

laws but *in practice* against them, "because they would be useless under Prussian conditions"! "As if" Mr. Bismarck, if he really wished to do anything for the workers and were *able* to do so, would not see to it that the existing laws *were strictly enforced* in Prussia! The mere fact of this happening in Prussia would be enough to *compel* liberal "Saxony", etc., to follow suit. What Wilhelm does not grasp is that while the present governments flirt with the workers they are very well aware that their only support is the bourgeoisie; that they therefore scare the latter by phrases friendly to the workers but *cannot* ever really go against it.

That blockhead believes in the future "*democratic state*"! He has secretly in mind at one moment constitutional England, at another the bourgeois United States, and at the next wretched Switzerland. "*He*" has not the faintest idea of revolutionary politics. What he cites as proof—following the example of the Swabian Mayer—of democratic energy: the railway to California, which was built by the bourgeoisie *presenting* to itself through Congress an enormous mass of the "public domain", that is to say by *expropriating* the workers from it, by importing Chinese coolies to force down wages and finally forming a new branch, the "financial aristocracy."...

113

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, October 24, 1869

Irish history shows one how disastrous it is for a nation to have subjected another nation. All the abominations of the English have their origin in the Irish Pale.¹⁹¹ I have still to work through the Cromwellian period, but this much seems certain to me, that things would have taken another turn in England too, if it had not been necessary to rule in Ireland by military means and to create a new aristocracy there.

Yours,
F. E.

114

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, October 30, 1869

...In order to understand Goegg's and Bonhorst's letters entirely you must know that some of the philistines (or rather their representatives) in Switzerland, Austria and Germany are shriek-

ing murder because of the decision of the Basle Congress on *landed property*.¹⁹²

The silliness and weakness (exploited by Schweitzer, the wiser man) with which Wilhelm & Co. answer the howling of the Swabian Mayer and the rest of his supporters who are opposed to the People's Party are horrifying. To none of these asses has it ever occurred so far to ask the liberal howlers whether it is not a fact that in Germany along with small peasant property there exists large landed property, which forms the basis of the surviving feudal economy, whether it is not necessary during a revolution to do away with it, if only to put an end to the present political system, and whether that can be done in the antiquated manner of 1789.¹⁹³ By no means. Those asses believe the Swabian Mayer that the land question is of direct practical interest only to England!

The organisation of the *Land and Labour League*¹⁹⁴ (directly promoted, incidentally, by the General Council) is to be considered an outcome of the Basle Congress, thereby the workers' party completely breaks with the bourgeoisie, and takes nationalisation of land as the starting point. Eccarius has been appointed executive secretary (with Boon as honorary one), and is paid to do the job.

I have been instructed by the General Council to write a few words to the English working class on the Irish prisoners' demonstration last Sunday. Busy as I am at present I have no inclination whatever to do so, but it must be done. The description of the demonstration in the London papers was entirely wrong. It was grand.¹⁹⁵

Best regards to Mrs. Lizzy and the Sunday guests.

Yours,
K. M.

115

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

[Manchester,] November 1, 1869

Dear Moor,

The resolution on landed property has worked real miracles. For the first time since Lassalle began his agitation it is compelling those lads in Germany to think, something hitherto considered wholly superfluous. That appears distinctly from Bonhorst's letter. Even apart from this I rather like that letter. In spite of

the ostentation and meagre education it exhibits there is a certain healthy folk humour in it and with regard to mortgages he has immediately hit the right spot. By the way, apart from the main point, big landed property, people forget that there are various kinds of peasants: 1) the tenant-farmer, to whom it is a matter of indifference whether the land belongs to the state or to a large proprietor; 2) the owner; in the first place the big peasant, against whose reactionary nature the day labourer and farmhand are to be roused; in the second place, the middle peasant, who will also be reactionary and is not very numerous; and in the third place, the debt-ridden small peasant, who can be reached through the mortgage problem. It may moreover be added that for the time being it is not in the interest of the proletariat to call in question *small* landownership....

116

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, November 18, 1869

...Last Tuesday I opened the discussion on point 1, *the attitude of the British Government to the Irish Amnesty Question*. Spoke for about an hour and a quarter, was much cheered, and then proposed the following resolutions.¹⁹⁶

Resolved,

that in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots—a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea etc., etc.—Mr. Gladstone deliberately insults the Irish Nation;

that he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

that having, in the teeth of his responsible position, publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slaveholders' Rebellion,¹⁹⁷ he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

that his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish Amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that "*policy of conquest*" by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;¹⁹⁸

that the *General Council* of the "*International Working Men's Association*" express their admiration of the spirited, firm and highsouled manner in which the Irish people carry on their Amnesty movement;

that these resolutions be communicated to all branches of, and working men's bodies connected with the "*International Working Men's Association*" in Europe and America.

117

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] November 26, 1869

Dear Fred,

I was not quite well this week and the thing under my arm still bothers me. That's why I did not thank you sooner for your notes on Carey, whose book^a I received yesterday.

In my book against Proudhon,^b where I still fully accepted Ricardo's theory of rent, I already explained what was wrong in it, even from his (Ricardo's) own point of view.

"After postulating bourgeois production as necessary for the determination of rent, Ricardo nevertheless applies the concept of rent to the landed property of all ages and all countries. This is an error common to all economists who present bourgeois relations of production as eternal categories." Mr. Proudhon had of course immediately transformed Ricardo's theory into an expression of equalitarian morality and therefore discovered in Ricardo's determination of rent,

"an immense *land register*, which is produced contradictorily by landlords and farmers ... in a higher interest, and whose ultimate result must be to equalise the possession of land, etc."

Upon this I remark, among other things:

"Land assessment based upon rent can only be of practical value within the conditions of present society. Now we have shown that the farm *rent* paid by the farmer to the landlord is a fairly accurate expression of *rent* of land only in the countries most advanced in industry and commerce. And even this rent often includes *interest* paid to the landlord on capital invested in the land. The location of the land, the vicinity of towns and many other circumstances influence the farm rent and modify

^a Henry C. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*, Vol. 1-3, Philadelphia 1868-1869.—Ed.

^b *Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon* (*The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon*).—Ed.

rent in general.... On the other hand, rent cannot be *the invariable index of the degree of fertility of a piece of land*, since the modern application of chemistry is constantly changing the nature of the soil, and geological knowledge is just now, in our days, beginning to *revolutionise all the old estimates of relative fertility* ... fertility is not so natural a quality as might be thought; it is closely bound up with the *social relations* of the time."

With regard to the progress of cultivation in the United States itself, Mr. Carey ignores even the most familiar facts. The English agricultural chemist Johnstone for instance shows in his *Notes on the United States* that the farmers, who emigrated from New England to the State of New York left worse for better land (better not in Carey's sense, that the land has first to be made, but in the chemical and at the same time economic sense). The farmers who emigrated from the State of New York and at first settled beyond the Great Lakes, say in Michigan, left better for worse land, etc. The settlers in Virginia so abominably exploited the land best suited both as to *location* and *fertility* to their chief product, tobacco, that they had to move on to Ohio, where the soil was worse for this product (though not for wheat, etc.). The nationality of the immigrants made itself felt also in their settlements. The people from Norway and from our forest regions selected the rugged northern forest land of Wisconsin; the Yankees in the same territory kept to the prairies, etc.

Prairies, both in the United States and Australia, are in fact a thorn in Carey's flesh. According to him land not absolutely overgrown with forests is unfertile by nature—including, therefore, all natural grass land.

The joke of it is that Carey's two great final conclusions (relating to the United States) stand in direct contradiction to his dogma. *First*, owing to the diabolical influence of England, the inhabitants, instead of socially cultivating the good model lands of New England, are disseminated over the poorer (!) lands of the West. Hence a movement from better land to worse. (By the by, Carey's "dissemination", in opposition to "association", is all copied out of Wakefield.^a) *Secondly*, it is unfortunate that in the south of the United States the slave-owners (whom Mr. Carey, as an advocate of harmony, has defended in all his previous works) take the better land into cultivation too soon and skip the worse. Hence just what ought not to be: starting with the better land! If this example convinced Carey that the actions of the real cultivators, in this case the slaves, are determined neither by economic nor any other reasons of their own, but by *external*

^a Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations.*—Ed.

constraint, it should have been plain to him that this occurs also in other countries.

According to his theory cultivation in Europe should have started from the mountains of Norway and continued to the Mediterranean countries instead of proceeding in the reverse direction.

Carey tries, by a highly absurd and fantastic theory of money, to conjure away the awkward economic fact that, unlike all other improved machinery, the earth-machine, which according to him *is always getting better, increases*—(periodically at least)—*the cost* of its products instead of *cheapening* them. (This was one of the circumstances which influenced Ricardo; but he delved no further than the history of corn prices in England from about 1780 to 1815.)

As a harmoniser Carey first pointed out that there was no antagonism between capitalist and wage labourer. The second step was to show the harmony between landowner and capitalist, and this was done by regarding the state of landownership *as normal* where it is *still* undeveloped. The great and decisive difference between the colonies and the old civilised countries—that in the latter the mass of the population is excluded from the land—whether fertile or unfertile, cultivated or uncultivated—by *landed property*, while in the colonies land can, relatively speaking, still be appropriated by the cultivator himself—this fact must on no account be mentioned. It must have absolutely nothing to do with the rapid development of the colonies. The awkward “*question of property*” in its most disagreeable form would indeed put a spoke in the wheel of harmony.

As for the deliberate distortion that, because in a country with developed production the natural fertility of the soil is an important factor in the production of surplus value (or, as Ricardo says, affects the rate of profit), it follows conversely that consequently the richest and most developed production will be found in the naturally most fertile lands, so that it must stand higher, e.g., in Mexico than in New England—I have already answered this in *Das Kapital*, p. 502 et seqq.^a

Carey's only merit is that he is just as one-sided in asserting that a movement from worse to better lands takes place as Ricardo is in asserting the opposite. In reality however land of various grades of fertility is always cultivated simultaneously, and accordingly the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts very carefully distributed strips of land of different kinds among the members of the community; it was this which later made the division of the com-

^a See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1972, p. 481 et seqq.—*Ed.*

mon land so difficult. But as to the progress of cultivation throughout the course of history, this, depending on the circumstances, takes place sometimes in both directions simultaneously, at other times first one tendency prevails for a period and then the other.

Interest on the capital invested in the land becomes a part of the *differential rent* just because of the fact that the landowner gets this interest from capital which not *he* but the *tenant-farmer* has put into the land. This fact, known throughout Europe, is alleged to have no economic existence because tenancy as a system is *not yet* developed in the *United States*. But there the thing takes place in another form. The land jobber and not the tenant-farmer gets paid in the end, in the *price* he charges for the land, for the capital expended by the latter. Indeed, the history of the pioneers and land jobbers in the United States often reminds one of the worst horrors taking place, e.g., in Ireland.

But now damn Carey! Three cheers for O'Donovan Rossa!

Last Tuesday's meeting¹⁹⁹ was full of ardour, passion and vehemence. Mr. Muddlehead^a or the devil knows what that fellow's name is—a Chartist and an old friend of Harney's—had providently brought Odger and Applegarth along. On the other hand Weston and Lucraft were absent because they were attending an Irish ball. *Reynolds's* had published my resolutions in the Saturday issue and also an abstract of my speech (as well as Eccarius could do that; he's no stenographer), and *Reynolds's* had printed it right on the front page of the paper, after the leading article. This seems to have scared those flirting with Gladstone. Hence the appearance of Odger and a long rambling speech by Mottershead, who got it in the neck badly from Milner (himself an Irishman). Applegarth sat next to me and therefore did not dare to speak *against* [the resolutions]; on the contrary, he spoke *for* [them], evidently with an uneasy conscience. *Odger* said that if the resolutions were rushed to a vote he would have to say aye. But unanimity was surely better and could be attained by means of a few minor amendments, etc. I thereupon declared—as it was precisely *he* that I wanted to get into a mess—that *he* should submit his amendments at the next session. At the last session, although many of our most reliable members were absent, we would thus have carried the resolution against *one single* opposing vote. Tuesday we shall be there in full force.²⁰⁰

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a Marx is referring to Mottershead.—*Ed.*

118

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, November 29, 1869

... You must seek for an explanation of my long and to a certain extent criminal silence in the vast amount of work with which I had to catch up, not only in my scientific studies but also in regard to the *International*; I had moreover to study *Russian* because of a book sent to me from Petersburg about the condition of the working class (of course peasants included) in Russia^a; and, finally, that my state of health was by no means satisfactory.

You will probably have seen in the *Volksstaat* the resolutions against Gladstone proposed by me on the question of the Irish amnesty.²⁰¹ I have now attacked Gladstone—and it has attracted attention here—just as I had formerly attacked Palmerston.²⁰² The demagogic refugees here love to fall upon the Continental despots from a safe distance. That sort of thing attracts me only when it is done *vultu instantis tyranni*.^b

Nevertheless, both my utterance on this Irish amnesty question and my further proposal in the General Council to discuss the attitude of the English working class to Ireland and to pass resolutions on it have of course other objects besides that of speaking out loudly and decidedly for the oppressed Irish against their oppressors.

I have become more and more convinced—and it is only a question of driving this conviction home to the English working class—that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish but even takes the initiative in dissolving the Union²⁰³ established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because it will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland. Every one of its movements in England itself is crippled by the strife with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England. The *primary condition* of emancipation here—the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy—remains impossible because its position here cannot be stormed so long as it maintains its

^a N. Flerovsky, *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—Ed.

^b Right in the face of the tyrant.—Ed.

strongly entrenched outposts in Ireland. But, once affairs are in the hands of the Irish people itself, once it is made its own legislator and ruler, once it becomes autonomous, the abolition there of the landed aristocracy (to a large extent the *same persons* as the English landlords) will be infinitely easier than here, because in Ireland it is not merely a simple economic question but at the same time a *national* question, for the landlords there are not, like those in England, the traditional dignitaries and representatives of the nation, but its mortally hated oppressors. And not only does England's internal social development remain crippled by her present relations with Ireland; but also her foreign policy, and in particular her policy with regard to Russia and the United States of America.

But since the English working class undoubtedly throws the decisive weight into the scale of social emancipation generally, the lever has to be applied here. As a matter of fact, the English republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in Ireland.²⁰⁴ *Non bis in idem!*^a The Irish have played a capital joke on the English government by electing the "convict felon" O'Donovan Rossa to Parliament. The government papers are already threatening a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, a renewed system of terror. In fact England never has and never *can*—so long as the present relations last—rule Ireland otherwise than by the most abominable reign of terror and the most reprehensible corruption....

119

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, December 9, 1869

...I half expected that about the *Irishman*.²⁰⁵ Ireland still remains the *sacra insula*, whose aspirations must on no account be mixed up with the profane class struggles of the rest of the sinful world. Partially, this is certainly honest madness on the part of these people, but it is equally certain that it is partially also a calculated policy of the leaders in order to maintain their domination over the peasant. Added to this, a nation of peasants always has to take its literary representatives from the bourgeoisie of the towns and their ideologists, and in this respect Dublin (I mean *Catholic* Dublin) occupies a rather similar position with regard to Ireland much as Copenhagen does to Denmark. But to

^a Not twice the same thing!—*Ed.*

these gentry the whole labour movement is pure heresy and the Irish peasant must not on any account be allowed to know that the socialist workers are his sole allies in Europe....

120

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

London, December 10, 1869

...As to the *Irish question*. I did not attend the Central Council last Tuesday.^a Although I had undertaken to open the debate my "family" did not permit me to go in this *fog* in my present state of health.

As for the report in the *National Reformer*, not only was a lot of nonsense attributed to me but even what it reported *correctly* is really *wrong*. But I did not want to protest. First of all, I would thereby offend the reporter (Harris). Secondly, so long as I do not get involved, all these reports bear no official character whatever. If I correct something I admit that the rest is right. And everything is wrong the way it has been reproduced. Besides *I have reasons for not converting these reports into legal evidence against me*, and that is what happens the moment I *correct details*.

The way I shall put forward the matter next Tuesday is this: that quite apart from all phrases about "international" and "humane" *justice for Ireland*—which are taken for granted in the *International Council*—*it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland*. And this is my fullest conviction, and for reasons which in part I can *not* tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the *New York Tribune*. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* until it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.

I have read a lot of *Davies* in extracts. The book itself^b I had only glanced through superficially in the Museum.^c So you would do me a great favour if you would copy out for me the passages relating to *common property*. You must get "*Curran's Speeches*"

^a The meeting of the General Council on December 7, 1869.—*Ed.*

^b John Davies, *Historical Tracts*.—*Ed.*

^c The British Museum Library.—*Ed.*

edited by Davies (London: James Duffy, 22, Paternoster Row). I meant to give it to you when you were in London. It is now circulating among the English members of the Central Council and God knows when I shall see it again. For the period 1779-1800 (Union) it is of decisive importance, not only because of *Curran's speeches* (especially those held *in courts*; I consider *Curran the only great lawyer* (people's advocate) of the eighteenth century *and the noblest character*, while *Grattan* was a parliamentary rogue), but because you will find quoted there *all the sources* for the *United Irishmen*.²⁰⁶ This period is of the utmost interest, scientifically and dramatically. Firstly, the atrocities of the English in 1588-89 were repeated (and perhaps even intensified) in 1788-89. Secondly, a class movement can easily be traced in the Irish movement itself. *Thirdly*, the infamous policy of Pitt. *Fourthly*, and that will greatly vex the English gentlemen, the proof that Ireland came to grief because, in fact, from a revolutionary standpoint, *the Irish were too far advanced for the English King and Church mob*, while on the other hand the English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland. *This period* must be described in at least one chapter, putting John Bull in the pillory!...

As to the present *Irish movement*, there are three important factors: 1) opposition to lawyers and trading politicians and blarney; 2) opposition to the dictates of the priests, who (the *superior ones*) are traitors, as in O'Connell's time as well as in 1798-1800; 3) the fact that the *agricultural labouring class* has been gaining ground as against the farming class at the last meetings. (It was similar in 1795-1800.)

The *Irishman* is making headway only because of the suppression of the *Fenian* press. For a long time it had been in opposition to Fenianism. Luby, etc., of the *Irish People*, etc., were educated men who treated religion as a bagatelle. The government put them in prison and then came the Pigotts & Co. The *Irishman* will amount to anything only until those people come out of prison. It is aware of this although it is now making *political capital* by its rhetorics in support of the "felon convicts".

1870

121

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] February 10, 1870

...I have read the first 150 pages of *Flerovsky's* book.^a (They are taken up by Siberia, North Russia and Astrakhan.) This is the first work to tell the truth about Russian economic conditions. The man is a determined enemy of what he calls "Russian optimism". I never held very rosy views of this communistic Eldorado, Flerovsky however surpasses all expectations. It is indeed odd and certainly a sign of a sudden change that such a thing can be printed in Petersburg.

"We have few proletarians, but the mass of our working class consists of labouring people whose lot is worse than that of any proletarian."^b

The method of presentation is quite original; at times it reminds one most of Monteil. One can see that the man has travelled around everywhere and seen things for himself. A glowing hatred of landlords, capitalists and officials. No socialist doctrine, no mysticism about the land (although in favour of the communal form of ownership), no nihilistic extravagance. Here and there a certain amount of well-meaning twaddle, which, however, is suited to the stage of development reached by the people for whom the book is intended. In any case this is the most important book which has appeared since your *Condition of the Working Class*....

122

MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER AND AUGUST VOGT
IN NEW YORK

London, April 9, 1870

...The day after tomorrow (April 11) I shall send you whatever documents of the International I happen to have on hand. (It

^a N. Flerovsky, *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—Ed.

^b In the letter the quotation is given in Russian.—Ed.

is too late to mail them today.) I shall likewise send some more of the Basle [reports].^a

Among the material sent you will also find several copies of the resolutions of the General Council of *November 30* on the *Irish amnesty*, resolutions which you already know and which were initiated by me; likewise an Irish pamphlet on the treatment of the Fenian convicts.

I had intended to submit further motions on the necessary transformation of the present Union²⁰⁷ (i.e., enslavement of Ireland) into a free and equal federation with Great Britain. For the time being, further progress in this matter, as far as public resolutions go, has been suspended because of my enforced absence from the General Council. No other member of it has sufficient knowledge of Irish affairs and adequate prestige with the *English* members to be able to replace me in this respect.

However time has not been wasted and I ask you to pay particular attention to the following:

After studying the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling classes (and it will be decisive for the workers' movement all over the world) cannot be delivered *in England* but *only in Ireland*.

On January 1, 1870,^b the General Council issued a confidential circular^c drawn up by me in French (for only the French journals, not the German ones produce important repercussions in England) on the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and therefore on the attitude which the International Association should take towards the Irish question.

I shall give you here only quite briefly the salient points.

Ireland is the bulwark of the *English landed aristocracy*. The exploitation of that country is not only one of the main sources of their material wealth; it is their greatest *moral* strength. They, in fact, represent the *domination of England over Ireland*. Ireland is therefore the cardinal means by which the English aristocracy maintain *their domination in England* itself.

If, on the other hand, the English army and police were to be withdrawn from Ireland tomorrow, you would at once have an agrarian revolution in Ireland. But the downfall of the English aristocracy in Ireland implies and has as a necessary consequence its downfall in England. And this would provide the preliminary condition for the proletarian revolution in England. The destruc-

^a The reference is to the reports of the Basle Congress of the First International published by the General Council.—*Ed.*

^b Marx wrote: "December 1, 1869", apparently a slip of the pen.—*Ed.*

^c Karl Marx, "Le Conseil Général au Conseil Fédéral de la Suisse Romande" ("The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland").—*Ed.*

tion of the English landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier operation than in England herself, because in Ireland *the land question* has been up to now the *exclusive form* of the social question because it is a question of existence, of *life and death*, for the immense majority of the Irish people, and because it is at the same time inseparable from the *national* question. Quite apart from the fact that the Irish character is more passionate and revolutionary than that of the English.

As for the English *bourgeoisie*, it has in the first place a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. It is likewise interested in reducing the Irish population by eviction and forcible emigration, to such a small number that *English capital* (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with "security". It has the same interest in *clearing the estates of Ireland* as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-10,000 absentee-landlord and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have also to be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie has also much more important interests in the present economy of Ireland. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of leaseholds, Ireland constantly sends her own surplus to the English labour market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the material and moral position of the English working class.

And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class divided into two *hostile* camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the *ruling* nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the Negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English rulers in Ireland*.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. *This antagonism* is the *secret of the impotence of the English working class*, despite its organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And the latter is quite aware of this.

But the evil does not stop here. It continues across the ocean. The antagonism between Englishmen and Irishmen is the hidden basis of the conflict between the United States and England. It makes any honest and serious co-operation between the working classes of the two countries impossible. It enables the governments of both countries, whenever they think fit, to break the edge off the social conflict by their mutual bullying, and, in case of need, by war between the two countries.

England, the metropolis of capital, the power which has up to now ruled the world market, is at present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the *only* country in which the material conditions for this revolution have reached a certain degree of maturity. It is consequently the most important object of the International Working Men's Association to hasten the social revolution in England. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent. Hence it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. It is the special task of the Central Council in London to make the English workers realise that *for them* the *national emancipation of Ireland* is not a question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but *the first condition of their own social emancipation*.

These are roughly the main points of the circular letter, which thus at the same time give the *raisons d'être* of the resolutions passed by the Central Council on the Irish amnesty. A little later I sent a strongly-worded anonymous article^a on the treatment of the Fenians by the English, etc., attacking Gladstone, etc., to the *Internationale* (organ of our Belgian Central Committee^b in Brussels). In this article I have also denounced the French Republicans (the *Marseillaise* had printed some nonsense on Ireland written here by the wretched Talandier) because in their national egoism they are saving all their wrath for the Empire.

That worked. My daughter Jenny wrote a series of articles to the *Marseillaise*, signing them J. Williams (she had called herself Jenny Williams in her private letter to the editorial board) and published, among other things, O'Donovan Rossa's letter. Hence immense noise.

After many years of cynical refusal *Gladstone was thereby* finally compelled to agree to a *parliamentary enquiry* into the treatment of the Fenian prisoners. Jenny is now the regular correspondent on Irish affairs for the *Marseillaise*. (*This is naturally to be a secret between us.*) The British Government and press are furious because

^a "Le gouvernement anglais et les prisonniers féniens" ("The English Government and the Fenian Prisoners") published on February 27, 1870.—*Ed.*

^b Marx is referring to the Belgian Federal Council.—*Ed.*

the Irish question has thus now been *placed on the agenda* in France and that these rogues are now being watched and exposed via Paris on the whole Continent.

We hit another bird with the same stone, we have forced the Irish leaders, journalists, etc., in Dublin to get into contact with us, which the *General Council* had been unable to achieve previously!

You have wide field in America for work along the same lines. *A coalition of the German workers with the Irish workers* (and of course also with the English and American workers who are prepared to accede to it) is the greatest achievement you could bring about now. This must be done in the name of the International. The social significance of the Irish question must be made clear.

Next time a few remarks dealing particularly with the position of the English workers.

Greetings and fraternity!

Karl Marx

123

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] May 18, 1870

...Our members in France are giving the French Government ocular proof of the difference between a secret political society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, etc., Committees (some of them fled to Switzerland and Belgium) than Committees *twice as numerous* announced themselves as their successors with the most daring and challenging declarations in the newspapers (and as an additional precaution added their *private addresses* as well). At last the French Government has done what we have so long wanted it to do: transform the political question, Empire or Republic, into a question of life and death for the working class!

In general the plebiscite²⁰⁸ dealt the final blow to the empire. Because so many voted aye for the empire wreathed in constitutional phrases Boustrapa^a believes he can now quite unceremoniously restore the empire *sans phrase*, that is to say, the December regime. According to all the information received privately the Society of December 10²⁰⁹ has been fully restored in Paris and is teeming with activity.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a Sobriquet of Louis Bonaparte consisting of the first syllables of Boulogne, Strassburg and Paris (see also Note 88).—*Ed.*



Ludwig Kugelmann

124

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, June 27, 1870

...The German professorial gentlemen have recently felt obliged to take notice of me here and there, even though in a rather absurd manner; e.g., A. Wagner in a booklet on landed property and Held (Bonn) in a booklet on the agricultural credit system in the Rhine province.

Mr. Lange (*Über die Arbeiterfrage*, etc., 2. Auflage [*On the Labour Question*, etc., 2nd edition]) sings my praises loudly, but with the object of making himself important. For Mr. Lange has made a great discovery. The whole of history can be brought under a single great natural law. This natural law is the *phrase* (in this application Darwin's expression becomes nothing but a phrase) "struggle for life", and the content of this phrase is the Malthusian law of population or, rather, overpopulation. Thus, instead of analysing the "struggle for life" as represented historically in various definite forms of society, all that has to be done is to translate every concrete struggle into the phrase "struggle for life", and this phrase itself into the Malthusian "population fantasy". One must admit that this is a very impressive method—for swaggering, sham-scientific, bombastic ignorance and intellectual laziness.

What the same Lange says about the Hegelian method and my application of it is really childish. First of all, he understands nothing about Hegel's method and secondly, as a consequence, even less about my critical manner of applying it. In one respect he reminds me of Moses Mendelssohn. For that prototype of a wind-bag wrote to Lessing, asking how Lessing could possibly take that "dead dog Spinoza" seriously. Similarly Mr. Lange wonders that Engels, I, and others take the dead dog Hegel seriously, after Büchner, Lange, Dr. Dühring, Fechner, etc., have long ago agreed that he—poor dear—had long been buried by them. Lange is naive enough to say that I "move with rare freedom" in empirical matter. He hasn't the least idea that this "free movement in matter" is nothing but a paraphrase for the *method* of dealing with matter—that is, the *dialectical method*....

As to Meissner's pressure for the second volume, I have not only been interrupted by the illness throughout the winter; I also found it necessary to swot Russian, because in dealing with the land question it became essential to go to the original sources in studying the relations of Russian landed property. Moreover, in connection with the Irish land question, the English government published a series of Blue Books (soon to be concluded) on agrar-

ian relations in all countries. Finally—*entre nous*—I would like to see the second edition of the first volume appear first. If that were to come while I was getting the second volume into final shape it would only disturb my work.

Best compliments on Jenny's part and my own to all the members of the Kugelmann family.

Yours,
K. M.

125

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] July 28, 1870

...Last Tuesday the General Council ordered a thousand copies of the Address to be printed. Today I expect the proof-sheets.

The singing of the *Marseillaise* in France is a parody just like all the Second Empire. But that scoundrel^a at least feels that "Going off to Syria"²¹⁰ would not do. In Prussia, on the other hand, such buffoonery is not necessary. "Lord, in Thee is all my trust!", sung by William I, with Bismarck on the right and Stieber on the left, is the German *Marseillaise*. Like in 1812 seqq. the German philistine seems to be really delighted because he can now give free vent to his innate servility. Who would have thought it possible that twenty-two years after 1848 a national war in Germany would be given *such* theoretical expression!

It is fortunate, that this whole demonstration originated with the middle class. The working class, with the exception of the direct adherents of Schweitzer, takes no part in it. The war of classes in both countries, France and Germany, has fortunately reached such an extent that no war abroad can seriously turn back the wheels of history....

126

ENGELS TO MARX IN RAMSGATE

Manchester, August 15, 1870

Dear Moor,

If one has been afflicted by an attack of severe stomach trouble for three days, like me, with slight fever from time to time, it's

^a Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

no great pleasure at all, even when starting to feel better, to expatiate on Wilhelm's^a policy. But since you must get this stuff back, so be it.

How far Bracke, certainly a very weak fellow, has allowed his national enthusiasm to run away with him I cannot tell and as I receive at most *one* issue of the *Volksstaat*²¹¹ every fortnight I am also unable to judge the position of the Committee^b in this regard except from Bonhorst's letter to Wilhelm, which on the whole is cool but betrays theoretical uncertainty. In contrast with this Liebknecht's narrow-minded self-confidence based on dogmatism does indeed show off, very favourably as usual.

The case seems to me to be as follows: Germany has been driven by Badinguet^c into a war for her national existence. If Badinguet defeats her, Bonapartism will be strengthened for years and Germany broken for years, perhaps for generations. In that event there can be no more question of an independent German working-class movement either, the struggle to restore Germany's national existence will absorb everything, and at best the German workers will be taken in tow by the French. If Germany wins, French Bonapartism will at any rate be smashed, the endless row about the establishment of German unity will at last be got rid of, the German workers will be able to organise on a national scale quite different from that prevailing hitherto, and the French workers, whatever sort of government may succeed this one, are certain to have a freer field than under Bonapartism. The whole mass of the German people of every class have realised that this is first and foremost a question of national existence and have therefore at once flung themselves into the fray. That in these circumstances a German political party should preach total abstention *à la* Wilhelm and place all sorts of secondary considerations before the main consideration, seems to me impossible.

To this must be added that Badinguet would never have been able to wage this war without the chauvinism of the mass of the French population: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the imperialistic, Haussmannist building-trade proletariat stemming from the peasants, which Bonaparte created in the big towns.²¹² Until this chauvinism is knocked on the head, and knocked good and proper, peace between Germany and France is impossible. One might have expected that a proletarian revolution would take this work over, but since the war is already on nothing remains for the Germans to do but attend to the job themselves and at once.

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

^b The Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Brunswick.—*Ed.*

^c Sobriquet of Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

Now come the secondary considerations. That Lehmann,^a Bismarck & Co. are in command in this war and that it must minister to their temporary glorification if they conduct it successfully, we have to thank the miserable state of the German bourgeoisie. It is certainly very unpleasant but cannot be altered. But on that account to magnify anti-Bismarckism into the sole guiding principle would be absurd. In the first place, Bismarck, as in 1866 so at present is doing a bit of our work, in *his own* way and without meaning to, but all the same he is doing it. He is clearing the deck for us better than before. Moreover it is no longer the year 1815. The South Germans are now bound to enter the Reichstag and this will develop a counterpoise to Prussianism. Then there are the national duties which devolve on it and which, as you wrote, forbid the Russian alliance from the outset. In general it is senseless to try à la Liebknecht to undo all that has happened since 1866 just because it is not to his liking. But we know our model South Germans. There is nothing to be done with these fools.

I think our people can:

1) join the national movement—you can see from Kugelmann's letter how strong it is—in so far and for so long as it is limited to the defence of Germany (which does not exclude an offensive, in certain circumstances, until peace is arrived at);

2) at the same time emphasise the difference between German national and dynastic-Prussian interests;

3) work against any annexation of Alsace and Lorraine—Bismarck is now intimating an intention of annexing them to Bavaria and Baden;

4) as soon as a non-chauvinistic republican government is at the helm in Paris, work for an honourable peace with it;

5) constantly stress the unity of interests between the German and French workers, who neither approve of the war nor make war on each other;

6) *Russia*, as in the Address of the International.^b

Amusing is Wilhelm's^c assertion that because Bismarck is a former accomplice of Badinguet's the correct position is to remain neutral. If that were the general opinion in Germany, we should soon have the Confederation of the Rhine again and the noble Wilhelm should just see what sort of role he would play in that, and what would become of the workers' movement. A people that gets nothing but kicks and blows is indeed the right one

^a Nickname of William I.—*Ed.*

^b "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" written by Marx (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1973, Vol. 2, pp. 190-94).—*Ed.*

^c Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

to make a social revolution, and moreover in Wilhelm's innumerable beloved petty states!

How nice that the poor little fellow seeks to call me to account for something that was "supposed" to have been printed in the *Elberfelder Zeitung*!²¹³ Poor creature!

The debacle in France seems to be frightful. Everything gone to rack and ruin, sold, swindled away. The *chassepots*²¹⁴ are badly made and miss fire in action, there are no more of them and the old flintlocks have got to be hunted out again. Nevertheless a revolutionary government, if it comes *soon*, need not despair. But it must abandon Paris to its fate and carry on the war from the South. There would then still be a possibility of its holding out until arms have been bought and new armies organised which would gradually force the enemy back to the frontier. This would in fact be the real end of the war, both countries proving to each other that they are unconquerable. But if this does not happen quickly the game is up. Moltke's operations are a model—old William seems to give him a perfectly free hand—and the fourth-call battalions are already joining the army, while the French ones are not yet in existence.

If Badinguet is not out of Metz yet it may go badly with him.

Sea-bathing is no good for rheumatism. But Gumpert, who is spending four weeks in Wales, maintains that *sea-air* is particularly wholesome. I hope you will soon be relieved of your pain. It's something terrible. At any rate it's not dangerous. The restoration of your general health is much more important.

Best regards.

Yours,
F. E.

127

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[Ramsgate,] August 17, 1870

Dear Fred!

My best thanks (ditto from Mrs. Marx for the letter to her) for the pains you took under such aggravating circumstances. Your letter tallies completely with the plan of the answer which I have already worked out in my mind. Nevertheless, in such an important matter—it is not a question of Wilhelm^a but of *instructions as to the line of conduct to the German workers*²¹⁵—I did not want to act without first consulting with you.

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

Wilhelm infers his agreement with me:

1) from the Address of the *International*, which he of course first translated into his own, Wilhelm's, language;

2) from the circumstance that I approved his and Bebel's declaration in the Reichstag.²¹⁶ That was a "moment" when sticking for principle was an act of courage, but it by no means follows that the moment is still continuing, and much less that the attitude of the German proletariat in a war which has become national is comprehended in Wilhelm's antipathy to Prussia. It would be just as if we, because at the appropriate moment we had raised our voices against the "Bonapartist" liberation of Italy, should want to object to the relative independence which Italy received as a result of that war.

The lust for Alsace and Lorraine seems to predominate in two circles: the Prussian camarilla and the South-German beer-patriots. It would be the greatest misfortune that could befall Europe and above all Germany. You will have seen that most of the Russian newspapers are already talking of the necessity of European diplomatic intervention in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Kugelman confuses a defensive war with defensive military operations. Hence if a fellow attacks me in the street I may only parry his blows but not knock him down, because then I should turn into an *aggressor*! The want of dialectics peeps out of every word these people utter.

I have not slept a wink the fourth night running because of the rheumatism, and all that time fantastic ideas about Paris, etc., occur to me. I shall have Gumpert's sleeping potion prepared for me this evening.

With the death knell of the Second Empire, that will end as it began, by a parody,²¹⁷ I hit off my Bonaparte after all! Can one imagine a finer parody of Napoleon's 1814 campaign? I believe we two are the only people who grasped the *whole mediocrity* of Boustrapa^a from the beginning, regarded him as a mere showman, and never allowed ourselves to be misled by his momentary successes.

By the way, the bourgeois Peace Society has sent the General Council of the *International* £20 for printing the Manifesto in the French and German languages.

Greetings.

Yours,
K. M.

^a Sobriquet of Louis Bonaparte consisting of the first syllables of Boulogne, Strassburg and Paris (see also Note 89).—*Ed.*

MARX AND ENGELS TO THE BRUNSWICK COMMITTEE
OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY OF GERMANY²¹⁸

[London, approx. September 1, 1870]

...The military camarilla, the professors, burghers and pot-house politicians claim that this^a is the means whereby Germany can be forever protected against war with France. Just the opposite. It is the best means of turning this war into a *European institution*. It is indeed the surest way of perpetuating military despotism in the rejuvenated Germany as essential to retaining possession of a *western Poland*—of Alsace and Lorraine. It is an infallible means of turning the coming peace into a mere armistice until France has recovered sufficiently to demand back her lost territories. It is the most infallible method of ruining both Germany and France by internecine strife.

The knaves and the fools who discovered these guarantees of eternal peace ought to know from Prussian history, and from the drastic treatment laid down by Napoleon in the Peace Treaties of Tilsit²¹⁹ that such violent measures of pacifying a viable people produce an effect exactly opposite to that intended. Compare France, even after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, with Prussia after the Tilsit Peace!

If, as long as the *old political conditions* obtained, French chauvinism had a certain material justification in the fact that since 1815 a few lost battles meant that the capital, Paris, and with it France, were at the mercy of the invader, what new nourishment will chauvinism not imbibe when the boundary line will run along the Vosges in the East and at Metz in the North?

That the Lorrainers and Alsations desire the blessings of *German* government even the...^b Teuton does not dare to maintain. It is the principle of Pan-Germanism and of "secure" frontiers that is being proclaimed, which, if it were practised by the Eastern side, would lead to fine results for Germany and Europe.

Anyone who has not been entirely overawed by the din and noise of the moment and has no *interest* in overawing the German people must realise that the War of 1870 will necessarily lead to a *war between Germany and Russia* just as the War of 1866 led to the War of 1870.

I say *necessarily, inevitably*, except in the improbable event of a prior outbreak of a *revolution in Russia*.

If this improbable case does not eventuate the war between

^a The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine planned by Prussia.—*Ed.*

^b Note by Engels: "the most rabid".—*Ed.*

Germany and Russia must already now be treated as an accomplished fact.

It depends entirely upon the present conduct of the German victors whether this war is going to be useful or harmful.

If they take Alsace and Lorraine France and Russia will make war upon Germany. Needless to point to the baneful consequences.

If they conclude an honourable peace with France that war will liberate Europe from the Muscovite dictatorship, will dissolve Prussia in Germany, allow the western part of the Continent to develop in peace and finally will help the Russian social revolution—the elements of which need only such an impetus from without for their development—to erupt, from which the Russian people too will benefit.

But I am afraid the knaves and the fools will continue their mad game unhindered unless the masses of the German working class raise their voice....

The present war ushers in a new era in world history by the proof which Germany has given that even with the exclusion of German Austria she is capable of going her own way *independently of the other countries*. That she finds her *unity* at first in the *Prussian barracks* is a punishment she has amply merited. But even under these circumstances *one* result has been immediately achieved. Such trifling matters as for instance the conflict between the National-Liberal North Germans and the People's Party South Germans²²⁰ will no longer uselessly obstruct the way. Relations will develop on a grand scale and become simpler. If the German working class does not then play the historical role it is entitled to it will be its own fault. *This war has shifted the centre of gravity of the working-class movement on the Continent from France to Germany*. This places greater responsibility upon the German working class....

129

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, September 4, 1870

*Was schert mich Weib, was schert mich Kind,
Ich trage höhres Verlangen;
Lass sie betteln gehn, wenn sie hungrig sind—
Mein Kaiser, mein Kaiser gefangen!^a*

World history is surely the greatest of poets, it has even succeeded in parodying Heine. My Emperor, ^b my Emperor a captive!

^a What care I for wife, what care I for child—I have higher yearnings; if hungry they are let them go and beg—my Emperor, my Emperor a captive! (From Heinrich Heine's "Die Grenadiere".)—*Ed.*

^b Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

And, what is more, of the "stinking Prussians". And poor William^a stands by and assures everybody for the hundredth time that he is really quite innocent of the whole business and that it is purely the will of God. William behaves just like that schoolboy: "Who created the world?" "Please, teacher, I did—but I won't ever do it again!"

And then the miserable Jules Favre comes along and proposes that Palikao, Trochu and a few Arcadians shall form the government. There never was such a lousy crew. But all the same it is to be expected that when this becomes known in Paris something or other will happen. I cannot believe that this flood of news, which is bound to become known today or tomorrow, will not produce some effect. Perhaps a government of the Left, which after some show of resistance will conclude peace.

The war is at an end. There is no more army in France. As soon as Bazaine capitulates, which will no doubt happen this week, half the German army will march to Paris and the other half across the Loire to sweep the country clean of all armed assemblages....

The Alsace swindle—apart from its old Teutonic features—is mainly of a strategical nature and aims at getting the line of the Vosges and German Lorraine as border territory. (Language frontier: if you draw a straight line from Donon or Schirmeck in the Vosges to one hour's travelling east of Longwy, where the Belgian-Luxemburg and French frontiers meet, that is almost the exact place; and from Donon along the Vosges to the Swiss frontier.) Northward from Donon the Vosges are not so high and steep as in the South. Only the asses of the *Staatsanzeiger* and Brass & Co. could get the notion that France will be "throttled" by the snipping off of this narrow strip with its one and a quarter million or so inhabitants. The screams of the philistines for "guarantees" are altogether absurd, but they tell because they suit the book of the Court people....

In Saarbrücken the French did as much damage as they could. Of course the bombardment lasted only a few hours and not as in Strassburg day and night for weeks.

Herewith I return Cacadou's^b letter with thanks. Very interesting. The defence of Paris, if nothing out of the way happens inside, will be an amusing episode.

These perpetual little panics of the French—which all arise because they fear the moment when they must hear the truth at last—give one a much better idea of the Reign of Terror. We take this to mean the rule of people who inspire terror. On the contrary, it is the rule of people who themselves are terror-stricken. Terror

^a William I.—*Ed.*

^b A jocular nickname of Laura Lafargue.—*Ed.*

implies mostly useless cruelties perpetuated by frightened people in order to reassure themselves. I am convinced that the blame for the Reign of Terror in 1793 lies almost exclusively with the bourgeois frightened out of their wits and demeaning themselves like patriots, with the small philistines quaking with fear and the mob of the underworld who know how to coin profit from terror. These are just the classes in the present minor terror too.

Best regards to all of you from all of us, including Jollymeyer^a and Moore.

Yours,
F. E.

130

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, September 12, 1870

...If it were possible to do anything in Paris, one should prevent the workers from letting fly before peace is concluded. Bismarck will soon be in a position to make peace, either by taking Paris or because the European situation will oblige him to put an end to the war. However the peace may turn out, it must be concluded before the workers can do anything at all. If they should be victorious now—while in the service of the national defence—they would have to enter upon the legacy left by Bonaparte and the present lousy republic, and would be needlessly crushed by the German armies and thrown back another twenty years. They themselves can lose nothing by waiting. The possible boundary changes are in any case only provisional and will be abrogated again. To fight for the bourgeoisie against the Prussians would be madness. Whatever government concludes peace is for that very reason bound to be short-lived, and in internal conflicts there will not be much to fear from the army, that returns home after imprisonment. The chances will be more favourable to the workers after the peace than they ever were before. But will they not let themselves be carried away under the pressure of an attack from without, and proclaim the social republic on the eve of the storming of Paris? It would be appalling if as their last act of war the German armies had to fight a battle with the Parisian workers at the barricades. It would set us back fifty years and would throw everything into such disarray that everybody and everything would get into a false position—and, besides, the national hatred and the domination by phrases which would *then* arise among the French workers!...

^a A jocular nickname of Karl Schorlemmer.—*Ed.*

131

MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY
IN LONDON

[London,] October 19, 1870

My Dear Sir,

Deák is against the workmen. He is, in fact, a Hungarian edition of an English Whig.

As to Lyons,²²¹ I have received letters not fit for publication. At first everything went well. Under the pressure of the "International" section the Republic was proclaimed before Paris had taken that step. A revolutionary Government was at once established—*La Commune*—composed partly of workmen belonging to the "International", partly of Radical middle-class Republicans. The octrois were at once abolished, and rightly so. The Bonapartist and Clerical intriguers were intimidated. Energetic measures were taken to arm the whole people. The middle class began if not really to sympathise with, at least to quietly undergo, the new order of things. The action of Lyons was at once felt at Marseilles and Toulouse, where the "International" sections are strong.

But the asses, Bakunin and Cluseret, arrived at Lyons and spoiled everything. Belonging both to the "International", they had, unfortunately, influence enough to mislead our friends. The Hotel de Ville was seized—for a short time—and most foolish decrees on the *abolition de l'état*^a and similar nonsense were issued. You understand that the very fact of a Russian—represented by the middle class papers as an agent of Bismarck—pretending to impose himself as the leader of a *Comité du Salut de la France*^b was quite sufficient to turn the balance of public opinion. As to Cluseret, he behaved both as a fool and a coward. These two men left Lyons after their failure.

At Rouen, as in most other industrial towns of France, the sections of the International, following the example of Lyons, have enforced the official admission into the "committees of defence"²²² of the working-class element.

Still, I must tell you that according to all information I receive from France, the middle class on the whole prefers Prussian conquest to the victory of a Republic with socialist tendencies.

Yours truly,
Karl Marx

^a Abolition of the state.—*Ed.*

^b Committee of the Salvation of France.—*Ed.*

132

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, December 13, 1870

Dear Kugelmann,

The explanation for my long silence is the fact that during this war, which has caused most of the foreign correspondents of the General Council to go to France, I have had to conduct *practically the entire international correspondence*, which is no trifle. Besides, with the "postal freedom" now prevailing in Germany and particularly in the North German Confederation, and most "particularly" in Hanover, it is dangerous—not for me, it is true, but for my German correspondents—if I write them my opinion on the war, and what else can one write about at the present moment?

For example, you ask me for our first Address on the war. I had sent it to you. It has obviously been confiscated. I am enclosing in this letter the two Addresses ^a issued as a pamphlet as well as Professor Beesly's article ^b in the *Fortnightly Review* and today's *Daily News*. Since this paper has a Prussian tinge, the things will probably get through. Professor Beesly is a Comtist and as such obliged to think up all sorts of crotchets, but otherwise he is a very capable and brave man. He is professor of history at London University.

It seems that Germany has not only captured Bonaparte, his generals and his army but that the whole of imperialism, with all its infirmities, has likewise been acclimatised in the land of the oak and the linden tree.

As to the German bourgeois, I am not at all surprised by his intoxication with conquest. First of all, rapacity is the vital principle of every bourgeoisie and to take foreign provinces is after all "taking". The German middle-classes moreover have most dutifully accepted so many kicks from their sovereigns, particularly the Hohenzollerns, that it must be a real pleasure to them when those kicks are administered for a change to a foreigner.

In any case this war has freed us from the "middle-class republicans". It has put a horrible end to that crew. And that is an important result. It has given our professors the best opportunity of

^a The reference is to the First and the Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, pp. 190-201).—*Ed.*

^b E. S. Beesly, "The International Working Men's Association."—*Ed.*

discrediting themselves in the eyes of the whole world for being servile pedants. The conditions which result from the war will be the best propaganda of our principles.

Here in England public opinion at the outbreak of war was ultra-Prussian; it has now turned into the opposite. In the *cafés chantants*, for example, German singers with their *Wi-Wa-Wacht* on the Rhine have been hissed off the floor while French singers with the *Marseillaise* have been accompanied in chorus. Apart from the decided sympathy of the popular masses for the Republic, from the vexation of the respectability at the alliance between Prussia and Russia, now clear as daylight, and from the shameless tone of Prussian diplomacy since Prussia's military successes, the manner in which the war has been conducted—the requisitioning system, the burning down of villages, the shooting of *francs-tireurs*, the taking of hostages and similar acts reminiscent of the Thirty Years' War—has aroused universal indignation in this country. Of course, the English have done the same in India, Jamaica, etc., but the French are neither Hindus, nor Chinese, nor Negroes, and the Prussians are not heaven-born Englishmen! It is a truly Hohenzollern idea that a people commits a crime in continuing to defend itself once its regular army has ceased to exist. In fact, the war of the Prussian people against Napoleon I was a real thorn in the side of good old Frederick William III, as one can see from Professor Pertz's historical account of Gneisenau,^a who transformed the war of *francs-tireurs* into a system through his *Landsturm Ordnung*.²²³ The fact that the people fought on their own initiative and independently of orders from the highest quarters gave Frederick William III no peace.

However, the last word has not yet been spoken. The war in France can still take a very "unpleasant" turn. The resistance put up by the Loire Army²²⁴ was "beyond" calculation, and the present scattering of the Prussian forces right and left is merely intended to instil fear, but in fact its only result is to call forth the defensive power at every point and weaken the offensive power. The threatened bombardment of Paris is likewise nothing but a trick. By all the rules of the theory of probability, it can have no serious effect on the city of Paris itself. If a few outworks are shot to pieces and a breach is made, what good is that when the besieged outnumber the besiegers? And if the besieged fought exceptionally well in the sorties when the enemy defended himself behind entrenchments, how much better will they fight when the roles are reversed?

^a Georg Heinrich Pertz, "Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau" ("The Life of Field-Marshal Count Neithardt von Gneisenau").—*Ed.*

To starve Paris out is the only real way. But if that is dragged out long enough to allow armies to be formed and a people's war to develop in the provinces, nothing will be gained thereby except a shifting of the centre of gravity. Moreover, even after the surrender of Paris, which cannot be occupied and kept tranquil by a mere handful, would keep a large part of the invaders out of action.

But however the war may end, it has given the French proletariat practice in arms, and that is the best guarantee of the future....

1871

133

MARX TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

↳ London, January 16, 1871

Sir,

In accusing the French Government of "having rendered impossible the free expression of opinion in France through the medium of the press and of national representatives", Bismarck did evidently but intend to crack a Berlin *Witz*.^a If you want to become acquainted with "true" French opinion please apply to Herr Stieber, the editor of the Versailles *Moniteur*,²²⁵ and the notorious Prussian police spy!

At Bismarck's express command Messrs. Bebel and Liebknecht have been arrested, on the charge of high treason, simply because they dared to fulfil their duties as German national representatives, viz., to protest in the Reichstag against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, vote against new war subsidies, express their sympathy with the French Republic, and denounce the attempt at the conversion of Germany into one Prussian barrack. For the utterance of the same opinions the members of the Brunswick Socialist Democratic Committee have, since the beginning of last September, been treated like galley-slaves, and are still undergoing a mock prosecution for high treason. The same lot has befallen numerous workmen who propagated the Brunswick manifesto. On similar pretexts, Mr. Hepner, the sub-editor of the Leipzig *Volksstaat*,²²⁶ is prosecuted for high treason. The few independent German journals existing outside Prussia are forbidden admission into the Hohenzollern estates. German workmen's meetings in favour of a peace honourable for France are daily dispersed by the police. According to the official Prussian doctrine, as naively laid down by General Vogel von Falkenstein, every German "trying to counteract the prospective aims of the Prussian warfare in France", is guilty of high treason. If M. Gambetta and Co. were, like the Hohenzollern, forced to violently put down popular opinion, they would only have to apply the Prussian method, and, on the plea of war, proclaim throughout France the state of siege.

^a Joke.—Ed.

The only French soldiers on German soil moulder in Prussian gaols. Still the Prussian Government feels itself bound to rigorously maintain the state of siege, that is to say the crudest and most revolting form of military despotism, the suspension of all law. The French soil is infested by about a million of German invaders. Yet the French Government can safely dispense with that Prussian method of "rendering possible the free expression of opinion". Look at this picture and at that! Germany, however, has proved too petty a field for Bismarck's all-absorbing love of independent opinion. When the Luxemburgers gave vent to their sympathies with France, Bismarck made this expression of sentiment one of his pretexts for renouncing the London neutrality treaty.²²⁷ When the Belgian press committed a similar sin, the Prussian ambassador at Brussels, Herr von Balan, invited the Belgian ministry to put down not only all anti-Prussian newspaper articles, but even the printing of mere news calculated to cheer on the French in their war of independence. A very modest request this, indeed, to suspend the Belgian Constitution, "pour le roi de Prusse!" No sooner had some Stockholm papers indulged in some mild jokes at the notorious "piety" of Wilhelm Annexander, than Bismarck came down on the Swedish cabinet with grim missives. Even under the meridian of St. Petersburg he contrived to spy too licentious a press. At his humble supplication, the editors of the principal Petersburg papers were summoned before the Censor-in-Chief, who bid them beware of all strictures upon the feal Borussian vassal of the Czar. One of those editors, M. Saguljajew, was imprudent enough to emit the secret of this *avertissement*^a through the columns of the *Golos*.²²⁸ He was at once pounced upon by the Russian police, and bundled off to some remote province.

It would be a mistake to believe that those gendarme proceedings are only due to the paroxysm of war fever. They are, on the contrary, the true methodical application of Prussian law principles. There exists in point of fact an odd proviso in the Prussian criminal code, by dint of which every foreigner, on account of his doings or writings in his own or any other foreign country, may be prosecuted for "insult against the Prussian King" and "high treason against Prussia"! France—and her cause is fortunately far from desperate—fights at this moment not only for her own national independence, but for the liberty of Germany and Europe.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

Karl Marx

^a Warning.—*Ed.*

134

MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER IN NEW YORK

[London,] January 21, 1871

...I don't know whether I told you that at the beginning of 1870 I began to study Russian, which I now read fairly fluently. This came about because Flerovsky's very important work on *The Condition of the Working Class* (especially the peasants) in Russia, had been sent to me from Petersburg and because I also wanted to familiarise myself with the excellent economic works of Chernyshevsky (who was as a reward sentenced to the Siberian mines where he has been serving time for the past seven years). The result was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic, and Romance language groups. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that fermentation is going on deep below the surface. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the body of the people....

135

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

[London,] February 4, 1871

Dear Kugelman,

I am sorry to learn from your last letter that your state of health has again got worse. In the autumn and winter months mine was tolerable, although the cough which I contracted during my last stay in Hanover is still troubling me.

I had sent you the *Daily News* containing my letter.^a It was obviously confiscated, like the other things I sent you. Today I am enclosing the cutting, as well as the first Address of the General Council.^b The letter actually contains nothing but facts, but was effective precisely because of that.

You know my opinion of the middle-class heroes. Monsieur Jules Favre (notorious from the days of the Provisional Government and Cavaignac) & Co. have however surpassed my expectations. First of all they allowed the "*sabre orthodox*", the "*crétin*"

^a See pp. 239-40 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^b "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" by Marx (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, pp. 190-94).—*Ed.*

militaire", as Blanqui rightly dubs Trochu, to carry out his "plan". This plan consisted simply in prolonging the *passive resistance* of Paris to the utmost limit, that is, to the starvation point, while confining the offensive to sham manoeuvres, to "*des sorties platoniques*". What I am saying is not just "supposition". I know the contents of a letter which Jules Favre himself wrote to Gambetta and in which he complains that he and other members of the part of the government cowering in Paris sought in vain to spur Trochu on to serious offensive measures. Trochu always answered that that would give the upper hand to *Parisian demagogy*. Gambetta replied: "You have pronounced your own condemnation." Trochu considered it much more important to keep down the Reds in Paris with the help of his Breton bodyguard—which rendered him the same services that the Corsicans rendered Louis Bonaparte—than to defeat the Prussians. This is the real secret of the defeats not only at Paris but throughout France, where the bourgeoisie, in agreement with the majority of the local authorities, has acted on the same principle.

After Trochu's plan had been carried out to its climax—to the point where Paris had to surrender or starve—Jules Favre & Co. could simply follow the example of the commander of the fortress of Toul. He did not surrender. He merely explained to the Prussians that he was compelled through lack of food to abandon the defence and open the gates of the fortress. They were now free to act as they chose.

But Jules Favre is not content with signing a formal capitulation.²²⁹ Having declared himself, his associates in the government, and Paris *prisoners of war* of the King of Prussia, he has the audacity to act in the name of the whole of France. What did he know of the situation in France outside Paris? Absolutely nothing except what Bismarck was gracious enough to tell him.

More. These *Messieurs les prisonniers du roi de Prusse* go further and declare that the part of the French Government still free in Bordeaux has forfeited its authority and can act only in agreement with them—the *prisoners of war of the Prussian king*. Since they, as prisoners of war, can themselves act only at the dictate of their warlord, they thereby proclaimed the King of Prussia *de facto* the *highest authority* in France.

Even Louis Bonaparte, after he surrendered and was taken prisoner at Sedan, was not so shameless. To Bismarck's proposals he replied that he could not enter upon negotiations because as a Prussian prisoner he had ceased to exercise any authority in France.

At the most J. Favre could have accepted a *conditional* armistice for the whole of France, namely, with the proviso that the agreement should be sanctioned by the Bordeaux government,²³⁰

which alone was entitled and competent to agree with the Prussians upon the clauses of such an armistice. That government, at any rate, would not have allowed the latter to exclude the *eastern* theatre of war from the armistice. They would not have allowed them to round off their line of occupation so advantageously for themselves.

Rendered insolent by the usurpatory pretensions of his prisoners of war, who as such continue to play the part of the French Government, Bismarck is now quite impudently interfering in internal French affairs. He *protests*, noble soul, against Gambetta's decree concerning the general elections to the *Assemblée*, because the decree, according to him, is prejudicial to the freedom of elections. Indeed! Gambetta should answer with a protest against the state of siege and other conditions prevailing in Germany, which annihilate the freedom of elections to the Reichstag.

I hope that Bismarck sticks to his conditions of peace. Four hundred million pounds sterling as war indemnity—half the English national debt! Even the French bourgeoisie will understand that. It will perhaps at last realise that by continuing the war they *could* at the worst *only gain*.

The mob, high class and low, judges by appearances, the façade, the immediate result. During the last twenty years it has, all over the world, apotheosised Louis Bonaparte. I have always exposed him, even at his apogee, as a *mediocre scoundrel*. That is also my opinion of the Junker Bismarck....

136

ENGELS TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

London, February 13, 1871

Citizens,

Your letter of December 14 has been received by the General Council with great pleasure. Your preceding letter dated July 30 has likewise reached us. It was passed on to Citizen Serrailier, Secretary for Spain, with instructions to forward our reply to you. But Citizen Serrailier shortly afterwards left for France to fight for the republic and was in Paris when the city was encircled. If you have therefore not yet received a reply to your letter of July 30, which is still in his hands, it is due to these circumstances. The General Council at its meeting of the 7th instant has for the time being entrusted the correspondence with Spain to the undersigned F. E. and has passed your last letter on to him.

We have regularly received the following Spanish working-class newspapers: the Barcelona *La Federación*, the Madrid *La Solidaridad* (until December 1870), the Palma *El Obrero* (until its suspension), and recently the Palma *La Revolución Social* (the first issue only). These newspapers have kept us posted on what is going on in the labour movement in Spain. We have seen with great satisfaction that the ideas of the social revolution are becoming more and more the common property of the working class of your country.

As you say, the attention of the people has undoubtedly been attracted to a very large extent by the empty declamations of the old political parties, which have thus greatly obstructed our propaganda. That happened everywhere during the first few years of the proletarian movement. In France, in England and in Germany, the Socialists were compelled, and are still compelled, to combat the influence and activity of the old political parties, whether they be aristocratic or bourgeois, monarchist or even republican. Experience has shown everywhere that the best way to emancipate the workers from this domination of the old parties is to form in each country a proletarian party with a policy of its own, a policy which is manifestly different from that of the other parties, because it must express the conditions necessary for the emancipation of the working class. This policy may vary in details according to the specific circumstances of each country; but as the fundamental relations between labour and capital are the same everywhere and the political domination of the possessing classes over the exploited classes is an existing fact everywhere, the principles and aims of proletarian policy will be identical, at least in all western countries. The possessing classes—the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie—keep the working people in servitude not only by the power of their wealth, by the simple exploitation of labour by capital, but also by the power of the state—by the army, the bureaucracy, the courts. To give up fighting our adversaries in the political field would mean to abandon one of the most powerful weapons, particularly in the sphere of organisation and propaganda. Universal suffrage provides us with an excellent means of struggle. In Germany, where the workers have a well organised political party, they have succeeded in sending six deputies to the so-called National Assembly; and the opposition which our friends Bebel and Liebknecht have been able to organise there against a war of conquest has worked more powerfully in the interest of our international propaganda than meetings and years of propaganda in the press would have. At present in France too workers' representatives have been elected and will loudly proclaim our principles. At the next elections the same thing will happen in England.

We learn with pleasure that it is your kind intention to remit to us the dues collected by the branches in your country. We shall receive them gratefully. Please make the remittance by cheque on any London banker payable to John Weston, our treasurer, or send it by registered letter addressed to the undersigned, either 256, High Holborn, London, the seat of our Council, or 122, Regent Park Road, his home address.

We are awaiting with great interest the statistics concerning your federation which you promised to send us.

As for the Congress of the International, it is useless to think of it while the present war lasts. But if peace, as it seems, is soon restored the Council will immediately take up this important question and consider your friendly invitation to convoke it in Barcelona.

We have no sections yet in Portugal; it might perhaps be easier for you than for us to initiate relations with the workers of that country. If that is so be good enough to write to us once more on the subject. We likewise believe that it would be better, at least in the beginning, if you started relations with the Buenos Aires printers, provided you inform us later of the results obtained. Meanwhile you would do us a kind service and one useful to the cause if you would mail us an issue of the *Anales de la Sociedad tipográfica de Buenos Aires*²³¹ to get acquainted with it.

As for the rest the international movement continues to march on in spite of all obstacles. In England the Central Trades Councils of Birmingham and Manchester, and through them the workers of the two most important manufacturing cities in the country, have just now directly affiliated to our Association. In Germany we are at present suffering government persecutions similar to those initiated by Louis Bonaparte in France a year ago. Our German friends, more than fifty of whom are in prison, are literally suffering for the international cause. They have been arrested and prosecuted because they opposed the policy of conquest with might and main and urged that the German people should fraternise with the French people. In Austria too many of our friends have been gaoled, but the movement is nevertheless making headway. In France our sections have everywhere been the soul of the resistance movement and constituted its strength against the invasion. They have seized power in the big cities of the South; and if Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Toulouse have acted with quite unprecedented energy, it was thanks to the efforts of the members of the International. Our organisation in Belgium is strong and our Belgian sections have just held their Sixth Regional Congress. In Switzerland the differences which arose some time ago among our sections seem to be on the wane. From America we have received the news of the affiliation of new French,

German and Czech (Bohemian) sections and, besides, we continue to maintain fraternal relations with the Labour League²³², the big organisation of American workers.

Hoping soon to receive further news from you we are sending you our fraternal greetings.

For the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

F. E.

137

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT IN LEIPZIG

[London,] April 6, 1871

Dear Liebknecht,

The news that you and Bebel as well as the Brunswick people were released was received here in the Central Council with great rejoicing.

It seems the Parisians are succumbing. It is their own fault, but a fault which was in fact due to their too great *decency*. The Central Committee and later the Commune gave Thiers, that mischievous dwarf, time to concentrate the hostile forces, firstly because they rather foolishly did not want to start a *civil war*—as if Thiers had not already started it by his attempt at the forcible disarming of Paris, as if the National Assembly, summoned for the sole purpose of deciding the question of war or peace with the Prussians, had not immediately declared war on the *Republic!* Secondly, in order that the appearance of having usurped power should not attach to them they lost precious moments (it was imperative to advance on Versailles immediately after the defeat (*Place Vendôme*)²³³ of the reactionaries in Paris) by the election of the Commune, the organisation of which, etc., cost yet more time.

You must not believe a word of all the stuff you get to see in the papers about the internal events in Paris. It is all lies and deception. Never has the vileness of the bourgeois newspaper hacks displayed itself more splendidly.

It is highly characteristic that the German Unity-Emperor,^a Unity-Empire, and Unity-Parliament in Berlin appear *not to exist at all* for the outside world. Every breath of wind that stirs in Paris excites more interest...

^a William I.—*Ed.*

138

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, April 12, 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your "medical advice" was effective in so far as I have consulted my Dr. Maddison and have for the present put myself under his care. He says however that my lungs are in excellent condition and the cough is due to bronchitis, etc. It probably also affects the liver.

Yesterday we received the by no means soothing news that Lafargue (not Laura) was at present in Paris.

If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I declare: the next French Revolution will no longer attempt to transfer the bureaucratic-military apparatus from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and this is the precondition for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What flexibility, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused by internal treachery even more than by the external enemy, they rise, in the face of the Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not standing at the gates of Paris! History has no comparable example of similar greatness! If they are defeated only their "good nature" will be to blame. They ought to have marched at once on Versailles after the withdrawal first of Vinoy and then of the reactionary section of the Paris National Guard. They missed their opportunity because of moral scruples. They did not want to start a civil war, as if that mischievous dwarf Thiers had not already started the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris! Second mistake: The Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune. Again from a too "honourable" scrupulosity! However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine, and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, the clod-hopping junkers and above all, of the philistine.

A propos. In the *official publication* of the list of those receiving direct subsidies from L. Bonaparte's treasury there is a note that Vogt received 40,000 francs in August 1859! I have informed Liebkecht of this fact for further use.

You can send me Haxthausen's book for *lately* I have been receiving undamaged various pamphlets, etc., not only from Germany but even from Petersburg.

Thanks for the various newspapers you sent me. (Please let me have more of them, for I want to write something about Germany, the Reichstag, etc.)

Best regards to the Countess and Käuzchen ^a.

Yours,
K. M.

139

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

[London,] April 17, 1871

Dear Kugelmann,

Your letter duly received. Just at present I have my hands full. Hence only a few words. How you can compare petty-bourgeois demonstrations *à la* June 13, 1849,²³⁴ etc., with the present struggle in Paris is quite incomprehensible to me.

World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition that the prospects were unmistakably favourable. It would on the other hand be of a very mystical nature, if "accidents" played no part. These accidents naturally form part of the general course of development and are compensated by other accidents. But acceleration and delay are very much dependent upon such "accidents", including the "accident" of the character of the people who first head the movement.

The decisively unfavourable "accident" this time is by no means to be sought in the general conditions of French society, but in the presence of the Prussians in France and their position right before Paris. Of this the Parisians were well aware. But of this, the bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles were also well aware. Precisely for that reason they presented the Parisians with the alternative of either taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. The demoralisation of the working class in the latter case would have been a far greater misfortune than the doom of any number of "leaders". With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide importance has been gained.

Adieu!

K. M.

^a Gertrud and Franziska Kugelmann.—*Ed.*

140

MARX TO LEO FRANKEL AND LOUIS EUGÈNE VARLIN
IN PARIS

[Draft]

[London,] May 13, 1871

Dear Citizens Frankel and Varlin,

I have had meetings with the bearer ^a.

Would it not be useful to put the documents which compromise the Versailles blackguards in a safe place? A precaution of this kind can never do any harm.

According to a letter from Bordeaux which I received four members of the International were elected at the last municipal elections. The provinces are beginning to ferment. Unfortunately the action there is only local and "pacific".

I have written several hundred letters in support of your case to every corner of the world in which we have branches. Incidentally, the working class has been on the side of the Commune from the very beginning.

Even the bourgeois papers in England have given up their original ferocity. I have succeeded in slipping some favourable paragraphs into them from time to time.

The Commune seems to me to be wasting too much time on trivialities and personal quarrels. One can see that there are other influences besides that of the workers. None of this would matter if you had sufficient time to make up for lost time.

It is absolutely necessary that whatever you want to do outside Paris, in England or elsewhere, you should do quickly. It is true that the Prussians will not hand over the forts to the Versailles government, but after the final conclusion of peace (May 26)²³⁵ they will permit the government to invest Paris with its gendarmes. Since in the treaty concluded by Pouyer-Quertier, Thiers & Co. had, as you know, made provisions for receiving a large gratuity,²³⁶ they refused to accept the help from the German bankers which Bismarck offered them. Had they accepted it they would have lost their gratuity. As the preliminary condition for the realisation of *their* treaty is the conquest of Paris, they have asked Bismarck to allow them to delay the payment of the first instalment until after the occupation of Paris. Bismarck has accepted this condition. Prussia, being herself in very urgent need of this money, will therefore give the Versailles government every possible facility for hastening the occupation of Paris. So be on your guard!

^a Probably N. Eilau.—*Ed.*

141

MARX TO EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY
IN LONDON

[London,] June 12, 1871

My Dear Sir,

Lafargue, his family and my daughters are in the Pyrenees, near the Spanish border but on the French side of it. As Lafargue was born in Cuba he was able to obtain a Spanish passport. I wish however he would definitely settle on the Spanish side, as he played a leading role in Bordeaux.

Despite my admiration for your articles in the *Bee-Hive*, I am almost sorry to see your name in that newspaper. Permit me to observe in passing that as a Party man I take up entirely hostile attitude towards Comtism,²³⁷ while as a scholar I have a very poor opinion of it, I regard you however as the only Comtist both in England and in France, who deals with historical turning points (crises) not as a sectarian but as an historian in the best sense of the word. The *Bee-Hive* pretends to be a workers' paper but it is really the organ of renegades, sold to Sam. Morley & Co. During the last Franco-Prussian war, the General Council of the International was obliged to sever all connection with this paper and publicly to declare that it was a spurious workers' paper. The big London papers, however, with the exception of the local London *Eastern Post*, refused to print this declaration.^a In such circumstances your co-operation with the *Bee-Hive* is a further sacrifice you are making to the good cause.

A woman friend of mine will be going to Paris in three or four days. I am giving her regular passports for some members of the Commune who are still hiding in Paris. If you or one of your friends have any commissions there please write to me.

What comforts me is the nonsense which the yellow press publishes every day about my writings and my relations to the Commune; this is sent to me each day from Paris. It shows that the Versailles police is very hard put to it to get hold of genuine documents. My relations with the Commune were maintained through a German merchant^b who travels between Paris and London all the year round. Everything was settled verbally with the exception of two matters:

^a Resolution of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning the *Bee-Hive*. See *The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 239-40.—*Ed.*

^b Probably N. Eilau.—*Ed.*

First, through the same intermediary I sent the members of the Commune a letter in answer to a question from them as to how they could sell certain securities on the London Exchange.

Second, on May 11, ten days before the catastrophe, I sent them via the same channel all the details of the secret agreement between Bismarck and Favre in Frankfurt.²³⁸

I had this information from Bismarck's right hand—a man^a who had formerly (from 1848-53) belonged to a secret society of which I was the leader. This man knows that I have still have all the reports which he sent me from and about Germany. He is dependent on my discretion. Hence his continual efforts to prove to me his good intentions. It is the same man who, as I told you, had warned me that Bismarck was determined to have me arrested if I again visited Dr. Kugelmann in Hanover this year.

If only the Commune had listened to my warnings! I advised its members to fortify the northern side of the heights of Montmartre, the Prussian side, and they still had time to do this; I told them beforehand that they would otherwise be caught in a trap; I denounced Pyat, Grousset and Vésinier to them; I demanded that they should at once send to London all the documents compromising the members of the National Defence, so that by this means the savagery of the enemies of the Commune could to some extent be held in check—thus the plan of the Versailles people would at least partially have been frustrated.

If these documents had been discovered by the Versailles people they would not have published forged ones.

The *Address* of the International^b will not be published before Wednesday. I shall then send you a copy at once. Material for four to five sheets has been compressed into two. Hence the numerous corrections, revisions and misprints. Hence also the delay.

Faithfully yours,

Karl Marx

142

MARX TO ADOLPHE HUBERT IN LONDON

[London,] August 10, 1871

[Draft]

...The public prosecutor of Versailles has drawn up a grotesque indictment against the *International*²³⁹. In the interest of the defence

^a Johannes Miquel, who had been a member of the Communist League.—*Ed.*

^b This refers to the "Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Civil War in France, 1871" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, pp. 202-44).—*Ed.*

it may perhaps be useful to communicate the following facts to Mr. Bigot.

1) Enclosed herein (marked No. 1) are the two Addresses of the *General Council* on the Franco-Prussian War. In its first Address, dated July 23, 1870, the *General Council* declared that the war was not the handiwork of the people of France but of the Empire and that basically Bismarck was as guilty as Bonaparte. At the same time the *General Council* appealed to the German workers not to let the Prussian Government change the war of defence into a war of conquest.

2) The second Address, of September 9, 1870 (five days after the proclamation of the republic), is a very emphatic denunciation of the Prussian Government's plans of conquest. It is an appeal to the German and English workers *to take the part of the French Republic*.

As a matter of fact the workers in Germany belonging to the *International Association* opposed Bismarck's policy so vigorously that he had the principal German representatives of the *International* illegally arrested and cast into Prussian fortresses on the trumped-up charge of "conspiring" with the enemy.

In response to the appeal of the Council, the English workers held large meetings in London to force their government to recognise the French Republic and to oppose the dismemberment of France with all its strength.

3) Does the French Government now ignore the support which the *International* gave France during the war? On the contrary. M. Jules Favre's consul in Vienna, M. Lefavre, has even committed the indiscretion of publishing, in the name of the French Government, a letter of thanks to Messrs. Liebknecht and Bebel, the two representatives of the *International* in the German Reichstag. In that letter he said among other things (I shall retranslate it from a German version of Lefavre's letter): "You, gentlemen, and your party (that is to say, the *International*) have upheld the great German tradition, (i.e., the humanitarian spirit) etc."

Well, this letter figures in the criminal proceedings for *high treason* which the Saxon government was forced by Bismarck to institute against Liebknecht and Bebel and which are still going on at this moment. It served Bismarck as a pretext for having Bebel arrested after the adjournment of the German Reichstag.

At the very time when the villainous press denounced me to Thiers as an agent of Bismarck, Bismarck imprisoned my friends for being guilty of high treason against Germany and gave orders to arrest me should I set foot on German soil.

4) Some time before the armistice²⁴⁰ the worthy Jules Favre — as the *General Council* declared in a letter to the "*Times*" of June 12 a reprint of which is hereby enclosed (No. II) — asked us through his

private secretary, Dr. Reitlinger, to arrange public demonstrations in London in favour of the "Government of Defence". Reitlinger added, as the General Council said in its letter to the *Times*, that one should not speak of the "*Republic*" but only of "France". The General Council refused to give any assistance to demonstrations of *this sort*. But all this proves that the French Government itself considered the *International* an ally of the French Republic against the Prussian conqueror—and it was indeed the only ally France had during the war.

Fraternal greetings,

K. M.

143

MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE IN NEW YORK

[London,] November 23, 1871

...The *International* was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a really militant organisation of the working class. The original Rules^a and the Inaugural Address show this at a glance. On the other hand the *International* could not have stood its ground if the course of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real working-class movement always stand in inverse proportion to each other. Sects are (historically) justified so long as the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary. But the features displayed by history everywhere are repeated in the history of the *International*. Antiquated aspects attempt to re-establish and to assert themselves within the newly acquired form.

And the history of the *International* was a *continual struggle of the General Council* against the sects and amateur experiments, which sought to assert themselves within the *International* against the real movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the *Congresses*, but to a far greater extent in private negotiations between the General Council and individual sections.

Since in Paris, the Proudhonists (Mutualists)²⁴¹ were cofounders of the Association, they naturally held the reins there for the first few years. Later, of course, collectivist, positivist, etc., groups arose there in opposition to them.

In Germany—the Lassalle clique. I myself corresponded with the notorious Schweitzer for two years and proved to him irrefu-

^a Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association drawn up by Marx.—*Ed.*

tably that Lassalle's organisation was a mere sectarian organisation and, as such, hostile to the organisation of the *real* workers' movement propagated by the International. He had his "reasons" for not understanding.

At the end of 1868 the Russian Bakunin joined the *International* with the aim of forming inside it a *second International* called "*Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*", with himself as leader. He—a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge—claimed to represent the *scientific* propaganda of the International in that separate body, and wanted to make such propaganda the special function of that second *International within the International*.

His programme was a hash superficially scraped together from the Right and from the Left—*equality of classes* (!), *abolition of the right of inheritance* as the *starting point* of the social movement (St.-Simonist nonsense), *atheism* as a *dogma* dictated to the members, etc., and as the main dogma (*Proudhonist*): *abstention from political action*.

This puerile myth found favour (and still has a certain hold) in Italy and Spain, where the material conditions for the workers' movement are as yet little developed, and among a few vain, ambitious, and empty doctrinaires in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and in Belgium.

To Mr. Bakunin his doctrine (the rubbish he borrowed from Proudhon, St.-Simon, and others) was and is a secondary matter—merely a means to his personal self-assertion. Though a nonentity as a theoretician he is in his element as an intriguer.

For years the General Council had to fight against this conspiracy (supported up to a certain point by the French Proudhonists, especially in the *South of France*). At last, by means of Conference Resolutions 1, 2 and 3, IX, XVI and XVII,²⁴² it delivered its long-prepared blow.

It goes without saying that the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal means with which to put an end to all sectarianism and amateur groups, and, if necessary, to expel them....

The ultimate object of the political movement of the working class is, of course, the conquest of political power for this class, and this naturally requires that the organisation of the working class, an organisation which arises from its economic struggles, should previously reach a certain level of development.

On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class as a *class* confronts the ruling classes and tries to constrain them by pressure from without is a political movement. For instance, the attempt by strikes, etc., in a particular factory or even in a particular trade to compel individual capitalists to

reduce the working day, is a purely economic movement. On the other hand the movement to force through an eight-hour, etc., law is a *political* movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers there grows up everywhere a *political* movement, that is to say, a *class* movement, with the object of enforcing its interests in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially coercive force. While these movements presuppose a certain degree of previous organisation, they are in turn equally a means of developing this organisation.

Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against this power and by a hostile attitude toward the policies of the ruling classes. Otherwise it remains a plaything in their hands, as the September revolution in France showed, and as is also proved to a certain extent by the game that Mr. Gladstone & Co. have been able to play in England up to the present time.

144

ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE TURIN NEWSPAPER
IL PROLETARIO ITALIANO ²⁴³

London, November 29, 1871

Citizens,

Your issue No. 39 contains a declaration of Turin workers which states:

“We publicly declare that the decision of the London General Council to put socialism after politics was communicated to us by the Editorial Board of the *Proletario* as soon as it was issued and that such decision did not bear an official character because it was withdrawn by the General Council, since many European associations would have completely rejected it, just as we would have done.”

This assertion compels the General Council to declare:

- 1) That it has never passed any decision putting socialism after politics;
- 2) That accordingly it could not have withdrawn such a decision;
- 3) That no European or American association could have rejected such a decision nor was any other decision of the General Council rejected.

The position of the General Council in regard to political action by the proletariat is sufficiently clearly defined.

It has been defined:

1) By the General Rules, which state, in *point 4* of the *Preamble*, "that the economical emancipation of the working classes is [...] the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means".^a

2) By the text of the Inaugural Address of the Association (1864), the official and obligatory commentary of the Rules, which says: "Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour.... To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."^b

3) By the resolution of the Lausanne Congress (1867) to the following effect: "The social emancipation of the workers is inseparable from their political emancipation".

4) By resolution IX of the London Conference (September 1871), which, in accordance with the aforesaid, reminds the members of the International that in the struggle of the working class its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly united.^c

The Council has always followed and will continue to follow the line thus prescribed to it.

Hence it declares the above-mentioned communication sent by some unknown person to the editorial board of the *Proletario* to be false and calumnious.

By order and in the name of the General Council,

F.E.

Secretary for Italy

P. S. I have just received the Geneva *Révolution Sociale*²⁴⁴ which says that a small Jura group has rejected the London Conference decisions.²⁴⁵ No official communication was made to the General Council. As soon as it receives one it will take the necessary measures.

^a See *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871*, Moscow, p. 451.—*Ed.*

^b See *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866*, Moscow, p. 286.—*Ed.*

^c See *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871*, Moscow, pp. 444-45.—*Ed.*



Wilhelm Liebknecht

1872

145

ENGELS TO THEODOR CUNO IN MILAN

London, January 24, 1872

Dear Cuno,

I have just received your letter through Becker and gather from its contents that those blasted Mardocheans^a intercepted my detailed letter to you dated December 16. This is the more annoying since it contained all the necessary information on the Bakuninist intrigues and you would have been apprised of everything a whole month earlier; and also since, in view of the fact that you are a foreigner and liable to deportation, I asked you in that letter that you should rather try to be somewhat more cautious in your public agitation so that you can remain there and keep your job, which meanwhile unfortunately went to blazes....

Becker writes he will let you know about Bakunin's intrigues. However I shall not rely on that and am telling you briefly the most necessary information. Bakunin, who up to 1868 had intrigued against the International, joined it after he had suffered a fiasco at the Berne Peace Congress²⁴⁶ and at once began to plot *within it* against the General Council. Bakunin has a peculiar theory of his own, a medley of Proudhonism and communism. The chief point concerning the former is that it does not regard capital, i.e., the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through social development, but the *state* as the main evil to be abolished. While the great mass of the Social-Democratic workers are of the same opinion as we, i.e., that the state is nothing more than the organisation which the ruling classes—landowners and capitalists—have established in order to protect their social privileges, Bakunin maintains that it is the *state* which has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital *only by the grace of the state*. As, therefore, the state is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be abolished and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We, on the contrary, say: abolish capital, the appropriation of all the means of production by a few, and the state will collapse of itself. The difference is an essential one: Without a previous social revolution the abolition

^a An allusion to the police.—*Ed.*

of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital *is* precisely the social revolution and involves a change in the whole mode of production. But since for Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done which can keep the state—that is, any state, whether it be a republic, a monarchy or anything else—alive. Hence *complete abstention from all politics*. To commit a political act, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle. The thing to do is to carry on propaganda, heap abuse upon the state, organise, and when *all* the workers, hence the majority, are won over, all the authorities are to be deposed, the state abolished and replaced with the organisation of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called *social liquidation*.

All this sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learnt by heart in five minutes; that is why the Bakuninist theory has speedily found favour in Italy and Spain among young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires. But the mass of the workers will never allow itself to be persuaded that the public affairs of their countries are not also their own affairs; they are by nature *politically-minded* and whoever tries to make them believe that they should leave politics alone will in the end be dropped by them. To preach to the workers that they should in all circumstances abstain from politics is to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans.

Now, as the International, according to Bakunin, was not formed for political struggle but to replace the old state organisation as soon as social liquidation takes place, it follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakuninist ideal of future society. In this society there will above all be no *authority*, for authority = state = absolute evil. (How these people propose to run a factory, operate a railway or steer a ship without a will that decides in the last resort, without a central administration, they of course do not tell us.) The authority of the majority over the minority also ceases. Every individual and every community is autonomous; but as to how a society of even only two people is possible unless each gives up some of his autonomy, Bakunin again maintains silence.

And so the International too must be arranged according to this pattern. Every section, and in every section every individual, is to be autonomous. To hell with the *Basle resolutions*, which confer upon the General Council a pernicious authority demoralising even to itself! Even if this authority is conferred *voluntarily* it must cease just *because* it is authority!

Here you have in brief the main points of this swindle. But who are the originators of the Basle resolutions? Well, *Mr. Bakunin himself* and his associates!

When these gentlemen saw at the Basle Congress that their plan to remove the General Council to Geneva, that is, to get it into their hands, would not succeed, they followed a different tack. They founded the *Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste*, an international Society *within* the big International, on a pretext which you will now encounter again in the Bakuninist Italian press, for instance, in the *Proletario* and *Gazzettino Rosa*: for the hot-blooded Latin races, it is claimed, a more outspoken programme is necessary than for the cool, slow-moving Northerners. This little scheme came to naught because of the resistance of the General Council, which of course could not tolerate any separate international organisation *within* the International. It has since reappeared in various shapes and forms in connection with the efforts of Bakunin and his crew to substitute the Bakunin programme for that of the International. On the other hand it was precisely Bakunin's empty boastful phrases that were always seized upon by the reactionaries, from Jules Favre and Bismarck to Mazzini, whenever it was a question of attacking the International. Hence the necessity of my statement of December 5 against Mazzini and Bakunin, which was also published in the *Gazzettino Rosa*.

The nucleus of the Bakunin crowd consists of a few dozen people in the Jura whose whole following amounts to scarcely 200 workers. Their vanguard is made up of young lawyers, doctors and journalists in Italy who everywhere now pretend to act as spokesmen of the Italian workers; a few of them are in Barcelona and Madrid and every now and then you will find one—hardly ever a worker—in Lyons or Brussels; in London there is a single specimen, Robin.

The conference,^a convoked under the pressure of circumstances in lieu of the congress that had become impossible, served them as a pretext; and since most of the French refugees in Switzerland went over to their side because they (being Proudhonists) found some kindred views among them and for personal reasons, they sallied forth on their campaign. They counted, and not without reason, on malcontent minorities and misunderstood geniuses, who may of course be found everywhere in the International.

At present their fighting strength is as follows:

- 1) Bakunin himself—the Napoleon of this campaign.
- 2) The 200 Jurassians and the 40-50 members of the French Section (refugees in Geneva).
- 3) In Brussels Hins, editor of the *Liberté*, who however does *not* come out *openly* for them.
- 4) Here, the remnants of the French Section of 1871,²⁴⁷ which we have never recognised and which has already split into three

^a Engels is referring to the Conference of the First International that took place in London in 1871.—*Ed.*

parts which are fighting with one another. Then there are about 20 Lassalleans of the type of Herr von Schweitzer, who had all been expelled from the German Section (because of their proposal *to withdraw from the International en masse*) and who, being advocates of extreme centralisation and rigid organisation, fit to a T into the league of Anarchists and autonomists.

5) In Spain, a few personal friends and adherents of Bakunin, who have strongly influenced the workers, particularly in Barcelona, at least theoretically. The Spaniards, on the other hand, are very keen on organisation and quick to notice any lack of it in others. How far Bakunin can count on success there will not be seen until the Spanish Congress in April, and as workers will predominate there I have no grounds for anxiety.

6) Lastly, in Italy, the Turin, Bologna, and Girgenti Sections have, as far as I know, declared in favour of convening the congress *ahead of time*.

The Bakuninist press claims that 20 Italian sections had joined; I don't know them. At any rate, almost everywhere the leadership is in the hands of friends and adherents of Bakunin, and they are raising a terrific hubbub. But a closer examination will most likely disclose that their following is not numerous, for in the long run the bulk of the Italian workers are still Mazzinists and will remain so as long as the International is identified there with abstention from politics.

At any rate, in Italy, for the time being, it is the Bakuninist crowd that has the main say in the International. The General Council has no intention of complaining on that score; the Italians have the right to commit all the absurdities they choose and the General Council will counteract them only by way of peaceful debate. These people also have the right to declare for a congress in the Jurassian sense, although it is certainly exceedingly strange that sections which have only just affiliated and cannot be posted on anything should in such a matter at once take sides, especially before they have heard *both* parties to the dispute! I have told the Turin members the unvarnished truth about this matter and shall do the same with the other sections which have made similar declarations. For every such declaration of affiliation is indirectly an approval of the false accusations and lies made against the General Council in the Circular.²⁴⁸ Incidentally, the General Council will shortly issue a circular²⁴⁹ of its own about this matter. If you can prevent the Milanese from making a similar declaration *until the circular appears* you will be fulfilling all our desires.

The funniest thing is that the same people in Turin who declare in favour of the Jurassians and therefore reproach us here with authoritarianism, now suddenly demand that the General Council should take such authoritarian measures against the rival *Federa-*

zione Operaia²⁵⁰ of Turin as it had never taken before, should excommunicate Beghelli of the *Ficcanaso*, who does not even belong to the International, etc. And all that before we have even heard what the *Federazione Operaia* has to say!

Last Monday^a I sent you the *Révolution Sociale*²⁵¹ containing the Jura Circular, one issue of the Geneva *Égalité* (unfortunately I have no copies left of the issue containing the answer of the Geneva *Comité Fédéral*, which represents twenty times as many workers as the Jura people do) and one *Volksstaat* which will show you what the people in Germany think about the case. The Saxon Regional Meeting—120 delegates from 60 localities—declared *unanimously* for the General Council.

The Belgian Congress (December 25-26) demands a revision of the Rules, but at the *regular* congress (in September). From France we are every day receiving statements expressing consent. Of course, none of these intrigues find any support here in England. And the General Council will certainly not call an extraordinary congress just to please a few intriguers and busy-bodies. So long as these gentlemen keep within legal bounds the General Council will gladly let them have their way. This coalition of the most diverse elements will soon fall apart; but as soon as they start anything against the Rules or the Congress resolutions the General Council will do its duty.

If one considers that these people have launched their conspiracy precisely at the moment when a general hue and cry is being raised against the International, one cannot help thinking that the international sleuths must have a hand in the game. And so it is. In Béziers the Geneva Bakuninists have picked the chief superintendent of police as their correspondent! Two prominent Bakuninists, Albert Richard from Lyons and Blanc,^b were here and told a worker named Scholl, also from Lyons, with whom they got in touch, that the only way to overthrow Thiers was to restore Bonaparte to the throne; and for this very reason they were travelling about on *Bonaparte money* to conduct *propaganda* among the refugees *in favour of a Bonapartist restoration!* That is what these gentlemen call abstaining from politics! In Berlin the *Neue Social-Demokrat*, subsidised by Bismarck, pipes the same tune. How far the Russian police is involved in this I shall leave for the present undecided, but Bakunin was deeply embroiled in the Nechayev affair (he denies it, of course, but we have the original Russian reports here and since Marx and I understand Russian he cannot put anything over on us). Nechayev is either a Russian *agent provocateur* or anyhow acted as if he were. There are moreover all kinds of suspicious characters among Bakunin's Russian friends.

^a January 22.—*Ed.*

^b Gaspard Blanc.—*Ed.*

I am very sorry you lost your position. I had expressly written to you asking you to avoid anything that might lead to that, stating that your presence in Milan was much more important for the International than the small effect one could produce by *public* utterances, and that one can also accomplish much on the quiet, etc. If I can be of assistance to you by getting you translations, etc., I shall do so with the greatest of pleasure. But please tell me *from* which languages and *into* which languages you can translate and *how* I can be useful to you.

So those police swine have also intercepted my photograph. I am enclosing another one for you and would ask you to send me two of yours, one of which is to serve the purpose of inducing Miss Marx to let you have a photograph of her father (she is the only one who still has a couple of good ones left).

I would also ask you to be on your guard when dealing with *any* of the people connected with Bakunin. It is a characteristic feature of all sects to stick together and intrigue. You can be sure that *any information you give them* will immediately be passed on to Bakunin. It is one of his fundamental principles that keeping promises and the like are merely bourgeois prejudices, which a true revolutionary must treat with disdain when it benefits the cause. In Russia he says this openly, in Western Europe it is an esoteric doctrine.

Write to me *as soon as possible*. It would be very good if we could induce the Milan Section not to join in the chorus of the other Italian sections.

Fraternal greetings.

Yours,
F. Engels

146

MARX TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN MADRID

London, March 21, 1872

My dear Toole,^a

I am sending you herewith an excerpt from our circular against the dissidents concerning the functions of the General Council.²⁵²

All the General Council can do to apply the General Rules and Congress resolutions to concrete cases is to make decisions like a court of arbitration. But their realisation depends in each country entirely on the International itself. From the moment, therefore, that the Council ceased to function as *an instrument representing the general interests* of the International it would become an utterly powerless cipher. On the other hand the General Council itself

^a A nickname of Paul Lafargue's used in the family circle.—Ed.

is one of the effective forces of the Association and it is indispensable for maintaining the unity of the Association and preventing its seizure by hostile elements. The moral influence which the present Council (notwithstanding all its shortcomings) has been able to gain in face of the common enemy has hurt the pride of those who only saw in the International an instrument for their personal ambition.

Above all one must remember that our Association is the *militant organisation* of the proletariat and by no means a society for the advancement of doctrinaire amateurs. To destroy our organisation at this moment would be tantamount to surrender. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the governments could ask for anything better. Read the report of the backwoodsman Sacaze on Dufaure's draft. What does he admire and fear most in the Association? "Its organisation."²⁵³

We have made excellent progress since the London Conference.

New federations have been established in Denmark, New Zealand and Portugal. Our organisation has greatly expanded in the *United States*, in *France* (where Malon and Co.²⁵⁴—as they themselves admit—do not have a single section), in *Germany*, in *Hungary*, and in *Britain* (since the formation of the British Federal Council). *Irish* sections were formed quite recently. In *Italy* the only important sections, those in *Milan* and *Turin*, belong to us; the others are led by lawyers, journalists and other doctrinaire bourgeois. (Incidentally, Bakunin has a personal grudge against me because he has lost all influence in *Russia*, where the revolutionary youth are on my side.)

The resolutions of the London Conference have already been accepted in *France*, *America*, *Britain*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Germany*, *Austria*, *Hungary*, *Switzerland* (except in the *Jura*²⁵⁵), also by the genuinely working-class sections in *Italy*, and finally by the *Russians* and the *Poles*. Those who do not recognise this fact won't alter anything thereby, but they will be forced to cut themselves off from the vast majority of the International.

I am so overwhelmed with work that I have not even found time to write to my sweet Cockatoo and to dear Schnappy^a (about whom I would like to have more news). The International does indeed take up too much of my time, and if I had not been convinced that during this period of struggle my presence in the Council was still necessary, I would have retired long ago.

The British government has prevented our celebration of the 18th of March; I am therefore enclosing resolutions which have been adopted at a meeting of British workers and French refugees....²⁵⁶

² *Cockatoo*—nickname of Karl Marx's daughter Laura; *Schnappy*—nickname of her son Charles Étienne (1868-72).—*Ed.*

1873

147

ENGELS TO MARX IN MANCHESTER

[London,] May 30, 1873

Dear Moor,

This morning while I lay in bed the following dialectical points about the natural sciences occurred to me:

The subject-matter of natural science—matter in motion, bodies. Bodies cannot be separated from motion, their forms and kinds can only be known in motion; one cannot say anything about bodies without motion, without relation to other bodies. Only in motion does a body reveal what it is. Natural science therefore knows bodies by examining them in their relation to one another, and in motion. To understand the different forms of motion is equivalent to understanding bodies. The investigation of these different forms of motion is therefore the chief subject of natural science.

1) The simplest form of motion is change of *place* (in terms of time—to please old Hegel)—*mechanical* motion.

a) There is no such thing as motion of a *single* body, but relatively speaking, *falling* can be treated as such. Motion towards a centre common to many bodies. But as soon as a single body moves in a direction *other* than towards the centre, the laws of *falling*, to which it is still subject, undergo modification

b) into laws of trajectories and lead directly to the reciprocal motion of several bodies—planetary, etc., motion, astronomy, equilibrium—temporary or apparent in the motion itself. But the *real* result of this kind of motion is always ultimately—the *contact* of the moving bodies, they fall into one another.

c) Mechanics of contact—bodies in contact. Ordinary mechanics: levers, inclined planes, etc. But the *effects of contact are not exhausted by these*. Contact is manifested directly in two forms: friction and impact. Both have the property that at certain degrees of intensity and under certain conditions they produce *new*, no longer merely mechanical effects: *heat, light, electricity, magnetism*.

2) *Physics proper*, the science of these forms of motion, establishes the fact, after investigation of each individual form of motion, that under certain conditions they *pass into one another*

and ultimately discovers that all of them—at a certain degree of intensity which varies according to the different bodies set in motion—produce effects which transcend physics, changes in the internal structure of the bodies—*chemical* effects.

3) *Chemistry*. For the investigation of the previous forms of motion it was more or less immaterial whether it dealt with animate or inanimate bodies. The inanimate bodies even exhibited the phenomena in their greatest *purity*. Chemistry on the other hand can distinguish the chemical nature of the most important bodies only in substances which have arisen out of the process of life; its chief task becomes more and more to produce these substances artificially. It forms the transition to the sciences concerned with organisms, but the dialectical transition can be produced only when chemistry has either made the real transition or is on the point of doing so.

4) *Organism*. Here I will not embark on any dialectics for the time being.

Since you are there at the centre of the natural sciences you will be in the best position to judge if there is anything in it.

Yours,
F. E.

148

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN HUBERTUSBURG

London, June 20, 1873

Dear Bebel,

I am answering your letter first because Liebknecht's is still with Marx, who cannot locate it just now.

It was not Hepner but Yorck's letter to him, signed by the Committee, which caused us here to be afraid that your imprisonment would be used by the Party authorities, which unfortunately are entirely Lassallean, to transform the *Volksstaat* into an "honest" *Neue-Social-Demokrat*. Yorck plainly confessed to such an intention, and as the Committee claimed to have the right to appoint and remove the editors the danger was surely great enough. Hepner's impending deportation²⁵⁷ gave them another pretext for carrying out these plans. Under these circumstances it was absolutely necessary for us to know what the situation was; hence this correspondence....

With regard to the attitude of the Party towards Lassalleanism, you of course can judge better than we what tactics should be adopted, especially in particular cases. But there is also this to

be considered. When, as in your case, one is to a certain extent in the position of a competitor to the General Association of German Workers, one can easily be too considerate of one's rivals and gets into the habit of always thinking of them first. But both the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party together still form only a very small minority of the German working class. Our view, which we have found confirmed by long practice, is that the correct tactics in propaganda are not to entice away a few individuals and local groups here and there from one's opponent, but to work on the great mass, which is not yet taking part in the movement. A single individual whom one has oneself reared from the raw is worth more than ten Lassallean turncoats, who always bring the germs of their false tendencies into the Party with them. And if one could get only the masses without their *local leaders* it would still be all right. But in fact one must always take along a whole crowd of these leaders into the bargain, who are bound by their previous public utterances, if not by their previous views, and who must now prove above all things that they have not deserted their principles but that on the contrary the Social-Democratic Workers' Party preaches *true* Lassalleanism. This was the unfortunate thing at Eisenach,²⁵⁸ which perhaps could not be avoided at that time, but these elements have certainly done harm to the Party and I am not sure that the Party would not have been at least as strong today without that accession. In any case, however, I should regard it as a misfortune if these elements were to receive reinforcements.

One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for "unity". Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who cause most of the discord, just as at present the Jura Bakuninists in Switzerland, who have provoked all the splits, clamour for nothing so much as for unity. These unity fanatics are either narrow-minded people who want to stir everything into one non-descript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot (in Germany you have a fine example of this in the people who preach reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie)—or else they are people who unconsciously (like Mülberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. It is for this reason that the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues shout loudest for unity at certain times. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and has caused more quarrels than the shouters for unity.

Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes, and this is quite a good thing. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more

important things. Especially for a party like ours, whose ultimate success is so absolutely certain, and which has developed so enormously in our own lifetime and before our own eyes, momentary success is by no means always and absolutely necessary. Take the International, for instance. After the Commune it had a colossal success. The bruised and shattered bourgeoisie ascribed omnipotence to it. The great mass of the membership believed things would stay like that for all eternity. We knew very well that the bubble *must* burst. All riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it became arrogant and misused the International in the hope that they would be allowed to commit the greatest stupidities and vulgarities. We could not put up with that. Knowing very well that the bubble must burst some time it was for us not a matter of delaying the catastrophe but taking care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at the Hague and you know that the majority of the Congress members went home sick with disappointment. And yet nearly all these disappointed people, who imagined they would find the ideal of universal brotherhood and reconciliation in the International, had far more bitter quarrels at home than those which broke out at the Hague. Now the sectarian quarrel-mongers are preaching reconciliation and decrying us as being cantankerous and dictators. And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at the Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split—what would have been the result? The sectarians, especially the Bakuninists, would have had another year in which to perpetrate, in the name of the International, still greater stupidities and infamies; the workers of the most developed countries would have turned away in disgust; the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pinpricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis after all, would have turned into the most sordid personal row, because *principles* would already have been abandoned at the Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces—gone to pieces through “unity”! Instead of this we have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves—the members of the Commune who were present at the last and decisive session say that no session of the Commune left such a terrible impression upon them as this judicial session dealing with the traitors to the European proletariat. For ten months we let them expend all their energies on lies, slander and intrigue—and where are they? They, the alleged representatives of the great majority of the International, now themselves announce that they do not dare to come to the next Congress. (An article which is being sent off to the *Volksstaat* simultaneously with this letter contains further details.) And if we had to do it again we should on the

whole not act any differently—tactical mistakes are always made, of course.

In any case, I think the efficient elements among the Lassalleans will in due course join you of their own accord and it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to.

Moreover, even old Hegel said: A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat is bound to pass through various stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and even this alone is sufficient to explain why the “solidarity of the proletariat” is in reality everywhere being realised in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions.

If the *Neue Social-Demokrat* for example has more subscribers than the *Volksstaat*, you ought not to forget either that each *sect* is necessarily fanatic and through this fanaticism obtains, particularly in regions where it is new (as for instance the General Association of German Workers is in Schleswig-Holstein), much greater momentary successes than the Party, which simply represents the real movement, without any sectarian oddities. But on the other hand, fanaticism does not last long.

I have to close my letter as the mail is about to be dispatched. Let me only add hurriedly: Marx cannot tackle Lassalle²⁵⁹ until the French translation is finished (approx. end of July), after which he will definitely need a rest as he has greatly overworked himself.

That you have been serving your jail sentence stoically and are studying is very good. We shall all be glad to see you here next year.

Cordial greetings to Liebknecht.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels

149

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] September 27, 1873

...As I view European conditions it is quite useful to let the formal organisation of the International recede into the background for the time being, but, if possible, not to relinquish control of the central point in New York so that no idiots like Perret or

adventurers like Cluseret may seize the leadership and discredit the whole business. Events and the inevitable development and complication of things will of themselves see to it that the International shall rise again improved in form. For the present it suffices not to let the connection with the most capable people in the various countries slip altogether out of our hands and as for the rest not to give a hang for the Geneva local decisions, in fact simply to ignore them. The only good decision adopted there, to postpone the Congress for two years, facilitates this mode of action. Furthermore the fact that the spectre of the International cannot be used during the *impending reactionary crusade*, and that on the contrary the bourgeoisie everywhere believes that the spectre is laid for good upsets the calculations of the Continental governments....

150

ENGELS TO MARX IN HARROGATE

London, December 10, 1873

Dear Moor,

Enclosed you will find three halves of five-pound notes; please acknowledge receipt at once so that the rest can follow.

Heavy fog since yesterday morning from which I just escaped for a short hour by taking a walk to the Heath.^a Up there blue sky and warm sunshine, an island of brightness in a sea of fog.

That scamp Roderich Benedix has left a bad odour behind in the shape of a thick tome against "Shakespearomania". He proved in it to a nicety that Shakespeare can't hold a candle to our great poets, not even to those of modern times. Shakespeare is presumably to be hurled down from his pedestal only in order that fatty Benedix is hoisted on to it. There is more life and reality in the first act of the *Merry Wives* alone than in all German literature, and Launce^b with his dog Crab is alone worth more than all the German comedies put together. By way of contrast, Benedix with the weighty posterior will indulge in argumentations as serious as they are cheap over the unceremonious manner in which Shakespeare often makes short work of his denouements and thereby cuts short the tedious twaddle, although in real life it is unavoidable. Let him have his way.

Yesterday received a geological map of the Rhine province. The superficial conjectures I made on the spot mostly confirmed.

Best regards to Tussy.

Yours,

F. E.

^a Hampstead Heath.—*Ed.*

^b A character in Shakespeare's comedy *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.—*Ed.*

1874

151

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, September 12[-17], 1874

...With your resignation²⁶⁰ the *old* International is anyhow entirely wound up and at an end. And that is well. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, during which the oppression reigning throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal polemics to the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy and Denmark had only just come into the movement or were just coming into it. In 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very vague everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses—in real life. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party. Proudhonism was too weak to be able to trot out its particular hobbyhorses, Bakunin's new rubbish did not even exist in his own head, and even the leaders of the English Trade Unions thought they could join the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the Preamble to the Rules. The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was undoubtedly the child of the International intellectually—although the International did not lift a finger to produce it—and in this respect the International was quite properly held responsible for it. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Every trend wanted to exploit the success for itself. Disintegration, which was inevitable, set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to continue working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme—the German Communists—drove the Belgian Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakunist adventurers. The Hague Congress was actually the end—and for both parties. The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a happy instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there, too, and any further effort to galvanise it into new life would be folly and a waste of energy. The

International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—for ten years and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived its usefulness. In order to produce a new International after the fashion of the old, an alliance of all proletarian parties of all countries, a general suppression of the labour movement, like that which prevailed from 1849-64, would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now become too big, too extensive. I believe the next International—after Marx's writings have exerted their influence for some years—will be directly communist and will candidly proclaim our principles....

1875

152

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN ZWICKAU

London, March 18-28, 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of February 23 and am glad you are in such good health.

You ask me what we think of the unification business. Unfortunately we have fared the same as you. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has sent us any information and we too, therefore, know only what is in the papers, and there was nothing in them until the draft programme²⁶¹ appeared about a week ago! This draft has certainly astonished us not a little.

Our Party has so frequently made offers of reconciliation or at least of co-operation to the Lassalleans and has been so frequently and disdainfully repulsed by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns, and Tölckes that any child must have drawn the conclusion: if these gentlemen are now coming and offering reconciliation themselves they must be in a damned tight fix. But in view of the well-known character of these people it is our duty to utilise their fix in order to stipulate for every possible guarantee, so that they do not re-establish their shaken position in the opinion of the workers at the expense of our Party. They ought to have been received with extreme coolness and mistrust, and union made dependent on the extent to which they were willing to drop their sectarian slogans and their state aid and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach programme of 1869²⁶² or a revised edition of it appropriate to the present moment. Our Party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere and therefore in what is decisive for the programme, but the Lassalleans certainly have something to learn from our Party; the first condition of union ought to have been that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, and hence that above all the universal panacea of state aid should be, if not entirely relinquished, at any rate recognised by them as a subordinate transitional measure, one among and alongside of many other possible ones. The draft programme shows that our people are a hundred times superior

theoretically to the Lassallean leaders—but to the same extent inferior to them in political cunning; the “honest” have been once more cruelly cheated by the dishonest.

In the first place Lassalle’s high-sounding but historically false phrase is accepted: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in a few exceptional cases: for instance, in a revolution of the proletariat, like the Commune, or in a country where not only the bourgeoisie has moulded state and society in its own image but where in its wake the democratic petty bourgeoisie, too, has already carried out this remoulding down to its final consequences. If in Germany, for instance, the democratic petty bourgeoisie belonged to this reactionary mass, how could the Social-Democratic Workers’ Party have gone hand in hand with it—with the People’s Party²⁶³—for years? How can the *Volksstaat* take almost the whole of its political contents from the petty-bourgeois-democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how comes it that no less than seven demands are included in this programme which directly and literally coincide with the programme of the People’s Party and the petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not a single one that is not *bourgeois-democratic*.²⁶⁴

Secondly, the principle that the workers’ movement is an international movement is, to all intents and purposes, completely disavowed for the present day, and at that by people who have upheld this principle most gloriously for five whole years under the most difficult conditions. The German workers’ position at the head of the European movement is *essentially* due to their genuinely international attitude during the war; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be disavowed by them at the very moment when the workers everywhere abroad are emphasising it in the same degree as the governments are striving to suppress every attempted manifestation of it in any organisation! And which single aspect is left of the internationalism of the workers’ movement? The faint prospect—not even of a future co-operation of the European workers for their emancipation—no, but of a future “international brotherhood of peoples”, of the “United States of Europe” of the bourgeois of the Peace League!²⁶⁵

It was of course not necessary to speak of the International as such. But surely the very least would have been to make no retreat from the programme of 1869 and to say something like this: *although, to begin with*, the German workers’ party is operating within the existing state boundaries (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat and especially no right to say something false), it is conscious of its solidarity with the

workers of all countries and will always continue to be ready, as it has been hitherto, to fulfil the obligations imposed upon it by this solidarity. Obligations of that kind exist even without directly proclaiming or regarding oneself as a part of the International; for instance, help and abstention from blacklegging in strikes; care taken that the Party organs keep the German workers informed about the movement abroad; agitation against the threat or the outbreak of dynastic wars, and during such wars behaviour similar to that shown in an exemplary way in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed the Lassallean "iron law of wages" to be foisted upon them, a law based on a quite antiquated economic view, namely, that the worker receives on the average only a *minimum* wage, because, according to Malthus' theory of population, there are always too many workers (this was Lassalle's argument). Now Marx has proved in detail in *Capital* that the laws regulating wages are very complicated, that sometimes one predominates and sometimes another, according to circumstances, that therefore they are in no sense iron but on the contrary very elastic, and that the matter can by no means be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. The Malthusian argument in support of the law, which Lassalle copied from Malthus and Ricardo (distorting the proposition of the latter), as it is to be found, for instance, in the *Arbeiterlesebuch*, page 5, quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's, has been refuted in detail by Marx in the section on the "Accumulation of Capital". Thus by adopting Lassalle's "iron law" we commit ourselves to a false thesis with a false substantiation.

Fourthly, the programme puts forward as its *sole social* demand—Lassalle's state aid in its most naked form, as Lassalle stole it from Buchez. And this after Bracke has very well exposed the utter futility of this demand^a and after almost all, if not all, our Party speakers have been obliged to come out against this "state assistance" in fighting the Lassalleans! Lower than this our Party could not humiliate itself. Internationalism brought down to Amand Gögg and socialism to the bourgeois republican Buchez, who put forward this demand *in opposition to the Socialists*, in order to outdo them!

At best, however, "state assistance" in the Lassallean sense is only a *single* measure among many others designed to attain the end here lamely described as "paving the way to the solution of the social question"—as if a theoretically *unsolved* social question still existed for us! So if one says: the German workers' party strives

^a The reference is to Wilhelm Bracke's pamphlet *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag* (Lassalle's Proposition).—Ed.

for the abolition of wage labour, and with it of class distinctions, by the establishment of co-operative production in industry and agriculture and on a national scale; it supports every measure appropriate for the attainment of this end!—then no Lassallean can have anything against it.

Fifthly, there is not a word about the organisation of the working class as a class by means of the trade unions. And that is a very essential point, for this is the real class organisation of the proletariat, in which it wages its daily struggles with capital, in which it trains itself, and which nowadays even amid the worst reaction (as in Paris at present) can simply no longer be smashed. Considering the importance which this organisation has attained also in Germany, it is absolutely necessary in our opinion to mention it in the programme and if possible to leave open a place for it in the Party organisation.

All this has been done by our people to please the Lassalleans. And what has the other side conceded? That a lot of rather confused *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, of which several are a mere matter of fashion, as for instance, the "legislation by the people" which exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good if it does anything at all. *Administration* by the people, that would be something. Equally lacking is the first condition of all freedom: that all officials should be responsible for all their official acts to every citizen before the ordinary courts and according to common law. Of the fact that such demands as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and appear somewhat strange here, I shall say nothing more.

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Taken in its grammatical sense, a free state is one where the state is free in relation to its citizens, hence a state with a despotic government. The whole talk about the state should be dropped, especially since the Commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word. The "*people's state*" has been thrown in our faces *ad nauseam* by the Anarchists, although already Marx's book against Proudhon and later the *Communist Manifesto* directly declare that with the introduction of the socialist order of society the state will dissolve of itself and disappear.^a Since the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, during the revolution, to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the

^a See Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, pp. 174-75; Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 74-76.—*Ed.*

interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore propose to replace *state* everywhere by *Gemeinwesen* [community], a good old German word which can very well convey the meaning of the French word "*commune*".

"The elimination of all social and political inequality" is also a very questionable phrase in place of "the abolition of all class distinctions". Between one country and another, one province and another and even one locality and another there will always exist a *certain* inequality in the conditions of life, which it will be possible to reduce to a minimum but never entirely eliminate. Alpine dwellers will always have different conditions of life from those of people living on plains. The idea of socialist society as the realm of *equality* is a one-sided French idea modelled upon the old "liberty, equality, fraternity"—a concept which was justified as a *stage of development* in its own time and place but which, like all the one-sided ideas of the earlier socialist schools, should have been overcome by now, for it only produces confusion in people's heads and more precise modes of presentation of the matter have been found.

I shall stop, although almost every word in this programme, which has, moreover, been composed in an incipid and flaccid style, could be criticised. It is of such a character that if adopted Marx and I shall *never* be able to give our adherence to the *new* party established on this basis, and shall have very seriously to consider what our attitude towards it—in public as well—should be. You must remember that abroad *we* are made responsible for any and every utterance and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, for instance, by Bakunin in his work *State and Anarchy*, where we have to answer for every thoughtless word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* was started. People imagine that we run the whole show from here, while you know as well as I that we have hardly ever interfered in any way in internal Party affairs, and when we did then only in order to make good, as far as possible, blunders, and *only theoretical* blunders at that, which were in our opinion committed. But you yourself will realise that this programme marks a turning point which may very easily compel us to refuse any and every responsibility for the party which accepts it.

In general, the official programme of a party is of less importance than what the party does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner publicly raised, and the outside world judges the party by it. It should, therefore, on no account take a step backwards, as this one does in comparison with the Eisenach programme. One should also take into consideration what the workers of other countries

will say to this programme, what impression will be produced by this bending of the knee to Lassalleanism on the part of the whole German socialist proletariat.

I am convinced moreover that a union on *this* basis will not last a year. Are the best minds in our Party to lend themselves to grinding out repetitions, learnt by rote, of the Lassallean precepts on the iron law of wages and state aid? I should like to see you doing it, for instance! And if they did do this they would be hissed down by their audiences. And I am sure the Lassalleans will insist on just *these* points of the programme like the Jew Shylock on his pound of flesh. The separation will come; but we shall have made Hasselmann, Hasenclever, Tölcke and Co. "honest" again; we shall come out of the separation weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our Party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out wholeheartedly against the Lassallean phrass which it had inscribed for a time on its own banner; and if the Lassalleans then once more say that they are the most genuine, the only workers' party, whereas our people are bourgeois, the programme will be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and all *our* Party has put into it are the demands of the petty-bourgeois democracy, which is nevertheless described *also by it* in the same programme as a part of the "reactionary mass".

I had let this letter lie here as you will be set free only on April 1, in honour of Bismarck's birthday, and I did not want to run the risk of its being intercepted in any attempt to smuggle it in. And now a letter has just arrived from Bracke, who has also his grave doubts about the programme and wants to know our opinion. I am therefore sending this letter to him to be forwarded, so that he can read it and I need not write all this stuff once more. By the way, I have also told the unvarnished truth to Ramm; to Liebknecht I wrote only briefly. I cannot forgive him for *never* telling us a *single word* about the whole thing (while Ramm and others thought he had given us exact information) until it was too late, so to speak. It is true that he has always done this—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and I, have had with him; but this time it is really too bad and *we are certainly not going along with him*.

See that you manage to come here in the summer. You will, of course, stay with me, and if the weather is good we can go sea-bathing for a couple of days, from which you will derive a lot of benefit after your long spell in jail.

Friendly greetings!

Yours,
F. E.

153

MARX TO WILHELM BRACKE IN BRUNSWICK²⁶⁶

London, May 5, 1875

Dear Bracke,

When you have read the following critical marginal notes on the Unity Programme, would you be so good as to send them on to Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht for their perusal. I am exceedingly busy and have to overstep by far the limit of work allowed me by the doctors. Hence it was anything but a "pleasure" to write such a lengthy screed. It was however necessary so that steps taken by me later on would not be misinterpreted by our friends in the Party for whom this communication is intended.

For after the Unity Congress has been held, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that our position is altogether remote from the said programme of principles and that we have nothing to do with it.

This is unavoidable because the opinion—the entirely erroneous opinion—is held abroad and assiduoulsy nurtured by enemies of the Party that we secretly guide from here the movement of what is known as the Eisenach Party. In a Russian book^a that has recently appeared, Bakunin still makes me responsible, for example, not only for all the programmes, etc., of that party, but even for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day when he started to co-operate with the People's Party.²⁶⁷

Apart from this, it is my duty not to give recognition, even by diplomatic silence, to what in my opinion is a quite objectionable programme that demoralises the Party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. If, therefore, it was not possible—and the conditions of the time did not permit it—to go *beyond* the Eisenach programme, one should simply have concluded an agreement for action against the common enemy. But by drawing up a programme of principles (instead of postponing this until the way has been prepared for it by a considerable period of common activity) one sets up before the whole world landmarks by which it measures the level of the Party movement.

The Lassallean leaders came because circumstances forced them to. If at the outset they had been told that haggling about principles was out of the question, they would *have had* to be content with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead of this, one permits them to arrive armed with

^a M. Bakunin, *State and Anarchy*.—Ed.

mandates and recognises these mandates as binding, thus surrendering unconditionally to those who are themselves in need of help. To crown the whole business, they are holding a congress *before* the *Congress of Compromise*, while one's own party is holding its congress *post festum*.²⁶⁸ One had obviously had a desire to dispose of all criticism by a sleight of hand and to give one's own party no opportunity for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is satisfying to the workers, but it is a mistake to believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly.

Incidentally, the programme is no good, even apart from its sanctification of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall be sending you in the near future the last parts of the French edition of *Capital*.²⁶⁹ The printing was held up for a considerable time by a ban of the French Government. The thing will be ready this week or the beginning of next week. Have you received the previous six parts? Please let me have the *address* of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must also send the final parts.

The bookshop of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar habits. Up to this moment, for example, I have not been sent a single copy of the *Kölner Kommunistenprozess* [*Cologne Communist Trial*].²⁷⁰

With best regards,

Yours,
Karl Marx

154

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

London, October 12, 1875

Dear Bebel,

Your letter fully confirms our view that the unification was precipitate on our part and bears within itself the germ of future disunion. It would be well if this disunion could be postponed until after the next Reichstag elections....²⁷¹

The programme,²⁷² as it is now, consists of three parts:

1) of Lassallean propositions and slogans, the adoption of which remains a disgrace to our Party. When two factions want to agree on a joint programme they include the points on which they concur and do not touch upon those they are unable to agree. True, Lassallean state assistance was in the Eisenach programme, but as *one* of many *transitional measures* and, according to all I have heard, it would almost certainly have been thrown overboard, on Bracke's motion, at this year's Congress *had it not been* for the unification. Now it figures as the sole and infallible panacea for

all social ailments. It was an immense moral defeat for our Party to allow the "iron law of wages" and other Lassallean phrases to be foisted upon it. It became converted to the Lassallean creed. That simply cannot be argued away. This part of the programme is the Caudine yoke²⁷³ under which our Party crawled to the greater glory of the holy Lassalle;

2) of democratic demands which have been drawn up wholly in the spirit and style of the People's Party²⁷⁴;

3) of demands made on the "*present-day state*" (it is not clear on whom the other "demands" are made), which are very confused and illogical;

4) of general principles, mostly borrowed from the *Communist Manifesto* and the Rules of the International, but which have been so re-edited that they contain either *utterly false propositions* or *pure nonsense*, as Marx has shown in detail in the essay known to you.^a

The whole thing is untidy, confused, disconnected, illogical and discreditable. If the bourgeois press possessed a single person of critical mind, he would have taken this programme apart phrase by phrase, investigated the real content of each phrase, demonstrated its nonsense with the utmost clarity, revealed its contradictions and economic howlers (for instance, that the instruments of labour are today "the monopoly of the capitalist class", as if there were no owners of land; the talk about "the freeing of labour" instead of the freeing of the working class, for labour itself is *much too free* nowadays!) and made our whole Party look frightfully ridiculous. Instead of that the asinine bourgeois papers took this programme quite seriously, read into it what it does not contain and interpreted it communistically. The workers seem to be doing the same. It is *this circumstance alone* that made it possible for Marx and me not to dissociate ourselves publicly from such a programme. So long as our opponents and likewise the workers view this programme as embodying our intentions we can afford to keep quiet about it.

If you are satisfied with the result achieved in the question of personal composition we must have greatly reduced our demands. Two of ours and three Lassalleans! So here too ours are not allies enjoying equal rights but the vanquished, who are outvoted from the very start. The activities of the Committee,²⁷⁵ as far as we know them, are also not edifying: 1) Decision *not* to include in the list of Party literature two works on Lassalleanism by Bracke and B. Becker²⁷⁶; if this decision has been revoked it is not due either to the Committee or to Liebknecht; 2) Instructions to Vahlteich forbidding him to accept the post of correspondent for

^a Engels refers to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.—Ed.

the *Frankfurter Zeitung* offered him by Sonnemann. Sonnemann himself had told this to Marx, who met him when he passed through Frankfurt. What surprises me even more than the arrogance of the Committee and the readiness with which Vahlteich submitted instead of letting them go whistle is the enormous stupidity of this decision. The Committee should rather have seen to it that a paper like the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is served everywhere *only* by our people....

You are quite right when you say that the whole thing is an educational experiment which even under those circumstances promises to be very successful. The unification as such will be a great success if it lasts two years. But it undoubtedly was to be had much more cheaply.

155

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

[London,] October 15, 1875

...Marx has seriously complained about the incomprehensible note in No. 104 to the passage in his *Anti-Proudhon* ("the Socialists as well as the economists condemned combinations"), stating they were "Socialists of the Proudhon breed".²⁷⁷ In the first place there was not a single Socialist of the Proudhon breed in existence at that time except Proudhon himself. In the second place Marx's assertion is true of *all* Socialists who made their appearance up to that time (with the exception of us two, who were unknown in France) in so far as they had occasion to deal with combinations—with *Robert Owen* leading the procession. The same applies to the Owenists and among the French to Cabet. As there was no right of combination in France this question was little touched upon there. But since before Marx there existed only feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and utopian socialism, and socialism consisting of a mixture of some of these elements, it was clear that all these Socialists, each of whom claimed to possess a definite panacea and stood outside the real working-class movement, regarded the real movement in *all* its forms, hence also combinations and strikes, as false paths which diverted the masses from the only way that leads to salvation, the way of the true faith. You see that the note was not only wrong but wholly absurd. But it seems to be impossible for our people, at least a number of them, to confine themselves in their articles to what they have really grasped. In proof take the endless columns theoretically-socialist in content

which have been penned by Kz, Symmachos^a and all the rest of that crowd, whose economic blunders, erroneous views and ignorance of socialist literature furnish the best means of thoroughly destroying the theoretical superiority of the German movement up to now. Marx was on the point of issuing an explanation on account of this note.

But enough of complaints. I hope the aspirations and expectations cherished in connection with the imprudently precipitated unification will materialise, that it will be possible to bring the mass of the Lassalleans from their cult of Lassalle to a sensible conception of their real class position, and that the split, which will come as surely as $2 \times 2 = 4$, will take place under circumstances favourable to us. That I should also believe all this, would be asking too much.

Apart from Germany and Austria the country on which we should focus our attention remains Russia. The government there, just as in this country, is the chief ally of the movement. But a much better one than our Bismarck, Stieber and Tessedorf. The Russian court party, which is now fairly firmly in the saddle, tries to take back all the concessions made during the years of the "new era" that was ushered in in 1861, and with genuinely Russian methods at that. So now again only "sons of the upper classes" are to be allowed to study, and in order to carry out this policy all others are made to fail in the graduation examinations. In 1873 alone this was the fate that awaited 24,000 young people whose entire careers were blocked, as they were expressly forbidden to become even elementary-school teachers. And yet people are surprised at the spread of "nihilism" in Russia. If Walster, who knows Russian, were to go through some of the pamphlets written by the *liberal* opposition and published by B. Behr in Berlin or if someone could be found with an adequate knowledge of Polish to read the Lemberg newspapers (e. g., *Dziennik Polski* or the *Gazeta Narodowa*) and make excerpts of these things, the *Volksstaat* could become the best paper in Europe on Russian affairs. It almost looks as if the next dance is going to start in Russia. And if this happens while the *inevitable* war between the German-Prussian empire and Russia is in progress—which is very likely—repercussions in Germany are also inevitable.

Marx sends his best regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

F. Engels

Best regards to Liebknecht.

^a A penname used by Karl Kautsky.—*Ed.*

156

ENGELS TO PYOTR LAVROVICH LAVROV
IN LONDON*London, November 12[-17], 1875*

Dear Mr. Lavrov,

At last, after returning from a trip to Germany, I have taken up your article²⁷⁸ which I have just read with great interest. The following are my observations on it, written in German, which will permit me to be more concise.

1) I accept the *theory of evolution* of the Darwinian doctrine, but I regard Darwin's method of proof (struggle for life, natural selection) only as a first, provisional, imperfect expression of a newly discovered fact. Until Darwin's time the very people who now see everywhere only *struggle* for existence (Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott, etc.) emphasised precisely *co-operation* in organic nature, the fact that the vegetable kingdom supplies oxygen and nutriment to the animal kingdom and conversely the animal kingdom supplies plants with carbonic acid and manure, which was particularly stressed by Liebig. Both conceptions are justified within certain limits, but the one is as one-sided and narrow-minded as the other. The interaction of bodies in nature—inanimate as well as animate—includes both harmony and collision, struggle and co-operation. When therefore someone who is allegedly a natural scientist takes the liberty of reducing the whole of historical development with all its wealth and variety to the one-sided and meagre phrase "struggle for existence", a phrase which even in the sphere of nature can be accepted only *cum grano salis*, such a procedure really contains its own condemnation.

2) Of the three "convinced Darwinists"^a you cite, only Hellwald apparently deserves mention. Seidlitz is at best only a minor luminary and Robert Byr a novelist one of whose novels, *Dreimal*, is at present appearing in *Über Land und Meer*. That's a fitting place for his entire rodomontade.

3) I do not deny the advantages of your method of approach, which I would like to call psychological; but I would have chosen another method. Every one of us is influenced more or less by the intellectual environment in which he mostly moves. For Russia, where you know your public better than I, and for a propaganda journal that appeals to the moral sense, your method is probably the better one. For Germany, where false sentimentality has done and still does so much damage, it would be unsuitable; it would be

^a The words in quotation marks are from Lavrov's article.—*Ed.*

misunderstood, sentimentally perverted. In our country it is hatred rather than love that is needed—at least in the immediate future—and more than anything else a shedding of the last remnants of German idealism, and the establishment of the material facts in their historical rights. I should therefore tackle—and perhaps will when the time comes—these bourgeois Darwinists in about the following manner:

The whole Darwinist theory of the struggle for existence simply transfers from society to living nature Hobbes' doctrine of *bellum omnium contra omnes*^a and the bourgeois-economic doctrine of competition together with Malthus' theory of population. When this feat has been performed (and I question its absolute permissibility, as I have indicated in point 1, particularly as far as the Malthusian theory is concerned), the same theories are transferred back again from organic nature into history and it is now claimed that their validity as eternal laws of human society has been proved. The puerility of this procedure is so obvious that not a word need be said about it. But if I wanted to go into the matter more thoroughly I should do so by depicting them in the first place as bad *economists* and only in the second place as bad naturalists and philosophers.

4) The essential difference between human and animal society consists in the fact that animals at most *collect* while men *produce*. This sole but cardinal difference alone precludes the simple transfer of laws of animal societies to human societies. It enables man, as you properly remark,

“to wage a struggle not only for existence but also for pleasures and for the increase of his pleasures, ... to be ready to renounce his lower pleasures so as to gain a higher pleasure.”^b

Without disputing the other conclusions you draw from this, I would, proceeding from my premises, make the following inferences: At a certain stage the production of man thus attains such a high level that not only necessities but also luxuries, although at first, only for a minority, are produced. The struggle for existence—if we here accept this category for the moment—is thus transformed into a struggle for pleasures, no longer for mere means of *subsistence* but for means of *development, socially produced* means of development, and to this stage the categories derived from the animal kingdom are no longer applicable. But if, as has now happened, production in its capitalist form produces a far greater quantity of means of subsistence and means of development than capitalist society can consume because it keeps the great mass of

^a A war of everybody against everybody.—*Ed.*

^b This and the following passages from Lavrov's article are quoted in Russian by Engels.—*Ed.*

real producers artificially away from these means of subsistence and development; if this society is forced by its own law of life constantly to increase this output which is already too big for it and therefore periodically, every ten years, reaches the point where it destroys not only a mass of products but even productive forces—what sense is there left in all this talk of “struggle for existence”? The struggle for existence can then consist only in this: that the producing class takes over the management of production and distribution from the class that was hitherto entrusted with it but has now become incompetent to handle it, and there you have the socialist revolution.

Incidentally even the mere fact that one regards previous history as a series of class struggles suffices to make clear the utter shallowness of the conception of this history as a feeble variety of the “struggle for existence”. I would therefore never do this favour to these false naturalists.

5) For the same reason I would have differently worded the following proposition of yours, which is essentially quite correct:

“that the idea of solidarity evolved to facilitate the struggle could finally ... grow to a point where it would embrace all mankind and would oppose it—a society of brothers living in solidarity—to the rest of the world, the world of minerals, plants, and animals.”

6) On the other hand I cannot agree with you that the *bellum omnium contra omnes* was the first phase of human development. In my opinion, the social instinct was one of the most essential levers of the evolution of man from the ape. The first men must have lived in bands and as far as we can peer into the past we find that this was the case.

November 17. I have again been interrupted and am now resuming these lines in order to send them off to you today. You see that my remarks concern the form, your method of approach rather than the substance. I hope you will find them sufficiently lucid. I wrote them in haste and on re-reading them had a good mind to change a lot of words, but I am afraid that would make the manuscript too illegible.

With cordial greetings

F. Engels

1876

157

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Ramsgate, May 28, 1876

Dear Moor,

It's all very well for you to talk. You can lie warm in bed and study Russian agrarian conditions in particular and rent in general with nothing to disturb you—but I am to sit on the hard bench, swill cold wine, suddenly interrupt everything again and tackle the boring Dühring. However, there is doubtless nothing else for it, even if I get involved in a controversy the end of which is not in sight; for I shall have no peace otherwise, and then friend Most's panegyric on Dühring's *Cursus der Philosophie* [*Course of Philosophy*]^a has shown me exactly where and how to direct the attack. This book will have to be taken up along with the other because in many decisive points the weak sides and foundations of the arguments put forward in the *Economy*^b are better revealed in it. I am ordering it at once. It says nothing at all about philosophy proper—formal logic, dialectics, metaphysics, etc.—it is supposed rather to present a general theory of science in which nature, history, society, state, law, etc., are treated in what is claimed to be an inner interconnection. There is also a whole section in which the society of the future, or the so-called “free” society, is described in its less economic aspects, and among other things the curricula for the primary and secondary schools are already laid down. Here, therefore, banalities are dished up in an even simpler form than in the economy book and taking both works together one can expose the fellow from this side too at the same time. As regards the noble gentleman's conception of history—that there was nothing but rubbish until Dühring arrived—this book has the additional advantage that here one can quote

^a *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung*, Leipzig, 1875.—Ed.

^b Eugen Dühring, *Cursus der National-und Sozialökonomie einschliesslich der Hauptpunkte der Finanzpolitik* (*Course of Political and Social Economy Including the Principles of Finance*), Leipzig, 1876.—Ed.

his own blatant words. Anyhow, I have him on the hip now. My plan is ready—*j'ai mon plan*. First of all I shall deal with this trash in a purely objective and apparently serious way, and then the treatment will become more trenchant as the proofs of the nonsense on the one hand and of the platitudes on the other begin to pile up, until at last a regular hailstorm comes pouring down on him. In this fashion Most & Co. are deprived of any basis for charging "unkindness", etc., and Dühring gets his deserts all the same. These gentlemen must be shown that there is more than one way of settling accounts with people of this kind.

I hope Wilhelm^a will publish Most's article in the *Neue Welt*, for which it was obviously written. As usual Most cannot even copy right and so makes Dühring responsible for the most comic imbecilities in the field of natural science, e.g., the detachment of *rings* (according to Kant's theory) from *fixed stars*!

With Wilhelm it is not merely a lack of manuscripts—that could be got over by other articles on topics of the day, etc., as was done in Hepner's and Blos' time. It is his passion for redressing the deficiencies of our theory, for having an answer to every philistine's objection and for giving a picture of the society of the future because after all the philistine too asks questions about it; and, in addition, for being as independent of us theoretically as possible. In this, owing to his total lack of all theory, he has always succeeded far better than he himself knows. But he thus puts me into a position in which I cannot but say to myself that Dühring is after all an educated man compared with the theoretical bunglers of the *Volksstaat*, and his works are at any rate better than those of these subjectively and objectively obscure gentlemen....

My re-reading of ancient history and my studies in natural science have been of great service to me for the Dühring and make the matter much easier for me in many ways. Especially in natural science I find that the ground has become considerably more familiar to me and that I can move on it with a certain amount of freedom and safety, though I have to exercise great caution. I am beginning to see the end of this job^b too. The thing is starting to take shape in my head, and loafing here at the seaside where I could carefully consider the details at leisure has helped a great deal. In this enormous field it is absolutely necessary to interrupt one's regular grind from time to time and to digest what one has gulped down.

Mr. Helmholtz has been continuously harping upon the thing-in-itself since 1853 and has still not got clear about it. The man is

^a Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

^b *Dialectics of Nature*.—*Ed.*

not ashamed of having the nonsense he had printed *before Darwin*^a reprinted once again.

Lizzie and I send our best regards to all of you. Friday we shall return to London. I am very glad Pumps has developed her style so well. I notice it of course too, but not so much.

Yours,
F. E.

^a i.e., before the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859.—Ed.

1877

158

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

†
London, September 27, 1877

...This crisis^a is a *new turning point* in European history. Russia—and I have studied conditions there from the original *Russian* sources, unofficial and official (the latter accessible only to very few persons, but obtained for me through friends in Petersburg)—has long been standing on the threshold of an upheaval; all the elements of it are prepared. The gallant Turks have hastened the explosion by years with the thrashing they have inflicted not merely to the Russian army and Russian finances, but to the very persons of the *dynasty commanding* the army (the Tsar, the heir to the throne, and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin *secundum artem*,^b with some playing at constitutionalism, and then there will be a fine row. If Mother Nature is not particularly ill-disposed towards us, we shall yet live to see the fun!

The stupid nonsense the Russian students are perpetrating is merely a symptom, worthless in itself. But it is a symptom. All sections of Russian society are in full decomposition economically, morally, and intellectually.

This time the revolution begins in the East, hitherto the unbroken bulwark and reserve army of counter-revolution.

Mr. Bismarck was pleased to see the thrashing, but it was not to go that far. Russia, too much weakened, would not again be able to hold Austria in check as it did in the Franco-Prussian War! And if after all a revolution was to take place there, what would become of the ultimate guarantee of the Hohenzollern dynasty?

For the present the most important thing is for the Poles (in the Kingdom of Poland) to lie low. Only no risings there at this moment! Bismarck would march in at once, and Russian chauvinism would again side with the Tsar. If on the other hand the Poles wait quietly until things are ablaze in Petersburg and Mos-

^a Marx refers to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.—*Ed.*

^b According to the rules of the game.—*Ed.*

cow, and Bismarck then intervenes as a saviour, Prussia will meet—its Mexico!²⁷⁹

I have rammed this home again and again to all the Poles I am in contact with and who have any influence with their fellow-countrymen.

Compared with the crisis in the East, the *French crisis*²⁸⁰ is quite a secondary event. Still it is to be hoped that the bourgeois republic wins or else the old game will begin all over again, and no nation can repeat the same stupidities too often.

With the most cordial regards from my wife and myself.

Yours,
Karl Marx

159

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] October 19, 1877

...A rotten spirit is making itself felt in our Party in Germany, not so much among the masses as among the leaders (upper class and "workers"). The compromise with the Lassalleans has led to a compromise with other halfway elements too: in Berlin (via *Most*) with Dühring and his "admirers", and moreover with a whole gang of half-mature students and super-wise Doctors of Philosophy who want to give socialism a "superior, idealistic" orientation, that is to say, to replace its materialistic basis (which demands serious objective study from anyone who tries to use it) by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Dr. Höchberg, who publishes the *Zukunft*,²⁸¹ is a representative of this tendency and has "bought his way" into the Party—with the "noblest" intentions, I assume, but I do not give a damn for "intentions". Anything more miserable than his programme of the *Zukunft* has seldom seen the light of day with more "modest presumption".

The workers themselves, when, like Mr. Most and Co., they give up work and become *professional literary men*, always cause "theoretical" mischief and are always ready to join muddleheads from the allegedly "learned" caste. *Utopian* socialism which for decades we have been clearing out of the German workers' heads with so much effort and labour—and it is their freedom from it which has made them theoretically (and therefore also practically) superior to the French and English—*utopian* socialism, playing with fantastic pictures of the future structure of society, is

again rampant, and in a much more futile form, not only compared with the great French and English utopians, but even with—Weitling. It is natural that utopian theories, which *before* the era of materialistic critical socialism contained the rudiments of the latter within itself, can now, coming belatedly, only be silly, stale, and basically reactionary....

160

MARX TO WILHELM BLOS IN HAMBURG †

London, November 10, 1877

...Neither of us^a cares a straw for popularity. A proof of this is, for example, that, because of aversion to any personality cult, I have never permitted the numerous expressions of appreciation from various countries, with which I was pestered during the existence of the International, to reach the realm of publicity, and have never answered them, except occasionally by a rebuke. When Engels and I first joined the secret Communist Society we made it a condition that everything tending to encourage superstitious belief in authority was to be removed from the Rules. (Later on Lassalle exerted his influence in the opposite direction.)

But events like those at the last Party Congress²⁸²—which are duly exploited by enemies of the Party abroad—have compelled us at any rate to be circumspect in our relations with “Party members in Germany”.

Besides the state of my health compels me to utilise the amount of time I am allowed to work by the physician for finishing my book; and Engels, who is working on several rather important papers, continues to contribute to the *Vorwärts*....

161

MARX TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE OTECHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI²⁸³

London [November 1877]

Dear Sir,

The author^b of the article *Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky* is evidently a clever man and if, in my account of

^a i.e., Marx and Engels.—*Ed.*

^b N. K. Mikhailovsky.—*Ed.*

primitive accumulation, he had found a single passage to support his conclusions he would have quoted it. In the absence of any such passage he finds himself obliged to seize upon an *incidental remark*, a sort of polemic against a Russian "literary man",^a published in the appendix to the first German edition of *Kapital*. What do I reproach this writer with? That he discovered the Russian commune not in Russia but in a book written by Haxthausen,^b Prussian Counsellor of State, and that in his hands the Russian commune only serves as an argument to prove that rotten old Europe must be regenerated by the victory of Pan-Slavism. My estimate of this writer may be right or it may be wrong, but it cannot in any case furnish a clue to my views regarding the efforts "of Russians to find a path of development for their country different from that which Western Europe pursued and still pursues", etc.

In the Afterword to the second German edition of *Kapital*—which the author of the article on Mr. Zhukovsky knows, because he quotes it—I speak of a "great Russian scholar and critic",^c with the high consideration he deserves. In his remarkable articles this writer has dealt with the question whether, as her liberal economists maintain, Russia must begin by destroying the village commune in order to pass to the capitalist regime, or whether, on the contrary, she can without experiencing the tortures of this regime appropriate all its fruits by developing the historical conditions specifically her own. He pronounces in favour of this latter solution. And my honourable critic would have had at least as much reason for inferring from my esteem for this "great Russian scholar and critic" that I shared his views on the question as for concluding from my polemic against the "literary man" and Pan-Slavist that I rejected them.

To conclude, as I am not fond of leaving "anything to guess-work" I shall come straight to the point. In order that I might be specially qualified to estimate the economic development in Russia, I learnt Russian and then for many years studied the official publications and others bearing on this subject. I have arrived at this conclusion: If Russia continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861, she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime.

^a Alexander Herzen.—*Ed.*

^b A. Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands* (*Studies of the Domestic Conditions, the Life of the People and Especially the Rural Institutions in Russia*), Vol. I-III, Hanover and Berlin, 1847-52.—*Ed.*

^c N. G. Chernyshevsky.—*Ed.*

II

The chapter on primitive accumulation does not claim to do more than trace the path by which, in Western Europe, the capitalist economic system emerged from the womb of the feudal economic system. It therefore describes the historical process which by divorcing the producers from their means of production converts them into wage workers (proletarians in the modern sense of the word) while it converts the owners of the means of production into capitalists. In that history "all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the capitalist class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments, when great masses of men are forcibly torn from their traditional means of production and of subsistence, suddenly hurled on the labour market. But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the peasants. England is so far the only country where this has been carried through completely ... but all the countries of Western Europe are going through the same development", etc. (*Capital*, French edition, p. 315.) At the end of the chapter the historical tendency of production is summed up thus: That it "begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature its own negation"; that it has itself created the elements of a new economic order, since at the same time it provides for an unprecedented expansion of the productive forces of social labour and the universal development of every individual producer; that capitalist property, which actually rests already on a collective mode of production, can only be transformed into social property. At this point I have not furnished any proof, for the good reason that this statement is itself nothing else but a general summary of long expositions previously given in the chapters on capitalist production.

Now what application to Russia could my critic make of this historical sketch? Simply this: If Russia wants to become a capitalist nation after the example of the West-European countries—and during the last few years she has been taking a lot of trouble in this direction—she will not succeed without having first transformed a good part of her peasants into proletarians; and then, once drawn into the whirlpool of the capitalist economy, she will have to endure its inexorable laws like other profane nations. That is all. But that is too little for my critic. He insists on transforming my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general path of development prescribed by fate to all nations, whatever the historical circumstances in which they find themselves, in order that they may ultimately arrive at the economic system which ensures, together with the greatest expansion of the productive powers of social labour, the most complete development of

man. But I beg his pardon. (He is doing me too much honour and at the same time slandering me too much.) Let us take an example.

In several parts of *Kapital* I allude to the fate which overtook the plebeians of ancient Rome. They were originally free peasants, each cultivating his own piece of land on his own account. In the course of Roman history they were expropriated. The same movement which divorced them from their means of production and subsistence involved the formation not only of big landed property but also of big money capital. Thus one fine morning there were to be found on the one hand free men, stripped of everything except their labour power, and on the other, the owners of all the acquired wealth ready to exploit this labour. What happened? The Roman proletarians became not wage labourers but a *mob* of do-nothings more abject than those known as "poor whites" in the South of the United States, and alongside them there developed a mode of production which was not capitalist but based on slavery. Thus events strikingly analogous but taking place in different historical surroundings led to totally different results. By studying each of these forms of evolution separately and then comparing them one can easily find the clue to this phenomenon, but one will never arrive there by using as one's master key a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being supra-historical.

1878

162

MARX TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT IN LEIPZIG

[London,] February 11, 1878

...The English working class had been gradually becoming more and more deeply demoralised by the period of corruption since 1848 and had at last got to the point when it was nothing more than the tail of the "great Liberal Party", i.e., of its *oppressors*, the capitalists. Its direction had passed completely into the hands of venal trade union leaders and professional agitators. Following in the steps of the Gladstones, Brights, Mundellas, Morleys and the whole gang of factory owners, etc., these fellows shouted *ad majorem gloriam*^a of the tsar, the emancipator of nations, while they never raised a finger for their own brothers in South Wales, condemned by the mine-owners to death from starvation. Wretches! To crown the whole affair worthily, the *only workers' representatives* in the House of Commons and, moreover, *horribile dictu*,^b *direct representatives of the miners*, and *themselves* originally *miners*—Burt and the miserable *MacDonald*—voted with the rump of the "great Liberal Party" in the last divisions in the House of Commons on February 7 and 8, when the majority of the high dignitaries of the "great Liberal Party"—the Forsters, Lowes, Harcourts, Goschens, Hartingtons and even (on Feb. 7) the great John Bright himself—left their army in the lurch and bolted away from the *division* in order not to compromise themselves too much by voting...²⁸⁴

^a For the greater glory.—*Ed.*

^b Horrible to relate.—*Ed.*

1879

163

MARX TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, April 10, 1879

...And now, primo, I am obliged to tell you (*cela est tout-à-fait confidentiel*^a) that I have been informed from Germany, my second volume^b *could not be published* so long as the present regime was maintained in its present severity. This news, considering the status quo, did not surprise me, and, I must confess, was far from annoying me—for these reasons:

Firstly: I should under no circumstances have published the second volume before the present English industrial crisis had reached its climax. The phenomena are this time singular, in many respects different from what they were in the past and this—quite apart from other modifying circumstances—is easily accounted for by the fact that never before was *the English crisis preceded* by tremendous crises now lasting already five years in *the United States, South America, Germany, Austria, etc.*

It is therefore necessary to watch the present course of things until their maturity before you can “consume” them “productively”, I mean “*theoretically*”.

One of the singular aspects of the present state is this: There have, as you know, been crashes of banks in Scotland and in some of the English counties, principally the Western ones (Cornwall and Wales). Still the real *centre of the money market*—not only of the United Kingdom, but of the world—*London* has till now been little affected. On the contrary, save a few exceptions, the immense joint-stock bank companies, like the Bank of England, have as yet only *profited* of the general prostration. And what this prostration is, you may judge from the utter despair of the English commercial and industrial philistine of ever seeing better times again! I have not seen the like, I have never witnessed a similar moral dislocation although I was in London in 1857 and 1866!²⁹⁵

^a That is quite confidential.—*Ed.*

^b Marx is referring to *Kapital*. The part of the work which was subsequently published as volumes II and III is here called the second volume.—*Ed.*

There is no doubt, one of the circumstances favourable to the London money market is the state of the *Bank of France*, which, since the recent development of the intercourse between the two countries, has become a *succoursale*^a to the Bank of England. The Bank of France keeps an immense amount of bullion, the convertibility of its bank-notes being not yet re-established, and at the signal of any perturbation of the London Stock Exchange French money flows in to buy securities momentarily depreciated. If, during last autumn, the French money had been suddenly withdrawn, the Bank of England would certainly have had refuge to its last remedy *in extremis*,^b the *suspension of the Bank-act*,²⁸⁶ and in that case we would have had the monetary crash.

On the other hand, the quiet way in which the restoration of cash payments was effected in the United States, has removed all strain from that corner upon the resources of the Bank of England. But what till now mainly contributed to prevent an explosion within the London money market, is the apparently quiet state of the banks of *Lancashire* and the other industrial districts (saving the mining districts of the West), though it is sure and ascertained that these banks have not only invested great part of their resources in discounting of bills of, and advances upon, unprofitable transactions of the manufacturers, but have, as for instance at Oldham, sunk a great part of their capital in the foundation of new factories. At the same time stocks, mainly of cotton produce, are daily accumulating not only in Asia (India principally) whither they are sent on consignment, but at Manchester etc., etc. How this state of things can pass away without a general crash among the manufactures, and, consequently, among the local banks reacting directly upon the London money market—is difficult to foresee.

Meanwhile strikes and disturbance are general.

I remark *en passant* that during the past year—so bad for all other business—the *railways* have been flourishing, but this was only due to extraordinary circumstances, like the Paris exhibition^c etc. In truth, the railways keep up an appearance of prosperity, by accumulating debts, increasing from day to day their *capital account*.

However the course of this crisis may develop—although most important to observe in its details for the student of capitalistic production and the professional *théoricien*—it will pass over, like its predecessors, and initiate a new “industrial cycle” with all its diversified phases of prosperity etc.

^a Branch.—*Ed.*

^b In extreme emergencies.—*Ed.*

^c This refers to the world exhibition held in Paris in 1878.—*Ed.*

But under the cover of this "apparently" solid English society, there lurks another crisis—the *agricultural* one which will work great and serious changes in its social structure. I shall recur to this subject on another occasion. It would lead me too far at present.

Secondly: The bulk of materials I have not only from *Russia*, but from the *United States* etc., make it pleasant for me to have a "pretext" of continuing my studies, instead of winding them up finally for the public.

Thirdly: My medical adviser has warned me to shorten considerably my "working day" if I were not desirous to relapse into the state of 1874 and the following years where I got giddy and unable to proceed after a few hours of serious application.

In regard to your most remarkable letter I shall confine myself to a few observations. The railways sprang up first as the "*couronnement de l'œuvre*" in those countries where *modern industry was most developed*, England, United States, Belgium, France etc. I call them the "*couronnement de l'œuvre*" not only in the sense that they were at last (together with steamships for oceanic intercourse and the telegraphs) *the means of communication* adequate to the modern means of production, but also in so far as they were the basis of the immense joint-stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all *other sorts* of joint-stock companies, to commence with banking companies. They gave in one word an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital* and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged *cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*, thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual *indebtedness*, the capitalistic form of "international" brotherhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of the railway system in the leading states of capitalism allowed, and even forced, states where capitalism was confined to a few summits of society, to suddenly create and enlarge their capitalistic *superstructure* in dimensions altogether disproportionate to the bulk of the social body, carrying on the great work of production in the traditional modes. There is, therefore, not the least doubt that in those states the railway creation has accelerated the social and political disintegration, as in the more advanced states it hastened the final development, and therefore the final change, of capitalistic production. In all states, except England, the governments enriched and fostered the railway companies at the expense of the public Exchequer. In the United States to their profit a great part of the public land they received as a present, not only the land necessary for the construction of the lines, but many miles of land along both sides the lines, covered with forests etc. They became so the greatest landlords, the small immigrating farmers preferring of course lands so situated as to ensure their produce ready means of transport.

The system inaugurated in France by Louis Philippe, of handing over the railways to a small band of financial aristocrats, endowing them with long terms of possession, guaranteeing the interest out of the public pocket etc., etc., was pushed to the utmost limit by Louis Bonaparte whose régime, in fact, was essentially based upon the traffic in railway concessions, to some of which he was so kind as to make presents of canals etc.

But in Austria, and Italy above all, the railways were a new source of unbearable state indebtedness and grinding of the masses.

Generally, the railways gave of course an immense impulse to the development of Foreign Commerce, but the commerce in countries which export principally *raw produce* increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the governments on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap*, because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while, on the other hand, the *production itself*, I mean the special sort of *produce*, was changed according to its *greater or minor suitability for exportation*, while formerly it was principally adapted to its consumption *in loco*.^a Thus in Schleswig-Holstein agricultural land was converted into pasture, because the export of cattle was more profitable, but, at the same time, the agricultural population was driven away. All the changes were very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer!

It is, to conclude with this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the Government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most infamous way for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the *menu peuple*^b) of its paper money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper money. In the former the concentration of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the civil war) of an unprecedentedly rapid industrial development, agricultural progress etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the times of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial,

^a On the spot.—*Ed.*

^b Common people.—*Ed.*

commercial, industrial superstructure, or rather the *façades* of the social édifice, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation than in Russia) like a satire upon the stagnant state of the bulk of production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers. The United States have at present much overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they still lag behind in the extent of acquired wealth, but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong the antitheses.

Apropos. Which do you consider the best Russian work on credit and banking?

Mr. Kaufmann was so kind as to send me his book on "theory and practice of banking", but I was rather astonished that my former intelligent critic in the Petersburg *Messenger de l'Europe*, had converted himself into a sort of Pindar of modern stock exchange swindling. Besides, considered merely—and I expect generally nothing else of books of this kind—from *Fachstandpunkt*,^a it is far from original in its details. The best part in it is the polemic against paper money.

It is said that certain foreign bankers with whom a certain government desired to contract new loans, have asked as a guarantee—a constitution. I am far from believing this, because their modern method of doing business was, till now at least, and would be, very indifferent as to forms of government.

Yours truly,

A. Williams

164

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

[Draft]

[London,] June 17, 1879

Replying respectfully to your lines of the 13th, which arrived only yesterday, I regret that I am not in a position to name anybody who would be capable of supplying you with the articles desired in a really competent manner.²⁸⁷

For a number of years past the English working-class movement has been hopelessly describing a narrow circle of strikes for higher wage and shorter hours, not, however, as an expedient or means of propaganda and organisation but as the ultimate goal. The Trades Unions even bar all political action on principle and in

^a From the point of view of an expert.—Ed.

their charters, thus excluding all participation in any general activity of the working class as a class. The workers are divided politically into Conservatives and Liberal Radicals, into supporters of the Disraeli (Beaconsfield) Cabinet and supporters of the Gladstone Cabinet. One can therefore speak of a labour movement only in so far as strikes take place here, which, whether they are won or not, do not get the movement one step further. To inflate such strikes—which moreover have often enough been brought about intentionally by the capitalists during the last few years of bad business to have a pretext for closing down their factories and mills, strikes in which the working-class movement does not make the slightest headway—into struggles of world importance, as is done, for instance, in the *Freiheit*²⁸⁸ published here, can, in my opinion, only do harm. No attempt should be made to conceal the fact that at present no real labour movement in the Continental sense exists here, and I therefore believe you will not lose much if for the time being you do not receive any reports on the doings of the Trades Unions here.

165

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, July 1, 1879

...It is quite understandable that Liebknecht's untimely meekness in the Reichstag²⁸⁹ should have created a very unfavourable impression in Latin Europe as well as among Germans everywhere. And we expressed this immediately in our letter. The old comfortable way of leisurely agitation with an occasional six weeks' to six months' term in jail has come to an end in Germany once and for all. No matter how the present state of affairs may end, the new movement begins on a more or less revolutionary basis and must therefore be much more resolute in character than the first period of the movement, now past. The phrase about the peaceable attainment of the goal will either be no longer necessary or it will not be taken seriously any longer. By making this phrase impossible and thrusting the movement in the revolutionary direction Bismarck has rendered us a great service, outweighing the bit of damage occasioned by his interference with agitation.

On the other hand, as a result of the tame speech in the Reichstag the knights of the revolutionary phrase are again on their high horses and seek to disorganise the Party by cliquism and intrigues. The Workers' Association here is the hub of all these machinations....²⁹⁰

166

MARX AND ENGELS

TO AUGUST BEBEL, WILHELM LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM
BRACKE AND OTHERS ("CIRCULAR LETTER")²⁹¹
IN LEIPZIG

[Draft]

[London, September 17-18, 1879]

III. THE MANIFESTO OF THE THREE ZURICHERS

...In the meantime Höchberg's *Jahrbuch* has reached us, containing an article "*Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland*" ["The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect"],²⁹² which, as Höchberg himself told me, has been written by precisely the three members of the Zurich Commission. Here we have their authentic criticism of the movement up till now and consequently their authentic programme for the attitude the new organ is to take in so far as this depends on them.

Right at the beginning we read:

"The movement, which Lassalle regarded as an eminently political one, to which he summoned not only the workers but all honest democrats, *at the head of which* were to march the independent representatives of science and *all men imbued with true love of mankind*, was lowered under the presidency of Johann Baptist von Schweitzer to a *one-sided struggle of the industrial workers in their own interests.*"

I shall not examine whether or how far this is historically accurate. The special reproach here levelled against Schweitzer is that he *lowered* Lassalleanism, which is here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, to a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers in their interests, by *heightening* the characteristic features of the industrial workers' class struggle against the bourgeois. He is further reproached with having "rejected bourgeois democracy". What business has bourgeois democracy within the Social-Democratic Party? If it consists of "honest men" it cannot wish to join, and if it nevertheless wants to join then only in order to make trouble.

The Lassallean party "chose to conduct itself *in the most one-sided way as a workers' party*". The gentlemen who write that are themselves members of a party which conducts itself in the most one-sided way as a workers' party, they are at present holding high offices in this party. This constitutes an absolute incompatibility. If they mean what they write they must leave the Party, or at least resign their offices. If they do not do so, they admit that they are proposing to utilise their official position in order to

combat the proletarian character of the Party. Consequently, if the Party leaves them their offices it is betraying itself.

In the opinion of these gentlemen, then, the Social-Democratic Party should *not* be a one-sided workers' party but an all-sided party of "all men imbued with true love of mankind". It must prove this above all by laying aside coarse proletarian passions and placing itself under the guidance of educated, philanthropic bourgeois "in order to cultivate good taste" and "to learn good form" (p. 85). Then the "ragged appearance" of some of the leaders will give way to a thoroughly respectable "bourgeois appearance". (As if the ragged external appearance of those here referred to were not the least they can be reproached with!) Then, too

"numerous adherents from the circles of the *educated* and *propertied* classes will turn up. But *these* must first be won if the ... agitation conducted is to attain *tangible successes*". German socialism has "attached too much importance to the winning of the *masses* and in so doing has neglected energetic [!] propaganda among the so-called upper strata of society". For "the Party still lacks men fit to represent it in the Reichstag". It is, however, "desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and opportunity to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the relevant material. The ordinary worker and small master craftsman ... have the necessary leisure for this only in rare and exceptional cases."

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short: the working class of itself is incapable of emancipating itself. For this purpose it must place itself under the leadership of "educated and propertied" bourgeois who alone possess the "time and opportunity" to acquaint themselves with what is good for the workers. And secondly, the bourgeoisie is on no account to be attacked but—has to be *won over* by energetic propaganda.

But if one wants to win over the upper strata of society or only its well-disposed elements one must not frighten them on any account. And here the three Zurichers think they have made a reassuring discovery:

"Precisely at the present time, under the pressure of the Anti-Socialist Law, the Party is showing that it *does not intend* to pursue the path of violent, bloody revolution but is determined... to follow the path of legality, that is, of *reform*."

Hence if the 500,000 to 600,000 Social-Democratic voters—between a tenth and an eighth of the whole electorate and, besides, dispersed over the length and breadth of the country—have the sense not to run their heads against a wall and to attempt a "bloody revolution" of one against ten, this proves that they forever *renounce* taking advantage of some tremendous external event and a sudden revolutionary upsurge arising from it or even of a *victory* gained by the people in a conflict resulting from it. If Berlin should ever again be so uneducated as to have another March 18,²⁹³ the Social-Democrats, instead of taking part in the

fight like "riff-raff with a mania for barricades" (p. 88), must rather "follow the path of legality", put on the brakes, clear away the barricades and if necessary march with the glorious army against the one-sided, coarse, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen assert that this is not what they meant, what then did they mean?

But still better follows.

"Hence, the more quiet, objective and deliberate it" (the Party) "is also in its criticism of existing conditions and in its proposals to change them, the less possible will it be to repeat the present successful move" (when the Anti-Socialist Law²⁹⁴ was introduced) "with which the conscious reactionaries intimidated the bourgeoisie by conjuring up the red bogey" (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety it must be clearly and convincingly proved to it that the red bogey is really only a bogey, and does not exist. But what is the secret of the red bogey if not the dread the bourgeoisie has of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between it and the proletariat? Dread of the inevitable outcome of the modern class struggle? Do away with the class struggle and the bourgeoisie and "all independent people" will "not eschew going hand in hand with the proletarians"! And the cheated ones would be just those proletarians.

Let the Party therefore prove by its humble and lowly manner that it has once and for all laid aside the "improprieties and excesses" which occasioned the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily promises that it intends to act only within the limits of this law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will surely have the kindness to repeal it, as it will then be superfluous!

"Let no one misunderstand us"; we do not want "to give up our Party and our programme, we think however that for years to come we shall have enough to do if we concentrate our whole strength and energy upon the attainment of certain immediate aims which must in any case be achieved before the realisation of the more far-reaching aspirations can be thought of."

Then those bourgeois, petty bourgeois and workers who are "at present frightened away ... by our far-reaching demands" will join us in masses.

The programme is not to be *given up* but only *postponed*—for an indefinite period. One accepts it, though not really for oneself and one's own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom to be handed down to one's children and grandchildren. In the meantime one devotes one's "whole strength and energy" to all sorts of trifles and the patching up of the capitalist order of society so as to produce at least the appearance of something happening without at the same time scaring the bourgeoisie. There I must really praise the "Communist" Miquel, who proves his unshakeable belief in the inevitable overthrow of capitalist society in the



August Bebel

course of the next few hundred years by swindling for all he's worth, contributing his honest best to the crash of 1873²⁹⁵ and so *really* doing something to bring about the collapse of the existing order.

Another offence against good form was the "exaggerated attacks on the company promoters", who were after all "only children of their time"; it would therefore "have been better to abstain... from abusing Strousberg and similar people". Unfortunately everyone is "only a child of his time" and if this is a sufficient excuse nobody ought ever to be attacked any more, all controversy, all struggle on our part ceases; we quietly accept all the kicks our adversaries give us because we, who are so wise, know that these adversaries are "only children of their time" and cannot act otherwise. Instead of repaying their kicks with interest we ought rather to pity these unfortunates.

Then again the support of the Commune had after all the disadvantage that

"people who were otherwise well disposed to us were alienated and in general the *hatred of the bourgeoisie* against us was increased". Furthermore, the Party "is not wholly without blame for the passage of the October Law,²⁹⁶ for it had increased the *hatred of the bourgeoisie* unnecessarily".

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. In clarity it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all by us, who are very familiar with the whole of this phraseology from the days of 1848. It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who are here making themselves heard, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position, may "go too far". Instead of determined political opposition, general mediation; instead of struggle against government and bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill-treatment from above, humble acquiescence and admission that the punishment was deserved. Historically necessary conflicts are all interpreted as misunderstandings, and all discussion ends with the assurance that after all we are all agreed on the main point. The people who figured as bourgeois democrats in 1848 could just as well call themselves Social-Democrats now. To the former the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist system is to the latter, and therefore is of absolutely no importance in present-day practical politics; one can mediate, compromise and philanthropise to one's heart's content. It is just the same with the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. It is recognised on paper because its existence can no longer be denied, but in practice it is hushed up, diluted, attenuated. The Social-Democratic Party *must not* be a workers' party, it must not incur the hatred of bourgeoisie

or of anyone else; it should above all conduct energetic propaganda among the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on far-reaching aims which frighten away the bourgeoisie and after all are not attainable in our generation, it should rather devote its whole strength and energy to those petty-bourgeois patchwork reforms which, by providing the old order of society with new props, may perhaps transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and as far as possible peaceful process of dissolution. These are the same people who, ostensibly engaged in indefatigable activity, not only do nothing themselves but try to prevent anything happening at all except—chatter; the same people whose fear of every form of action in 1848 and 1849 obstructed the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall, the same people who never see reaction and are then quite astonished to find themselves in the end in a blind alley where neither resistance nor flight is possible, the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizon and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As to their socialist content, this has been adequately criticised already in the *Manifesto*, the chapter on "German, or 'True', Socialism". Where the class struggle is pushed aside as a disagreeable "coarse" phenomenon, nothing remains as a basis for socialism but "true love of mankind" and empty phraseology about "justice".

It is an inevitable phenomenon, rooted in the course of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling classes also join the militant proletariat and supply it with cultural elements. We have clearly stated this already in the *Manifesto*. But in this context two points are to be noted:

First, in order to be of use to the proletarian movement these people must bring real cultural elements into it. But with the great majority of the German bourgeois converts that is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft*²⁹⁷ nor the *Neue Gesellschaft*²⁹⁸ have contributed anything which could advance the movement one step further. Here there is an absolute lack of real knowledge, whether factual or theoretical. In its place there are attempts to bring superficially mastered socialist ideas into harmony with the exceedingly varied theoretical standpoints which these gentlemen have brought with them from the universities or elsewhere and of which one is more confused than the other, owing to the process of decomposition which the remnants of German philosophy are at present undergoing. Instead of first of all thoroughly studying the new science themselves, each of them preferred to trim it to fit the point of view he had brought along, made himself forthwith a private science of his own and at once came forward with the

pretension of wanting to teach it. Accordingly, there are about as many points of view among these gentry as there are heads; instead of elucidating a single problem they have only produced hopeless confusion—fortunately almost exclusively among themselves. The Party can very well manage without such intellectuals whose first principle is to teach what they have not learnt.

Secondly. If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts. In such a petty-bourgeois country as Germany these concepts certainly have their justification. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If these gentlemen constitute themselves into a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party they are quite entitled to do so; one could then negotiate with them, form a bloc according to circumstances, etc. But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, seems to have come. How the Party can tolerate the authors of this article in its midst any longer is incomprehensible to us. If however the leadership of the Party were to fall more or less into the hands of such people, the Party would simply be emasculated and it would mean the end of proletarian pluck.

As for ourselves, in view of our whole past there is only one road open to us. For almost forty years we have emphasised that class struggle is the immediate driving power of history, and in particular that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of the modern social revolution; we, therefore, cannot possibly co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle-cry: The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic persons from the upper and lower middle classes. If the new Party organ adopts a line that corresponds to the views of these gentlemen, that is middle class and not proletarian, then nothing remains for us, much though we should regret it, but publicly to declare our opposition to it, and to dissolve the bonds of the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to *such* a pass....

167

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, September 19, 1879

...Matters may indeed reach the point where Engels and I would be compelled to issue a "public statement" against the Leipzigers and their Zurich allies.

This is the state of affairs: Bebel wrote us that they wanted to found a Party organ²⁹⁹ in Zurich and he requested our names as collaborators. We were informed that Hirsch would probably be the editor. Thereupon *we accepted*, and I wrote direct to Hirsch (then in Paris, from where he has since been banished, for the second time) to accept the editorial post, for he alone afforded us the certainty that a mob of doctors, students, etc. and a professorial socialist rabble, such as strut about in the *Zukunft*, etc., and have already begun to penetrate the *Vorwärts*,³⁰⁰ would be kept out, and the Party line would be adhered to strictly.... These fellows, nonentities in theory and incompetent in practice, want to draw the teeth of socialism (which they interpret in accordance with university recipes) and particularly of the Social-Democratic Party, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to supply them with "cultural elements" from their confused half-knowledge, and above all to make the Party respectable in the eyes of the philistines. They are poor *counter-revolutionary* windbags....

Now if the *weekly*^a, the Party journal, should actually *proceed* along the lines initiated by Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, we should be compelled to take a public stand against such a debasement of Party and theory! Engels has drawn up a circular (letter) to Bebel, etc.^b (only for *private circulation* among the German Party leaders, of course), in which our standpoint is set forth without reserve. Thus the gentlemen have been warned in advance, and they know us well enough to understand that this means: either bending or breaking! If they want to compromise themselves, so much the worse for them! In no event will they be allowed to compromise *us*. You can see how low they have already been brought by parliamentarism for example from the fact, that they are accusing Hirsch of having committed a great crime—why? Because he has handled the scoundrel Kayser somewhat roughly in the *Laterne* for the latter's disgraceful speech on Bismarck's tariff legislation.³⁰¹ But now they say the Party, i.e.,

^a *Der Sozialdemokrat*.—Ed.

^b See this volume, pp. 302-07.—Ed.

the handful of parliamentary representatives of the Party, had authorised Kayser to speak like that! All the more shame for this handfull! But even that is a miserable excuse. In fact they were foolish enough to let Kayser speak for himself and on behalf of his constituents; but he spoke in the name of the Party. However that may be, they are already so far affected by parliamentary idiotism that they think they are *above criticism*, and they denounce criticism as a crime: *lèse-majesté*....

168

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ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

London, November 14, 1879

...And this brings me to the Report.³⁰² Although the beginning is very good and the treatment of the protective tariff debate—in these circumstances—is skilful the concessions made to the German philistines in the third part are unwelcome. Why that wholly superfluous passage about the “civil war”, why that kowtowing to “public opinion” which in Germany will always be that of the beerhouse philistine? Why here the total obliteration of the class character of the movement? Why give the Anarchists this ground for rejoicing? And all these concessions moreover are wholly useless. The German philistine is cowardice incarnate; he respects only those who inspire him with fear. But anyone who wants to get into his good graces he considers one of his own kind and respects him no more than his own kind, namely not at all. And now that the beerhouse philistine’s “storm” of indignation, called public opinion, has, as is generally admitted, subsided again and since heavy taxation has in any case knocked the spirit out of these people, why these honeyed speeches? If you only knew how they sound abroad! It is quite a good thing that Party organs must be edited by people who are in the thick of the Party and the struggle. But if you had been only six months abroad you would think quite differently of this entirely unnecessary self-debasement of the Party deputies before the philistines. The storm that broke over the heads of the French Socialists after the Commune was after all something quite different from the outcry raised in Germany on account of the Nobiling³⁰³ affair. And how much more proud and dignified was the bearing of the French! Where do you find among them such weakness, such paying of compliments to one’s opponents? They kept silent when they could not speak freely; they let the philistines scream as much as they liked

knowing that their time would surely come again; and now it has come....

As for the rest I only want to remark about Auer's insinuations that we here underestimate neither the difficulties with which the Party has to contend in Germany nor the significance of the successes achieved nevertheless and the quite exemplary conduct up to now of the Party *masses*. It naturally goes without saying that every victory gained in Germany gladdens our hearts as much as one gained elsewhere, and even more so because from the very beginning the development of the German Party was associated with our theoretical statements. But for that very reason we must be particularly interested to see that the practical conduct of the German Party and especially the public utterances of the Party leadership should be in harmony with the general theory. Our criticism is certainly not pleasant for some people. But it surely must be of greater value to the Party and its leadership than all uncritical compliments to have abroad a few people who, unbiassed by confusing local conditions and details of the struggle, measure happenings and utterances from time to time by the theoretical propositions valid for all modern proletarian movements, and who convey to it the impression its actions create outside Germany.

Yours in friendship,

F. Engels

169

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

London, December 16, 1879

...There is no room for us in a paper in which it is possible virtually to *bewail* the Revolution of 1848 that for the first time opened wide the portals to Social-Democracy. It plainly appears from this article and Höchberg's letter that the stellar trio claims the right to set forth in the *Sozialdemokrat*, alongside the proletarian views, its own petty-bourgeois socialist views first clearly enunciated in the *Jahrbuch*. And I fail to see how you in Leipzig can prevent this without a formal breach, once things have come to such a pass. You continue to regard these people as Party comrades. We cannot do so. The article in the *Jahrbuch* draws a sharp and absolutely distinct line between us. We cannot even negotiate with these people so long as they assert that they belong to the same party as we. The points in question are points that can no longer be discussed in any proletarian party. To make

them a subject of discussion within the party would be to put in question the whole of proletarian socialism.

As a matter of fact it is better that under these circumstances we do not co-operate. We should have had to protest constantly and to announce publicly our withdrawal after a few weeks, which after all would not have helped matters.

We greatly regret that just at this time of suppression we are unable to support you unconditionally. As long as the Party in Germany remained true to its proletarian character we set aside all other considerations. But now, when the petty-bourgeois elements that have been admitted openly show their true colours, the situation has changed. Once they are permitted to smuggle their petty-bourgeois ideas piecemeal into the organ of the German Party, this fact simply closes that organ to us....

As for the rest, world history is taking its course, regardless of these wise and moderate philistines. In Russia matters must come to a head in a few months from now. Either absolutism is overthrown and then, after the downfall of the great reserve of reaction, a different atmosphere will at once pervade Europe. Or a European war will break out which will also bury the *present* German Party beneath the inevitable struggle of each people for its national existence. Such a war would be the greatest misfortune for us; it might set the movement back twenty years. But the new party that would ultimately have to emerge anyhow would in all European countries be free from a mass of objectionable and petty matters that now everywhere hamper the movement.

Yours in friendship,
F. E.

1880

170

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] November 5, 1880

...Things are going along splendidly on the whole (I mean by this the general development in Europe), as well as within the really revolutionary party on the Continent.

You have probably noticed that the *Égalité*³⁰⁴ (thanks principally to *Guesde's* coming over to us and to the works of my son-in-law Lafargue) has become the first "French" *workers' paper* in the true sense of this term. *Malon*, too, in the *Revue socialiste*,³⁰⁵ has had to espouse *socialisme moderne scientifique*, i.e., German socialism, even though with the inconsistencies inseparable from his eclectic nature (we were enemies, as he was originally one of the cofounders of the *Alliance*). I wrote the "Questionnaire"³⁰⁶ for him, which was first printed in the *Revue socialiste* and a reprint of it was then distributed in very large numbers throughout France. Shortly afterwards Guesde came to London to draw up a workers' election programme³⁰⁷ together with us (Engels, Lafargue, and myself), for the coming general elections. With the exception of some nonsense, which Guesde found it necessary to dish up to the French workers despite our protest, such as fixing the *minimum wage* by law, and the like (I told him: "If the French proletariat is still so childish as to require such bait, it is not worth while drawing up any programme whatever") this very brief document in its economic section consists solely of demands that actually have spontaneously arisen out of the labour movement itself. There is in addition an introductory passage where the communist goal is defined in a few lines. It was an energetic step towards pulling the French workers down to earth from their fog of phraseology, and hence it gave great offence to all the French humbugs, who live by "fog-making". After the most violent opposition by the Anarchists, the programme was first adopted in the *Région centrale*—i.e., Paris and all that goes with it—and later in many other workers' centres. The simultaneous formation of opposing groups of workers, which accepted, however, most of the "practical" demands of the programme (except the Anarchists,

who do not consist of real workers but of *déclassés* with a few duped workers as their rank-and-file soldiers) and the fact that very divergent standpoints were expressed regarding other questions prove, to my mind, that this is *the first real labour movement* in France. Up to the present time only sects existed there, which naturally received their slogans from the founder of the sect, whereas the mass of the proletariat followed the radical or pseudo-radical bourgeois and fought for them on the decisive day, only to be slaughtered, deported, etc., the very next day by the fellows they had put into power.

The *Émancipation* that is being published in Lyons for the last few days will be the organ of the "workers' party" that has sprung up on the basis of German socialism....

In Russia, where *Capital* is more read and appreciated than anywhere else, our success is even greater. On the one hand we have the *critics* (mostly young university professors, some of them personal friends of mine, as well as some publicists), and on the other the *terrorist central committee*,^a whose *programme*, secretly printed and issued in Petersburg recently, has provoked great fury among the anarchist Russians in *Switzerland*, who publish *The Black Redistribution* (this is the literal translation from the Russian) in Geneva. These persons—most (not all) of them people who left Russia *voluntarily*—constitute the so-called party of propaganda as opposed to the terrorists who risk their lives. (In order to carry on *propaganda in Russia*—they move to Geneva! What a *quid pro quo!*) These gentlemen are against all political-revolutionary action. Russia is to make a somersault into the anarchist-communist-atheist millennium! Meanwhile, they are preparing for this leap with the most tedious doctrinairism, whose so-called principles have been fashionable ever since the late Bakunin.

And now enough for this time. Let me hear from you soon. Best regards from my wife.

Totus tuus,
Karl Marx

171

MARX TO HENRY MAYER HYNDMAN IN LONDON

[London,] December 8, 1880

...If you say that you do not share the views of my party for England I can only reply that that party considers an English revolution not *necessary*, but—according to historic precedents—

^a The Executive Committee of the secret society Narodnaya Volya (People's Will).—*Ed.*

possible. If the unavoidable evolution turn into a revolution, it would not only be the fault of the ruling classes, but also of the working class. Every pacific concession of the former has been wrung from them by "pressure from without". Their action kept pace with that pressure and if the latter has more and more weakened, it is only because the English working class know not how to wield their power and use their liberties, both of which they possess legally.

In Germany the working class were fully aware from the beginning of their movement that you cannot get rid of a military despotism but by a Revolution. At the same time they understood that such a Revolution, even if at first successful, would finally turn against them without previous organisation, acquirement of knowledge, propaganda, and ...^a. Hence they moved within strictly *legal* bounds. The illegality was all on the side of the government, which declared them *en dehors la loi*. Their crimes were not *deeds*, but *opinions* unpleasant to their rulers. Fortunately, the same government—the working class having been pushed to the background with the help of the bourgeoisie—becomes now more and more unbearable to the latter, whom it hits on their most tender point—the pocket. This state of things cannot last long....

^a Word illegible.—*Ed.*

1881

172

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN VIENNA

London, February 1, 1881

...Even though the Katheder-Socialists³⁰⁸ persistently call upon us proletarian Socialists to tell them how we can prevent overpopulation and the consequent threat to the existence of the new social order, I see no reason at all why I should do them the favour. I consider it a sheer waste of time to dispel all the scruples and doubts of these people which arise from their muddled superwisdom, or even to refute, for instance, the awful twaddle which Schäffle alone has compiled in his numerous big volumes. It would require a fair-sized book merely to correct all the passages set in inverted commas which these gentlemen have *misquoted* from *Capital*. They should first learn to read and to copy before demanding that one should answer their questions....

There is of course the abstract possibility that the human population will become so numerous that its further increase will have to be checked. If it should become necessary for communist society to regulate the production of men, just as it will have already regulated the production of things, then it, and it alone, will be able to do this without difficulties. It seems to me that it should not be too difficult for such a society to achieve in a planned way what has already come about naturally, without planning, in France and Lower Austria. In any case it will be for those people to decide if, when and what they want to do about it, and what means to employ. I don't feel qualified to offer them any advice or counsel in this matter. They will presumably be at least as clever as we are.

Incidentally, I wrote as early as 1844 (*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, page 109): "...even if Malthus were absolutely right, this (socialist) transformation would have to be undertaken on the spot; for only this transformation, and the education of the masses which it alone provides, makes it possible to place that moral restraint of the propagative instinct which Malthus himself pre-

sents as the most effective and easiest remedy for over-population."^a

This is enough for now, the other points we can discuss when we meet....

173

MARX TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, February 19, 1881

...I wrote you some time ago that if the great industrial and commercial crisis England has passed through went over without the culminating financial crash at London, this *exceptional* phenomenon was only due to—French money. This is now seen and acknowledged even by English *routiniers*. Thus the *Statist* (January 29, 1881) says:

“The money market has only been so easy as it has been during the past year *through an accident*. The *Bank of France* in the early autumn permitted its stock of gold bullion to fall from £30 million to £22 million.... *Last autumn undoubtedly there was a very narrow escape.*” (!)

The *English railway system* rolls on the same inclined plane as the European *public debt system*. The ruling magnates amongst the different railway-net directors contract not only—progressively—new loans *in order to enlarge their networks*, i.e., the “territory” where they rule as absolute monarchs, but they enlarge their respective networks *in order to have new pretexts for engaging in new loans* which enable them to pay the interest due to the holders of obligations, preferential shares, etc., and also from time to time to throw a sop to the much ill-used common shareholders in the shape of somewhat increased dividends. This pleasant method must one day or another terminate in an ugly catastrophe.

In the *United States* the railway kings have become the butt of attacks, not only, as before this, on the part of the farmers and other industrial “*entrepreneurs*” of the *West*, but also on the part of the grand representative of commerce—the *New York Chamber of Commerce*. The Octopus railway king and financial

^a Frederick Engels, *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*, (see Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Moscow, 1961, pp. 203-04).—Ed.

swindler *Gould* has, on his side, told the New York commercial magnates:

You now attack the railways, because you think them most vulnerable considering their present unpopularity; but take heed: after the railways *every sort of corporation* (means in the Yankee dialect *joint stock company*) will have its turn; then, later on, *all forms of associated capital*; finally *all forms of capital*; you are thus paving the way to—*Communism* whose tendencies are already more and more spreading among the people.

M. Gould "*a le flair bon*".^a

In *India* serious complications, if not a general outbreak, are in store for the British government. What the English take from them annually in the form of rent, dividends for railways useless to the Hindus; pensions for military and civil servicemen, for Afghanistan and other wars, etc., etc.—what they take from them *without any equivalent* and *quite apart* from what they appropriate to themselves annually *within India*,— speaking only of the *value of the commodities* the Indians have *gratuitously* and annually to *send over* to England—it amounts to *more than the total sum of income of the 60 millions of agricultural and industrial labourers of India!* This is a bleeding process with a vengeance! The famine years are pressing each other and *in dimensions* till now not yet suspected in Europe! There is an actual conspiracy going on wherein Hindus and Mussulmans co-operate; the British government is aware that something is "brewing", but these shallow people (I mean the governmental men), stultified by their own parliamentary ways of talking and thinking, do not even desire to see clear, to realise the whole extent of the imminent danger! To delude others and by deluding them to delude yourself—this is: *parliamentary wisdom* in a nutshell! *Tant mieux!*^b...

174

MARX TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS
IN THE HAGUE

London, February 22, 1881

...The "question" about which you inform me, that of the forthcoming Zurich Congress, seems to me a mistake.³⁰⁹ What should be done at any definite, given moment of the future, and

^a Monsieur Gould has a keen scent.—*Ed.*

^b So much the better.—*Ed.*

done *immediately*, depends of course entirely on the given historical conditions in which one has to act. This question however is posed in the *clouds* and therefore is really a phantom problem to which the only answer can be—a *criticism of the question* itself. No equation can be solved unless its terms contain the elements of its solution. Incidentally, the difficulties of a government which has suddenly come into being through a victory of the people have nothing specifically “socialist” about them. On the contrary. Victorious bourgeois politicians at once feel embarrassed by their “victory”, whereas Socialists can at least set to work without any embarrassment. One thing you can at any rate be sure of: a socialist government does not come into power in a country unless conditions are so developed that it can immediately take the necessary measures for intimidating the mass of the bourgeoisie sufficiently to gain time—the first *desideratum*—for permanent action.

Perhaps you will refer me to the Paris Commune; but apart from the fact that this was merely the rising of a city under exceptional conditions, the majority of the Commune was by no means socialist, nor could it be. With a modicum of common sense, however, it could have reached a compromise with Versailles useful to the whole mass of the people—the only thing that it was possible to reach at the time. The appropriation of the Bank of France would have been quite enough to put an end with terror to the vaunt of the Versailles people, etc., etc.

The general demands of the French bourgeoisie before 1789 were defined in about the same terms as *mutatis mutandis* the primary immediate demands of the proletariat are today, being pretty uniform in all countries with capitalist production. But had any eighteenth-century Frenchman the faintest idea beforehand, *a priori*, of the manner in which the demands of the French bourgeoisie would be forced through? The doctrinaire and inevitably fantastic anticipation of the programme of action for a revolution of the future only diverts one from the struggle of the present. The dream that the end of the world was near inspired the early Christians in their struggle with the Roman Empire and gave them confidence in victory. Scientific insight into the inevitable disintegration of the dominant order of society, a disintegration which is going on continually before our eyes, and the ever-growing fury into which the masses are lashed by the old ghostly governments, and the enormous positive development of the means of production taking place simultaneously—all this is a sufficient guarantee that as soon as a real proletarian revolution breaks out the conditions of its immediately next *modus operandi* (though it will certainly not be idyllic) will be in existence.

It is my conviction that the critical juncture for a new International Working Men's Association has not yet arrived and for this reason I regard all workers' congresses or socialist congresses, in so far as they are not directly related to the conditions existing in this or that particular nation, as not merely useless but actually harmful. They will always ineffectually end in endlessly repeated general banalities.

Yours sincerely,
Karl Marx

175

MARX TO VERA IVANOVNA ZASULICH
IN GENEVA

London, March 8, 1881

Dear Citizen,

A nervous disease that I have been suffering from periodically for the last ten years has prevented me from replying earlier to your letter of February 16th.³¹⁰ To my regret I am unable to give you a conclusive reply, intended for publication, to the question which you did me the honour to ask. Already several months ago I promised the St. Petersburg Committee^a to write a paper on the same subject. I hope however that a few lines will suffice to remove all doubt in your mind about the misunderstanding concerning my so-called theory.

In analysing the genesis of capitalist production I say:

"The capitalist system is therefore based on the utmost separation of the producer from the means of production.... The basis of this whole development is the *expropriation of the agricultural producer*. This has been accomplished in radical fashion only in England.... But *all other countries of Western Europe* are going through the same process." (*Capital*, French ed., p. 315.^b)

Hence the "historical inevitability" of this process is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe*. The reason for this limitation is indicated in the following passage of Chapter XXXII:

"*Private property* produced by the labour of the individual... is supplanted by *capitalistic private property*, which rests on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour." (*Ibid.*, p. 341.)

^a The reference is to the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), the secret society of the Narodniks.—*Ed.*

^b K. Marx., *Le Capital*, Paris, 1875.—*Ed.*

In this development in Western Europe it is a question of the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property*. In case of the Russian peasants one would on the contrary have to *transform their common property into private property*.

Thus the analysis given in *Capital* does not provide any arguments for or against the viability of the village community, but the special research into this subject which I conducted, and for which I obtained the material from original sources, has convinced me that this community is the fulcrum of Russia's social revival, but in order that it might function in this way one would first have to eliminate the destructive influences which assail it from every quarter and then to ensure the conditions normal for spontaneous development.

I have the honour to remain

Yours very sincerely,
Karl Marx

176

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, March 12, 1881

...It is simply a falsification perpetrated by the Manchester bourgeoisie in their own interests that they call "socialism" every interference by the state in free competition—protective tariffs, guilds, tobacco monopoly, nationalisation of certain branches of industry, the Overseas Trade Society, and the royal porcelain factory. We should *criticise* this but not *believe* it. If we do the latter and develop a theory on the basis of this belief our theory will collapse together with its premises upon simple proof that this alleged socialism is nothing but, on the one hand, feudal reaction and, on the other, a pretext for squeezing out money, with the secondary object of turning as many proletarians as possible into civil servants and pensioners dependent upon the state, thus organising alongside of the disciplined army of soldiers and civil servants an army of workers as well. Compulsory voting brought about by superiors in the state apparatus instead of by factory overseers—a fine sort of socialism! But that's where people get if they believe the bourgeoisie what it does not believe itself but only pretends to believe: that the state means socialism....

177

MARX AND ENGELS
 TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SLAVONIC MEETING,
 MARCH 21st, 1881, IN CELEBRATION
 OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF
 THE PARIS COMMUNE³¹¹

r

Citizen!

With great regret we have to inform you that we are not able to attend your meeting.

When the Commune of Paris succumbed to the atrocious massacre organised by the defenders of "Order", the victors little thought that ten years would not elapse before an event would happen in distant Petersburg³¹² which, maybe after long and violent struggles, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune;

That the King of Prussia^a who had prepared the Commune by besieging Paris and thus compelling the ruling bourgeoisie to arm the people—that that same King of Prussia, ten years after, besieged in his own capital by Socialists, would only be able to maintain his throne by declaring the state of siege in his capital Berlin.³¹³

On the other hand, the Continental governments who after the fall of the Commune by their persecutions compelled the International Working Men's Association to give up its formal, external organisation—these governments who believed they could crush the great International Labour Movement by decrees and special laws—little did they think that ten years later that same International Labour Movement, more powerful than ever, would embrace the working classes not only of Europe but of America also; that the common struggle for common interests against a common enemy would bind them together into a new and greater spontaneous International, outgrowing more and more all external forms of association.

Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated, lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: *Vive la Commune!*

^a William I.—*Ed.*

178

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] June 20, 1881

...Before your copy of Henry George^a arrived I had already received two others, one from Swinton and one from Willard Brown; I therefore gave one to Engels and one to Lafargue. Today I must confine myself to a very brief formulation of my opinion of the book.

Theoretically the man is utterly backward. He understands nothing about the nature of *surplus value*, and so engages in speculations—which follow the English model but even fall short of the English—about the portions of surplus value that have attained independent existence, i.e., the relation of profit, rent, interest, etc. His fundamental dogma is that *everything* would be *all right* if rent were paid to the state. (You will find payment of this kind also among the *transitional measures* included in the *Communist Manifesto*.) This idea originated with the bourgeois economists; it was first put forward (apart from a similar demand at the end of the eighteenth century) by the earliest *radical* disciples of Ricardo, just after his death. I said of it in 1847, in my book against Proudhon: “We understand such economists as Mill” (the elder, not his son John Stuart, who also repeats this in a somewhat modified form), “Cherbuliez, Hilditch and others demanding that rent should be handed over to the state in place of taxes. That is a frank expression of the hatred the *industrial capitalist* bears towards the *landed proprietor*, who seems to him a useless thing, an excrescence upon the general body of bourgeois production.”

We ourselves, as already mentioned, adopted this appropriation of land rent by the state among numerous other *transitional measures*, which, as is likewise stated in the *Manifesto*, are and must be self-contradictory.

But the first person to turn this *desideratum* of the *radical* English bourgeois economists into a *socialist panacea*, to declare this procedure to be the solution of the antagonisms involved in the present mode of production, was *Colins*, an old ex-officer of Napoleon's Hussars, born in Belgium, who living in the latter days of Guizot and the early days of Napoleon the Little³¹⁴ in Paris presented bulky volumes about this “discovery” of his to the world. He made also another discovery: that though there is no God there is an “*immortal*” human soul, and that animals

^a Marx refers to *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George.—Ed.

have "no feelings". For if they had feelings, that is souls, we should be cannibals and a kingdom of righteousness could never be established on earth. His few remaining followers, mostly Belgians, have for years been preaching his "anti-landownership theory" together with his theory of the soul, etc., in the Paris *Philosophie de l'Avenir* every month. They call themselves "*rational collectivists*", and have praised Henry George.

After them and beside them it was among others also Samter of East Prussia, banker and former lottery collector, a shallow-brained fellow, who has spread out this "socialism" into a thick book.

All these "Socialists" since Colins have this much in common, that they leave *wage labour* and hence *capitalist production* in existence and try to bamboozle themselves or the world into believing that by transforming rent of land into a tax payable to the state *all the evils* of capitalist production would vanish of themselves. The whole thing is thus simply a socialistically decked-out attempt to *save capitalist* rule and actually *re-establish* it on an *even wider basis* than its present one.

This cloven hoof—which is at the same time an ass's hoof—peeps out unmistakably from the declamations of Henry George too. It is the more unpardonable in him because he ought on the contrary to have asked himself the question: How did it happen that in the United States, where, relatively, that is compared with civilised Europe, the land was accessible to the great masses of the people and still is, to a certain degree (again relatively), capitalist economy and the corresponding enslavement of the working class have developed *more rapidly* and *more shamelessly* than in any other country?

On the other hand, George's book, and also the sensation it has created among you, is significant because it is a first though unsuccessful effort at emancipation from orthodox political economy.

By the way, Henry George does not seem to know anything about the history of the early *American Anti-Renters*,³¹⁵ who were men of practice rather than of theory. Otherwise he is a writer with talent (with a talent for Yankee advertising too), as his article on California in the *Atlantic* proves, for example. He also has the repulsive presumption and arrogance that inevitably distinguish all such panacea-mongers.

Unfortunately my wife's illness is, speaking confidentially, incurable. I am taking her in a few days to Eastbourne on the seaside.

Fraternal greetings!

Yours,
K. Marx

179

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, October 25, 1881

...But it is true that Guesde came over when it was a question of framing the *draft* programme of the French Workers' Party. Its preamble was dictated to him word for word by Marx in the presence of Lafargue and myself right here in my room: the worker is free only when he is the owner of his instruments of labour—this can be the case either in individual or in collective form; the individual form of ownership is made obsolete by the economic development, and more so with every day; hence there remains only that of collective ownership, etc.,—a masterpiece of cogent argumentation rarely encountered, clearly and succinctly written for the masses; I myself was astonished by this concise formulation. The rest of the programme's contents was then discussed; here and there we put something in or took something out. But how little Guesde was the mouthpiece of Marx appears from Guesde's insistence on putting in his foolish minimum wage demand, and since not we but the French must take the responsibility for this we finally let him have his way although he admitted that theoretically it was nonsense.

Brousse was in London at that time and would gladly have participated. But Guesde was pressed for time and he thought, not without justification, that Brousse would start long-winded discussions about misunderstood anarchist phrases. Guesde therefore insisted that Brousse should not be present at this meeting. That was his business. But Brousse never forgave him that and his intrigues against Guesde date from that time.

The French afterwards discussed this programme and adopted it with a few amendments, of which those introduced by Malon were by no means improvements.

Besides I wrote two articles for *Égalité* No. II on "Le socialisme de M. Bismarck" and there you have the sum total, as far as I know, of our active participation in the French movement.

But what is most vexing to the petty grumblers who are nobodies but would like to be somebodies is this: By theoretical and practical achievements Marx has gained for himself such a position that the best people in all the working-class movements in many countries have full confidence in him. At *critical junctures* they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best. This position he holds in Germany, in France, in Russia, not to mention the smaller countries. It is therefore not

a case of Marx forcing his opinion, and still less his will, on people but of the people themselves coming to him. And it is upon this that Marx's specific influence, so extremely important for the movement, reposes.

Malon also wanted to come here, but he sought to obtain a special invitation from Marx through Lafargue, which of course he did not get. One would gladly have negotiated with him as with anyone else, but invite him—why? Who had ever been thus invited?

Marx and in the second place I have adopted the same attitude towards the French as towards the other national movements. We maintain constant contact with them in so far as it is worth our while and there is the opportunity to do so. But any attempt to influence these people against their will would only do harm; it would destroy the old confidence dating back to the time of the International. We really have had too much experience of revolutionary matters for that....

180

MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] December 15, 1881

...The English have recently begun to occupy themselves more with *Capital*, etc. Thus in the last *October* (or November, I am not quite sure) issue of the *Contemporary* there is an article on socialism by *John Rae*. Very inadequate, full of mistakes, but "fair", as one of my English friends told me the day before yesterday. And why fair?^a Because John Rae does *not suppose* that for the forty years I am spreading my pernicious theories, I was being instigated by "bad" motives. "*Seine Grossmut muss ich loben.*"^b The fairness of making yourself at least sufficiently acquainted with the subject of your criticism seems a thing quite unknown to the penmen of British philistinism.

Before this, in the beginning of June, there was published by a certain *Hyndman* (who had before intruded himself into my house) a little book: *England for All*. It pretends to be written as an *exposé* of the programme of the "*Democratic Federation*"³¹⁶—a recently formed association of different English and Scotch radical societies, half bourgeois, half *prolétaires*. The chapters on

^a From here on this letter was written in English.—*Ed.*

^b "I must praise his magnanimity."—*Ed.*

Labour and Capital are only literal extracts from, or circumlocutions of, the *Capital*, but the fellow does neither quote the book, nor its author, but to shield himself from exposure remarks at the end of his preface:

“For the ideas and much of the matter contained in Chapters II and III, I am indebted to the work of a great thinker and original writer, etc., etc.”

Vis-à-vis myself, the fellow wrote stupid letters of excuse, for instance, that “the English don’t like to be taught by foreigners”, that “my name was so much detested, etc.” With all that, his little book—so far as it pilfers the *Capital*—makes good propaganda, although the man is a “weak” vessel, and very far from having even the patience—the first condition of learning anything—of studying a matter thoroughly. All those amiable middle-class writers—if not specialists—have an itching to make money or name or political capital *immediately* out of any new thoughts they may have got at by any favourable windfall. Many evenings this fellow has pilfered from me, in order—to take me out and learn in the easiest way.

Lastly there was published on the first December last (I shall send you the copy of it) in the monthly review, *Modern Thought*, an article: “Leaders of Modern Thought”; No. XXIII—*Karl Marx*. By Ernest Belfort Bax.

Now this is the first English publication of the kind which is pervaded by a real enthusiasm for the new ideas themselves and boldly stands up against British philistinism. That does not prevent that the biographical notices the author gives of me are mostly wrong, etc. In the exposition of my economic principles and in his translations (i.e., quotations of the *Capital*) much is wrong and confused, but with all that the appearance of this article, announced in large letters by placards on the walls in the West End of London, has produced a great sensation. What was most important for me, I received the said number of *Modern Thought* already on the 30th of November, so that my dear wife had the last days of her life still cheered up. You know the passionate interest she took in all such affairs.

1882

181

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

r

London, January 25, 1882

...We were greatly interested in the reports about the happenings among the "leaders" in Germany. I never concealed the fact that in my opinion the masses in Germany are much better than the gentlemen in the leadership, especially since the Party, thanks to the press and agitation, has become a milch cow for them, providing butter, and now Bismarck and the bourgeoisie have all of a sudden butchered that cow. The thousand people who thereby immediately lost their livelihoods had the personal misfortune of not being placed directly into the position of revolutionaries, i.e., sent into exile. Otherwise very many of those who are now bemoaning their lot would have gone over to Most's camp or at any rate would find the *Sozialdemokrat*³¹⁷ much too tame. Most of those people remained in Germany and had to, went to rather reactionary places, remained socially ostracised, dependent for their living on philistines, and a great number of them were themselves contaminated by philistinism. Soon they pinned all their hopes on a repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law. No wonder that under pressure of philistinism the idea, which is really absurd, took hold of them that this could be attained by meekness. Germany is an execrable country for people with scant will-power. The narrowness and pettiness of civil as well as political relations, the small-town character of even the big cities, the small but constantly increasing vexations encountered in the struggle with police and bureaucracy—all this is exhausting and does not spur on to resistance, and thus in this great children's nursery many become children themselves. Petty relations beget petty views, so that it takes great intelligence and energy for anyone living in Germany to be able to see beyond his immediate environment, to keep one's eye upon the great interconnection of world events and not to lapse into that self-complacent "objectivity" which sees no further than its nose and precisely for that reason amounts to the most narrow-minded subjectivity even when it is shared by thousands of such subjects.

But no matter how natural may be the rise of this trend, which covers up its lack of insight and power of resistance with "objective" supersapience, it must be resolutely fought. And here the masses of workers furnish the best pillar of support. They alone live in Germany under more or less modern conditions; all their minor and major afflictions centre in the oppression emanating from *capital*, and whereas all other struggles in Germany, social as well as political, are petty and paltry and concern mere trifles which elsewhere have been settled long ago, their struggle is the only one being fought magnificently, the only one that is up to the mark of the times, the only one that does not exhaust the fighters but provides them with ever new energy....

182

ENGELS TO JOHANN PHILIPP BECKER
IN GENEVA

London, February 10, 1882

...We have pondered over your proposal and think that the time for its implementation has not yet arrived but is approaching.^a In the first place a new, formally reorganised International would only call forth new persecution in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Spain and would in the end only leave the choice of either abandoning the whole thing or carrying it on *secretly*. The latter would be a misfortune because of the inevitable hankering after conspiracies and putsches and the likewise inevitable penetration of police spies. Even in France a new enforcement of the law against the International, which has never been repealed, is not at all impossible.

In the second place, while the present quarrel between the *Égalité* and the *Prolétaire*³¹⁸ is going on the French cannot be counted on at all, unless one sides with one of the parties, and that too has its bad aspects. As far as we personally are concerned we are on the side of the *Égalité* but shall take good care not to support these people publicly *at present* because although expressly warned by us they have made one tactical blunder after another.

In the third place the English are now less accessible than ever. For five months I tried, taking the old Chartist movement as a starting point, to spread our ideas through the *Labour Stan-*

^a Becker wrote to Engels on February 1, 1882, suggesting that a new international organisation should be formed.—*Ed.*

dard,³¹⁹ for which I wrote leading articles, so as to see whether there would be any response. But there was absolutely none, and as the editor, a well-meaning but feeble milksop, became afraid in the end of the Continental heresies I wrote in the paper, I gave up.

There would consequently remain an International which, apart from Belgium, would be confined *only to emigrants*, for with the possible exception of Geneva and environs even the Swiss could not be counted on—*vide Arbeiterstimme* and Bürkli.^a But it would hardly be worth the trouble to form a society consisting of refugees alone, for the Dutch, Portuguese and Danes won't make much difference in this respect, and the less one has to do with Serbs and Rumanians the better.

On the other hand the International actually continues to *exist*. There is a connection between the revolutionary workers in all countries, as far as that is feasible. Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels and Milan threads run in all directions and cross and recross one another so that I really do not know what new strength the grouping of these small centres around one great principal centre could contribute at present to the movement. It would very likely only increase the friction. But when the time for the rallying of forces arrives, it will therefore be a matter of but a moment and require no lengthy preparation. The names of the champions of the people in any country are known in all the others and a manifesto signed and endorsed by all of them would create an immense impression, quite different from the effect produced by the names of the old General Council, which are generally unknown. For that very reason such a demonstration must be kept for the moment when it can have a decisive effect, i.e., when events in Europe make it necessary. Otherwise the effect in the future will be spoiled and the whole thing will only be a shot in the air. Such events however are maturing in Russia where the vanguard of the revolution will engage in battle. This and its inevitable impact on Germany is what one must in our opinion wait for, and then will also come the time for a grand demonstration and the establishment of an *official*, formal International which however can no longer be a propaganda society but only a society for action. We are therefore definitely of the opinion that such an excellent means of combat should not be weakened by wearing it away and using it up at a time when things are still comparatively quiet, when we are only on the eve of the revolution.

^a Engels refers to an article by Schramm entitled "Karl Bürkli und Karl Marx" published in the *Arbeiterstimme* on December 24 and 31, 1881.—*Ed.*

I believe that on reconsidering the matter you will concur with our view. In the meantime both of us wish you a full and rapid recovery and hope to hear from you very soon that you are quite all right again.

Yours as of old,
F. E.

183

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, May 3, 1882

...Don't let the Association here deceive you about the Democratic Federation. So far it is of no account whatever. It is headed by an ambitious prospective Parliamentary candidate called Hyndman, an ex-Conservative, who can get together a big meeting only with the help of the Irish and for specifically Irish purposes. Even then he plays only a third-rate part, otherwise the Irish would let him go whistle.

Gladstone has discredited himself terribly. His whole Irish policy has suffered shipwreck. He has to drop Forster and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Cowper-Temple (whose father on the distaff side is a Palmerston), and must say a *pater peccavi*^a. The Irish M.P.s have been set free, the Emergency Bill has not been extended, the rent arrears of the farmers are to be partly cancelled and partly taken over by the state against fair amortisation. On the other hand the Tories have already reached the stage where they want to save whatever can still be saved: before the farmers *take* the land they should redeem the rents with the aid of the state, according to the Prussian model, so that the landowners may get at least *something*! The Irish are teaching our leisurely John Bull to get a move on. That's what comes from shooting!

184

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN VIENNA

London, September 12, 1882

...You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as the bourgeois think. There is no workers'

^a "Father, I have sinned." Prayer for forgiveness.—Ed.

party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers are cheerfully consuming their share of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies. In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population—Canada, the Cape, Australia—will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated—India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions—must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop is difficult to say. India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution, and as a proletariat in process of self-emancipation cannot conduct any colonial wars, India would have to be given a free hand; things would, of course, not pass off without all sorts of destruction, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also happen elsewhere, e.g., in Algeria and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing *for us*. We shall have enough to do at home. A reorganised Europe and North America will have such colossal power and provide such an example that the semi-civilised countries will automatically follow in their wake; they will be pushed in that direction even by economic needs alone. It seems to me that we can only make rather futile hypotheses about the social and political phases that these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organisation. One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing. This does not of course exclude defensive wars of various kinds....

185

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, October 20, 1882

Dear Mr. Bernstein,

I have long been wanting to write to you about French affairs but have only now found time to do it. The good part about it is that now I can kill two birds with one stone.

1. *St.-Étienne*. In spite of the well-meant advice of the Belgians the inevitable has happened, the irreconcilable elements have separated.³²⁰ And that's good. In the beginning, when the *parti ouvrier* was founded, all elements had to be admitted who accepted the programme, if they did so with secret reservations that was bound to show later on. We here were never mistaken about Malon and Brousse. Both of them had been trained in the school of Bakuninist intrigues. Malon was even an accomplice of Baku-

nin's in setting up the secret "Alliance" (he was one of the 17 founder members). But after all they had to be given a chance to show whether they had shed the Bakuninist practice together with the Bakuninist theory. The course of events has shown that they adopted the programme (and adulterated it—Malon introduced several changes that made it worse) with the secret intention of disrupting it. What had been begun at Rheims and Paris was finished at St.-Étienne. The programme has been shorn of its proletarian class character. The communist preamble of 1880 has been replaced by the Rules of the International of 1866, which had to be framed so broadly just because the French Proudhonists were so backward, and it was all the same necessary not to exclude them. The positive demands of the programme have been abolished as every locality is given the right to draw up a special programme for any special purpose any time it chooses. The so-called St.-Étienne party is not only no workers' party but no party whatever because in actual fact it has no programme. At most it is a Malon-Brousse party. The strongest objection which the two were able to make against the old programme was that it repelled more people than it attracted. This has now been remedied: Neither Proudhonists nor Radicals have any longer any ground to remain outside, and if Malon & Co. had their way the "revolutionary hash", which Vollmar complains about, would be the official pronouncement of the French proletariat.

In all Latin countries (and perhaps also elsewhere) great laxity has always prevailed with regard to credentials for Congressional seats. Many of them could hardly stand the light of day. So long as this was not overdone and as long as only matters of secondary importance were involved little damage resulted. But only the Bakuninists made this practice the rule (first in the Jura), they made a regular business out of the fraudulent procurement of seats and sought in that way to get to the top. The same thing has happened now in St.-Étienne. In general all the old Bakuninist tactics, which justify any means—lies, calumnation, secret cliquishness—dominated the preparations for the Congress. That is the only trade in which Brousse is proficient. People forget that practices which may be successful in small sections and in a small area such as the Jura, are when applied to a real workers' party of a big country bound to destroy those who apply such methods and stratagems. The sham victory at St.-Étienne will not last long and the end of Malon and Brousse will certainly come soon.

It seems that *every* workers' party of a big country can develop only through internal struggle, which accords with the laws of dialectical development in general. The German Party became what it is in the struggle between the Eisenachers and Lassalleans

where fighting played a major role. Unity became possible only when the bunch of scoundrels that had been deliberately trained by Lassalle to be his tools had outlived their day, and even then it was brought about by us much too hastily. In France the people who, although they have sacrificed the Bakuninist theory, continue to employ Bakuninist means of struggle, and who at the same time want to sacrifice the class character of the movement to further their special ends, must also first outlive their usefulness before unity is possible again. To preach unity under such circumstances would be sheer folly. Moral sermons avail nothing against infantile disorders, which are after all unavoidable under present-day circumstances.

By the way, the Roanne people too stand in need of constant and severe criticism. They are too often carried away by revolutionary phrases and an impotent urge for action....

186

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

London, October 28, 1882

...I read the second article^a rather hurriedly, with two or three people interrupting me with their talk all the time. Otherwise the way he conceives the French Revolution would have led me to detect the French influence and with it our Vollmar too, no doubt. You have grasped this side quite correctly. This at last is the dreamed-of realisation of the phrase "one reactionary mass". All the official parties united in one lump *here*, and we Socialists in one column *there*—great decisive battle; victory all along the line at one blow. In real life things do not happen so simply. In real life, as you also remark, the revolution begins the other way round, by the great majority of the people and also the majority of the official parties rallying *against* the government, which is thereby isolated, and overthrowing it; and it is only after those of the official parties which still remained have mutually, jointly, and successively brought about one another's destruction that Vollmar's great division takes place, bringing with it the chance of our rule. If, like Vollmar, we wanted to start straight off with the *final act* of the revolution we should be in a terribly bad way....

In France the long-expected split has taken place. The original co-operation of Guesde and Lafargue with Malon and Brousse

^a Engels refers to Vollmar's second article on the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany published in the *Sozialdemokrat*.—Ed.

was probably unavoidable when the Party was founded, but Marx and I never had any illusions that it could last. The issue is purely one of principle: is the struggle to be conducted *as a class struggle* of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or is it to be permitted that, in good opportunist (or as this is called in the socialist translation: Possibilist) style, the class character of the movement, together with the programme, is to be dropped wherever more votes, more "adherents", can thereby be won? By declaring themselves in favour of the latter alternative Malon and Brousse have sacrificed the proletarian class character of the movement and made separation inevitable. Very well. The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere through internal struggles, and France, which is now setting up a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have left behind the first phase of the internal struggle (with the Lassalleans); other phases still lie before us. Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has all one's life fought harder against self-styled Socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie only as a *class* and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot be greatly grieved that the inevitable struggle has broken out.

I hope this will reach you before they put you behind the bars. Hearty greetings from Marx and Tussy. Marx is rapidly recovering and if his pleurisy does not come back he will be stronger next autumn than he has been for years. If you see Liebknecht in the *Käfigturm*^a (as they say in Berne), give him the best regards from all of us.

Yours,
F.E.

187

ENGELS TO MARX IN VENTNOR

London, December 15, 1882

Dear Moor,

I am enclosing the appendix on the Mark.^b Be so kind as to send it back on *Sunday*, so that I can revise it on Monday—I was not able to conclude the final revision today.

I consider the view expounded here regarding the condition of the peasantry in the Middle Ages and the rise of a *second* serfdom

^a Cage tower; here jail.—Ed.

^b The reference is to *Die Mark* by Engels first published at the end of 1882 as an appendix to the first German edition of Engels' *Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft (Socialism: Utopian and Scientific)*.—Ed.

in the middle of the fifteenth century on the whole incontrovertible. I have been right through Maurer to look up all the relevant passages and find nearly all my propositions there, *supported, moreover, by evidence*, and alongside them the exact opposite, but either unsupported by evidence or taken from a period which is *not* under discussion. This applies in particular to *Fronhöfe*, Volume 4, Conclusion.^a These contradictions arise in Maurer: 1) from his habit of adducing evidence and examples from all periods side by side and jumbled together, 2) from the remnants of his legalistic bias, which always gets in his way whenever it is a question of understanding a process of *development*, 3) from the insufficient importance which he attaches to *force* and the part it plays, 4) from his enlightened prejudice that since the dark Middle Ages a steady progress to a better state of things *must* surely have taken place; this prevents him from seeing not only the antagonistic character of real progress, but also the individual retrogressions.

You will find that my thing is by no means all of one piece but a regular patchwork. The first draft was all of one piece but unfortunately wrong. I mastered the material only by degrees and that is why there is so much patching.

Incidentally the general reintroduction of serfdom was one of the reasons why no industry could develop in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first place there was the *reversed* division of labour among the guilds—the opposite of that in manufacture: the work was divided *among the guilds* instead of inside the workshop. In England migration to the guild-free countryside took place at this stage, but in Germany this was prevented by the transformation of the country people and the inhabitants of the agricultural market towns into serfs. But this also caused the ultimate collapse of the guilds as soon as the competition of foreign manufacture arose. The other reasons which also played a part in holding back German manufacture I will here omit.

Today again fog and gas light the whole day long. Hartmann's battery probably a failure for lighting; can be used at best for telegraphy, etc. More about this as soon as something definite has been established.

Keep well. I hope you'll soon get weather you're allowed to go out in.

Yours,
F.E.

^a The reference is to Georg Ludwig von Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland* (*History of Socage Farms, Peasant Farms and Farm Organisation in Germany*).—Ed.

1883

188

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, January 18, 1883

...We were very glad about the answers of Grillenberger and the *Sozialdemokrat* to Puttkamer's hypocrisy.³²¹ That's the way to do it. Not to twist and turn under the blows of the opponent, not to whine and moan and stammer excuses that you did not mean any harm—as so many still do. One must hit back, and return two or three blows for every one the enemy strikes. That has always been our tactic and so far I believe we have got the best of almost every one of our opponents. "Moreover the genius of our soldiers lies in their attack and that is a very good thing," old Fritz^a said in one of his instructions to his generals, and that's the way our workers act in Germany. But when Kayser for instance withdraws during the discussion of all the Exceptional Laws—provided the summary of \square ^b is correct—and wails that we are revolutionaries only in the Pickwickian sense, what then? It should have been said: that the entire Reichstag and the Bundesrat are sitting there only by virtue of a revolution; that when old William swallowed three crowns and one free city³²² he was also a revolutionary; that the whole idea of legitimacy, the whole so-called basis of legality, is nothing but the product of countless revolutions made against the will of the people and directed against the people. O, that accursed German flabbiness of thought and will which was brought into the Party with so much effort together with the "edicated"! When at last shall we be rid of it!...

^a Frederick II, King of Prussia.—*Ed.*

^b Of Louis Viereck (the German word *Viereck* means "square").—*Ed.*

189

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN
ZURICH

London, February 27[-March 1], 1883

...We belong to the German Party scarcely more than to the French, American or Russian Party and can consider ourselves as little bound by the German programme as by the minimum-programme. We lay stress upon this special status of ours as representatives of *international* socialism. But it also forbids us to belong to any particular national party until we return to Germany and take a direct part in the struggle there. It would be pointless now....

We have always done our utmost to combat the petty-bourgeois and philistine mentality within the Party, because this mentality, developed since the time of the Thirty Years' War, has infected *all* classes in Germany and become a hereditary German evil, sister to servility and submissiveness and to all the hereditary German vices. This is what has made us ridiculous and contemptible abroad. It is the main cause of the slackness and the weakness of character which predominate among us; it reigns on the throne as often as in the cobbler's lodging. Only since a *modern* proletariat has been formed in Germany has a class developed there which is hardly affected at all by this hereditary German malady, a class which has demonstrated that it possesses clear insight, energy, humour, tenacity in struggle. And ought we not to fight against every attempt artificially to inculcate the old hereditary poison of philistine slackness and philistine narrow-mindedness in this healthy class, the only healthy class in Germany? But in their fright right after the criminal attempts³²³ and the Anti-Socialist Law,³²⁴ the leaders exhibited so much anxiety which merely proved that they had lived much too long among philistines and were influenced by the views of the philistines. They intended, at that time that the Party should *seem* to be philistine if not actually *become* philistine. All this has now fortunately been overcome, but the philistine elements, which were drawn into the Party shortly before the Anti-Socialist Law and prevail particularly among college graduates and undergraduates who did not get as far as the examinations, are still there and have to be carefully watched....

190

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, March 14, 1883

Dear Bernstein,

You will have received my telegram. It all happened terribly quickly. After the best prospects there was a sudden collapse of strength this morning, then he simply fell asleep. In two minutes this genius had ceased to think, and exactly at the time when the physicians encouraged us to hope for the best. What this man was for us as regards theory, and at all decisive moments also with regard to practical matters, can be understood only by one who was constantly with him. His wide horizons will disappear with him from the scene for many years. These are matters we are not yet equal to. The movement will proceed along its course but it will miss his calm, timely and considered intervention, which hitherto saved it from many a wearisome erroneous path.

Further particulars soon. It is now 12 o'clock at night and I have had to write letters and attend to all kinds of things the whole afternoon and evening.

Yours,

F. E.

191

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN*London, March 15, 1883, 11.45 p.m.*

Dear Sorge,

Your telegram arrived tonight. Heartfelt thanks!

It was not possible to keep you regularly informed about Marx's state of health because it was constantly changing. Here, briefly, are the main facts.

Shortly before his wife's death he had an attack of pleurisy, in October 1881. After he recovered, he was sent to Algiers in February 1882; he encountered cold, wet weather on the journey and arrived with another attack of pleurisy. The atrocious weather continued, and when he got better he was sent to Monte Carlo (Monaco) to avoid the heat of the approaching summer. Again he arrived with an attack of pleurisy, milder this time. Again abominable weather. Cured at last, he went to Argen-

teuil near Paris to stay with his daughter, Mme. Longuet. He took the sulphur springs at near-by Enghien for the bronchitis he had had for so long. Here again the weather was frightful, but the treatment did some good. Then he went to Vevey for six weeks and came back in September, apparently almost fully recovered. He was allowed to spend the winter on the south coast of England. And he himself was so tired of wandering about doing nothing that another period of exile to the south of Europe would probably have harmed him morally as much as it would have benefited him physically. When the foggy season commenced in London, he was sent to the Isle of Wight. There it was raining uninterruptedly; he caught another cold. Schorlemmer and I were planning to pay him a visit around New Year's when news came that made it necessary for Tussy to join him at once. Immediately thereafter came the death of Jenny,^a and he returned with another attack of bronchitis. After all that had gone before, and at his age, this was dangerous. A number of complications set in, particularly an abscess of the lung and a terribly rapid loss of strength. Despite this the general course of the illness was progressing favourably, and last Friday the chief physician in attendance, one of the most prominent young doctors in London and specially recommended to him by Edwin Ray Lankester, gave us the most brilliant hope for his recovery. Yet anyone who has ever examined lung tissue under the microscope knows how great is the danger of the wall of a blood vessel being broken through in a suppurating lung. And that is why when I turned the corner of the street every morning for the past six weeks, I was deadly afraid of finding the curtains down. Yesterday afternoon at 2.30, the best time for visiting him during the day, I arrived to find the house in tears. It seemed that the end was near. I asked what had happened, tried to get to the bottom of the matter, to offer comfort. There had been a slight hemorrhage, but suddenly he had begun to sink rapidly. Our good old Lenchen, who had been looking after him better than any mother cares for her child, went upstairs and came down again. He was half-asleep, she said, I might go in with her. When we entered the room he was lying there asleep, but never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In those two minutes he had passed away, peacefully and without pain.

All events occurring of natural necessity bring their own consolation with them, however dreadful they may be. So in this case. Medical skill might have been able to assure him a few more years of vegetative existence, the life of a helpless being, dying—to the triumph of the physicians' art—not suddenly, but inch

^a The eldest daughter of Marx.—*Ed.*

by inch. Our Marx however would never have borne that. To live, with all the unfinished works before him, tantalised by the desire to complete them and unable to do so, would have been a thousand times more bitter to him than the gentle death that overtook him. "Death is not a misfortune to him who dies but to him who survives," he used to say, quoting Epicurus. And to see this mighty genius lingering on as a physical wreck for the greater glory of medicine and the mockery of the philistines whom he had so often reduced to dust in the prime of his strength—no, it is a thousand times better as it is, a thousand times better that we bear him, the day after tomorrow, to the grave where his wife lies at rest.

And after what had gone before, and what even the doctors do not know as well as I do, there was in my opinion no other alternative.

Be that as it may. Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time. The movement of the proletariat goes on, but gone is the central point to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans, and Germans spontaneously turned at decisive moments to receive always that clear indisputable counsel which only genius and consummate knowledge of the situation could give. Local lights and small talents, if not the humbugs, obtain a free hand. The final victory remains certain, but the detours, the temporary and local mistakes—which are unavoidable in any case—will now occur much more often. Well, we must see it through; what else are we here for? And we are far from losing courage because of it.

Yours,
F. Engels

192

ENGELS TO PHIL VAN PATTEN
IN NEW YORK³²⁵

[Draft]

London April 18, 1883

Esteemed Comrades,

My statement in reply to your inquiry of the 2nd April as to Karl Marx's position with regard to the Anarchists in general and Johann Most in particular shall be short and clear.

Marx and I, ever since 1845, have held the view that *one* of the final results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution and ultimate disappearance of that political

organisation called *the state*; an organisation the main object of which has ever been to secure, by armed force, the economical subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority. With the disappearance of a wealthy minority the necessity for an armed repressive state-force disappears also. At the same time we have always held that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organised political force of the state and with this aid stamp out the resistance of the capitalist class and re-organise society. This is stated already in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847, end of Chapter II.

The Anarchists reverse the matter. They say, that the proletarian revolution has to *begin* by abolishing the political organisation of the state. But after the victory of the proletariat, the only organisation the victorious working class finds ready-made for use is that of the state. It may require adaptation to the new functions. But to destroy that at such a moment, would be to destroy the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its newly conquered power, keep down its capitalist enemies and carry out that economic revolution of society without which the whole victory must end in a defeat and in a massacre of the working class like that after the Paris Commune.

Does it require my express assertion that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Working Men's Association is there to prove it. The Anarchists tried to obtain the lead of the International, by the foulest means, ever since 1867 and the chief obstacle in their way was Marx. The result of the five years' struggle was the expulsion, at the Hague Congress, Sept. 1872, of the Anarchists from the International, and the man who did most to procure that expulsion was Marx. Our old friend F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further particulars if you desire.

Now as to Johann Most. If any man asserts that Most, since he turned anarchist, has had any relations with, or support from Marx, he is either a dupe or a deliberate liar. After the first No. of the London *Freiheit*³²⁶ had been published, Most did not call upon Marx and myself more than once, at most twice. Nor did we call on him or even meet him accidentally anywhere or at any time since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper. Indeed, we at last ceased to take it in as there was absolutely "nothing in it". We had for his anarchism and anarchist tactics the same contempt as for those people from whom he had learnt it.

While still in Germany, Most published a "popular" extract of *Das Kapital*. Marx was requested to revise it for a second edition. I assisted Marx in that work. We found it impossible to eradicate more than the very worst mistakes, unless we rewrote the whole thing from beginning to end, and Marx consented to his corrections being inserted on the express condition only that his name was never in any way to be connected with even this revised form of Johann Most's production.

You are perfectly at liberty to publish this letter in the *Voice of the People*, if you like to do so.

Yours fraternally,
F. E.

193

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

Eastbourne, August 27, 1883

...The part played by the Bonapartist monarchy (the characteristic features of which have been set forth by Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* and by me in *The Housing Question*, II, and elsewhere) in the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie is similar to the part the old absolute monarchy played in the struggle between feudalism and bourgeoisie. But just as this struggle could not be fought out under the old absolute monarchy but only in a constitutional one (England, France 1789-1792 and 1815-1830), so that between bourgeoisie and proletariat can only be fought out in a republic. If therefore favourable conditions and a revolutionary past helped the French to overthrow Bonaparte and set up a bourgeois republic, the French possess the advantage over us, who are still floundering in a hotchpotch of semi-feudalism and Bonapartism, in that they already possess the form in which the struggle must be fought out whereas we still have to *conquer* it. Politically they are a whole stage ahead of us. The result of a monarchist restoration in France would therefore be that the struggle for the restoration of the *bourgeois* republic would again be put on the order of the day. But the continuing existence of the republic on the other hand signifies increased intensification of the *direct* unconcealed class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie until a crisis is reached.

In our country too the first and direct result of the revolution with regard to the *form* can and *must* be nothing but the *bourgeois* republic. But this will be here only a brief transitional period

because fortunately we do not have a purely republican bourgeois party. The bourgeois republic, headed perhaps by the Progressive Party, will enable us in the beginning to *win over the great masses of the workers to revolutionary socialism*. This will be done in one or two years and will lead to the utter exhaustion and self-destruction of all intermediate parties that may still exist apart from our Party. Only then can we successfully take over.

The big mistake the Germans make is to think that the revolution is something that can be made overnight. As a matter of fact it is a process of development of the masses that takes several years even under conditions accelerating this process. Any revolution completed overnight removed only a reaction that was hopeless at the very start (1830) or led directly to the opposite of what had been aspired to (1848, France).

Yours,
F. E.

194

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

Eastbourne, August 30, 1883

...The Manifesto of the Democratic Federation³²⁷ in London has been issued by about twenty to thirty small associations, which under different names (consisting always of the same people) have for at least the last twenty years been constantly trying to put themselves forward, and always with the same lack of success. The only important thing is that now at last they are obliged openly to proclaim our theory as their own, whereas during the period of the International it seemed to them to be imposed on them from outside; and also that recently a lot of young people stemming from the bourgeoisie have appeared on the scene who, to the disgrace of the English workers it must be said, understand things better and take them up more enthusiastically than the workers themselves. For even in the Democratic Federation the workers for the most part accept the new programme only unwillingly and as a matter of form. The leader of the Democratic Federation, Hyndman, is an ex-conservative and an arrantly chauvinistic but not stupid careerist, who behaved pretty shabbily to Marx (to whom he had been introduced by Rudolph Meyer) and for this reason was dropped by us personally. Do not on any account whatever let yourself be bamboozled into thinking there is a real proletarian movement going on here. I know Liebknecht is trying to delude himself and all the world about this, but it is not the case. The elements at present active may become impor-

tant now, since they have accepted our theoretical programme and so acquired a basis, but only if a spontaneous movement breaks out here among the workers and they succeed in getting control of it. Till then they will remain individual minds with a hotch-potch of confused sects, remnants of the great movement of the forties, standing behind them, and nothing more. And—apart from the unexpected—a really general workers' movement will come into existence here only when it is brought home to the workers that England's world monopoly is broken. The fact that they participate in the domination of the world market was and is the economic basis of the political nullity of the English workers. The tail of the bourgeoisie in the economic exploitation of this monopoly but nevertheless sharing in its advantages, they are, of course, politically the tail of the "great Liberal Party", which for its part makes up to them in small matters: it has recognised Trade Unions and strikes as legitimate factors, has abandoned the fight for an unlimited working day and has given the mass of better-off workers the vote. But once America and the joint competition of the other industrial countries make a big enough breach in this monopoly (and in iron this is coming rapidly, in cotton unfortunately not yet) you will see a lot of things happen here....

1884

195

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

5

London, January 1, 1884

...As to your former inquiry concerning the passage in the preface of the *Manifesto*³²⁸ taken from *Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich* [*The Civil War in France*] you will most likely agree with the reply given in the original (*Der Bürgerkrieg...*, p. 19 et seqq.).^a I am sending you a copy in case you do not have one there. It is simply a question of showing that the victorious proletariat must first refashion the old bureaucratic, administratively centralised state power before it can use it for its own purposes; whereas *all* bourgeois republicans since 1848 inveighed against this machinery so long as they were in the opposition, but once they were in the government they took it over without altering it and used it partly against the reaction but still more against the proletariat. That in *The Civil War* the *instinctive* tendencies of the Commune were put down to its credit as more or less deliberate plans was justified and even necessary under the circumstances. The Russians have very properly appended this passage from *The Civil War* to their translation of the *Manifesto*. If at that time the publication did not have to be finished in such a hurry we could also have done this and various other things too....

196

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

London, January 18, 1884

...Many thanks for your book, *Die Frau*.³²⁹ I have read it with great interest, it contains much valuable material. Especially lucid and fine is what you say about the development of industry

^a See Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, Moscow, 1974, p. 50.—Ed.

in Germany. I have also done some research on this subject recently, and if I had time I would write something about it for the *Sozialdemokrat*.³³⁰ How strange that the philistines don't understand that "the vagabond trouble" they so lament is the necessary consequence of the rise of large-scale industry under the conditions obtaining in German agriculture and handicraft, and that the development of large-scale industry in Germany—because she arrives late everywhere—is bound to take place under the continuous pressure of adverse market conditions. For the Germans are able to compete only as a result of low wages, reduced to starvation level, and an ever increasing exploitation of the cottage industry which serves as a background to their factory production. The transformation of the handicrafts into cottage industry and the gradual transformation of the cottage industry, in so far as this is profitable, into factory and machine industry—that is the course taken in Germany. The only really big industry we have up to now is iron. The hand-loom still predominates in the textile industry, thanks to the starvation wages and the fact that the weavers have potato plots.

Here, too, industry has taken on a different character. The ten-year cycle seems to have been disrupted now that, since 1870, American and German competition have been putting an end to English monopoly in the world market. In the main branches of industry business has been in a depressed state since 1868, with production increasing only slowly; and now we seem both here and in America to be on the verge of a new crisis which in England has not been preceded by a period of prosperity. That is the secret of the present sudden emergence of a socialist movement here, sudden—though it has been slowly preparing for three years. So far the organised workers—Trade Unions—still remain quite remote from it, the movement is forging ahead among "edicated" elements sprung from the bourgeoisie, who here and there seek contact with the masses and in places find it. These people are of greatly varying moral and intellectual value and it will take some time before they sort themselves out and the position becomes clear. But things will scarcely again subside completely. Henry George with his nationalisation of the land³³¹ is likely to play a meteoric role, because this point here is of importance traditionally, and also actually on account of the vast extent of big landed property. But in the long run attention will not be concentrated on this point alone in the foremost industrial country in the world. Henry George, moreover, is a genuine bourgeois and his plan of defraying all governmental expenditures out of rent of land is only a repetition of the plan of the *Ricardo* school, that is purely bourgeois.

197

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN ZURICH

London, February 16, 1884

...It would be a good thing if somebody took the trouble to explain state socialism, which is now so prevalent, by the example of *Java* where its practice is in full bloom. All the material for that can be found in *Java, or How to Manage a Colony*, by J. W. B. Money, Barrister at Law, London 1861, 2 vols. Here it will be seen how on the basis of the old community communism the Dutch organised production under state control and secured for the people what they considered a quite comfortable existence. The result: the people are kept at the stage of primitive stupidity and 70 million marks (by now presumably more) are annually collected by the Dutch national treasury. This case is highly interesting and the practical conclusions can easily be drawn. Incidentally this demonstrates that today primitive communism (so long as it has not been stirred up by some element of modern communism) furnishes the finest and broadest basis of exploitation and despotism there, as well as in India and Russia, and that in the conditions of modern society it turns out to be a crying anachronism (which has either to be removed or almost made to retrograde) as much as were the independent mark communities of the original cantons.

There exists an *important* book on the conditions of primitive society, as important as Darwin is in biology, and of course it is again Marx who discovered it: Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1877. Marx spoke about it but my head was full of other things at that time and he never returned to it. This must have suited him for he *himself* wanted to publicise the book among the Germans, as I see from the quite extensive extracts he made. Morgan has quite independently discovered the Marxian materialist conception of history within the limits prescribed by his subject and he concludes with directly communist propositions in relation to present-day society. The Roman and Greek gens is for the first time fully explained on the basis of that of savages, particularly American Indians, thus creating a firm foundation for the history of primitive times. If I had the time I would work up the material, with Marx's notes, for a feature article in the *Sozialdemokrat* or the *Neue Zeit*, but that is out of the question. All that humbug by Tylor, Lubbock & Co. about endogamy, exogamy and whatever else that rubbish is called has now been definitely squashed. These gentlemen suppress the book here as much as

they can. It was printed in America. I ordered it five weeks ago but can't get it, although a London firm appears on the title page as copublisher.

Best regards.

Yours,
F. E.

198

ENGELS TO VERA IVANOVNA ZASULICH
IN GENEVA

London, March 6, 1884

Dear Citizen,

It will be a great day for Marx's daughters and me when the Russian version of *Misère de la philosophie* [*The Poverty of Philosophy*] comes out. It goes without saying that it will be a pleasure to me to place at your disposal all the material that may be useful to you for that purpose.³³² I propose to do the following:

Besides the German translation a new French edition is at present being printed in Paris. I am preparing some explanatory notes for these two editions and shall send you the text.

For the preface an article by Marx on Proudhon can be used which appeared in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat* (1865)³³³ and contains almost all that is needed. It will head the two new editions, French and German. There is only one copy extant and that belongs to the archives of our Party in Zurich. If no other copy is found among Marx's papers or mine (I shall know this in a few weeks) you could easily get a transcript through Bernstein.

I shall have to write a special preface for the German edition in order to refute the absurd assertion of the reactionary Socialists that Marx plagiarised Rodbertus in *Capital* and to prove that on the contrary Marx had criticised Rodbertus in *The Poverty* before Rodbertus wrote his *Sociale Briefe*. This seems to me to be of no interest to the Russian public as our pseudo-Socialists have not yet penetrated there. But judge of that for yourself. The preface is at your disposal if you want to use it.

What you tell me about the increasing study in Russia of books on socialist theory has given me great pleasure. Theoretical and critical thought, which has almost vanished from our German schools, seems to have taken refuge in Russia. You ask me to suggest books to you for translation. But you have already translated or promised to translate almost all the works of Marx. You have taken the cream of mine. The rest of our German books are either poor in theory or deal with questions confined more

or less to Germany. Lately the French have produced a number of rather good things, but they are still only beginnings. Deville's summary of *Capital* is good so far as the theoretical part is concerned but the descriptive part was done too cursorily and is almost unintelligible for anyone who does not know the original. The book as a whole moreover is too bulky for a summary. Still I believe that if worked over a good thing could be made of it; and a summary of *Capital* is always useful in a country where it is difficult even to obtain the book.

When I spoke of the situation in Russia it was of course her financial position which, among other things, I had especially—but not exclusively—in mind. For a government that does not know which way to turn as that of Petersburg and for a tsar who is a prisoner as the hermit of Gatchina³³⁴ is, the situation can only become more and more tense. Both the nobles and peasants are ruined, the chauvinist sentiments of the army offended and it itself scandalised by the daily spectacle of a sovereign in hiding; a war abroad has become a necessity in order to provide an outlet for “evil passions” and the general discontent, and at the same time lack of money and of favourable political prospects make it impossible to start one; a powerful national-intelligentsia burning with desire to break the fetters that hold it enchained—and added to all this the direst need of money and the knife of revolutionaries at the throat of the government—it seems to me that with each month the position must become worse and that if a constitutionally-minded and courageous grand duke could be found, Russian “society” ought to see the best way out of this impasse in a palace revolution. Will Bismarck and Bleichröder save their new friends now? I doubt it. I feel more like asking myself which of the two contracting parties will be robbed by the other.

Enclosed herewith is a manuscript (copy) by Marx of which please make such use as you deem best. I do not recall whether it was the *Slovo* or the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* where he found the article: “Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky”. He drew up this reply which bears the imprint of something written for publication in Russia, but he never sent it off to Petersburg for fear that his name alone would be sufficient to jeopardise the existence of the journal that would publish his reply.³³⁵

Yours very sincerely,

F. Engels

I find your translation of my pamphlet excellent.³³⁶ How beautiful the Russian language is! It has all the good points of the German without its horrible coarseness.

199

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, March 24, 1884

..The March article was in spite of everything very good and the essential points are properly emphasised. The same applies to the article in the next issue³³⁷ on the sermon to the peasants delivered by the member of the People's Party; the only sore point there is that the "concept" of democracy is invoked. That concept changes every time the Demos^a changes and so does not get us one step further. In my opinion what should have been said is the following: The proletariat too needs democratic *forms* for the seizure of political power but they are for it, like all political forms, mere means. But if today democracy is wanted as an *end* it is necessary to rely on the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, i.e., on classes that are in process of dissolution and *reactionary* in relation to the proletariat when they try to maintain themselves artificially. Furthermore it must not be forgotten that it is precisely the democratic republic which is the *logical* form of bourgeois rule; a form however that has become too dangerous only because of the level of development the proletariat has already reached; but France and America show that it is still possible as purely bourgeois rule. The "principle" of liberalism considered as something "definite, historically evolved", is thus really only an inconsistency. The liberal constitutional monarchy is an adequate form of bourgeois rule: 1) at the beginning, when the bourgeoisie has not yet quite finished with the absolute monarchy, and 2) at the end, when the proletariat has already made the democratic republic too dangerous. And yet the democratic republic always remains the *last* form of bourgeois rule, that in which it goes to pieces. With this I conclude this rigmarole.

Nim^b sends her regards. I did not see Tussy yesterday.

Yours,
F.E.

^a People.—*Ed.*

^b Helene Demuth.—*Ed.*

200

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN ZURICH

London, April 26, 1884

Dear Kautsky,

I made up my mind, as I told everybody here, to play a trick on Bismarck and write something (Morgan) that he simply could not prohibit. But it won't work, in spite of all my efforts. I simply *cannot* word the chapter^a on monogamy and the concluding chapter on private property as a source of class antagonisms and also as a lever for the disintegration of the ancient community system in a way to get them through under the Anti-Socialist Law. Let the devil take me, I can do no other, as Luther said.

There would be no point in writing it if I merely wanted to give an "objective" report on Morgan without treating him critically, without utilising the new results and presenting them in connection with our views and the conclusions already reached. Our workers would gain nothing by this. Hence: either good but bound to be prohibited; or allowed but lousy. The latter I cannot do.

I shall probably finish it next week (Schorlemmer is here again till Monday). There will be fully four printer's sheets or more. If you people *want* to take the chance after reading it of printing it in the *Neue Zeit*,³³⁸ you must assume responsibility for all the blood that will be shed and don't blame me afterwards. But if you exercise prudence and will not risk the whole journal because of one article, then have the thing printed as a pamphlet, either in Zurich or like *Die Frau*.³³⁹ That is for you to decide.

I believe that thing will be of special importance for our general world outlook. Morgan makes it possible for us to look at things from entirely new points of view by supplying us in his prehistory with a factual foundation that was missing hitherto. Whatever doubts you may still have about details in the history of primitive times and "savages", the gens settles the case in the main and explains the history of ancient society. And that is why the thing wants to be worked out seriously, carefully considered, demonstrated in all its interconnections but also treated *without paying any heed to the Anti-Socialist Law*.

There is still another important point: I must show how Fourier's genius anticipated Morgan in very many things. It is Morgan's work which throws into bold relief the whole brilliance of Fourier's critique of civilisation. And that takes a lot of work....

^a Engels is referring to his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.—Ed.

201

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN IN ZURICH

London, May 23, 1884

...Actually I am rather glad that the Anti-Socialist Law was left in force and *not* repealed. The liberal philistine would have won a great victory for the conservatives at the elections for he is prepared to go not only through fire and water but even through the deepest muck-pit to keep the Anti-Socialist Law in operation. And then a new and stricter law would have been the result. As it looks now it has been extended most likely for the last time, and if old Wilhelm should kick the bucket from his renal colic it will soon cease to exist in practice. That the German liberals³⁴⁰ and the Centre³⁴¹ thoroughly disgraced themselves when the vote³⁴² was taken is also worth something, but still more Bismarck's right to work. Ever since that muddlehead took hold of this there are prospects of our getting rid of wailers like Geiser. Incidentally it takes a Bismarck to do such a stupid thing in face of a labour movement that cannot be held in check even with exceptional laws. In the meantime our people are quite justified in getting him more and more involved in this matter by pressing him for fulfilment. As soon as that fellow has committed himself a little more (which he is sure not to do so soon) the whole flim-flam will resolve itself into Prussian police rule. Empty phrases will help him damned little as an election programme.

The right to work was first advanced by Fourier, but with him it is realised only in the phalanstery and therefore presupposes the adoption of the latter. The Fourierists—peace-loving philistines of the *Démocratie pacifique*, as their paper was called, disseminated that phrase precisely because it sounded innocuous. The Paris workers of 1848—with their utter confusion in theoretical matters allowed this phrase to be palmed off on them because it looked so practical, so non-utopian, so readily realisable. The government put it into practice—in the only way capitalist society could put it into practice—by building nonsensical national workshops. In the same way the right to work was realised here in Lancashire during the cotton crisis of 1861-64 by building municipal workshops. And in Germany it is also put into operation by establishing starvation and flogging colonies for the workers, which are now arousing the enthusiasm of the philistines. Put forward as a *separate* demand the right to work *cannot* be realised in any other way. One demands that capitalist society should make that right effective but this society can do that only

within the framework of *its* conditions of existence and if one demands the right to work in *this society* one demands it subject to these definite conditions; hence one demands national workshops, workhouses and colonies. But if the demand of the right to work is supposed to include *indirectly* the demand for the transformation of the capitalist mode of production, it is a cowardly regression in comparison with the present state of the movement, a concession to the Anti-Socialist Law, a phrase that can serve no other purpose than to confuse and muddle up the workers with regard to the aims they have to pursue and the sole conditions under which they can achieve their aims....

202

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN LEIPZIG

London, June 6, 1884

...We shall never be able to pry the masses loose from the liberal parties so long as the latter are not given an opportunity of discrediting themselves in practice, of getting at the helm of state and showing that they cannot do a thing. We are still, as we were in 1848, the opposition of the future and it is therefore necessary that the most extreme of the present parties shall be at the helm before we can become a present opposition in relation to it. Political stagnation, i.e., aimless and purposeless struggle among the official parties, as now, cannot be of service to us in the long run. But a progressive struggle of these parties with a gradual shifting of the centre of gravity to the left can be so. That is what is now happening in France where the political struggle is being waged as always in classical form. The governments succeeding each other are moving more and more to the left and a Clemenceau Cabinet is already in sight. It will not be the most extreme bourgeois one. At each shift leftward concessions come the way of the workers (cf. the last strike in Denain where for the first time the military did *not* intervene) and, what is more important, the field is being swept clean with increasing energy for the decisive battle and the position of the parties is becoming clearer and more distinct. I consider this slow but incessant development of the French Republic to its necessary outcome—antithesis between radical, sham-socialist bourgeois and really revolutionary workers—one of the most important events and hope it will not be interrupted; and I am glad that our people are not yet strong enough in Paris (but all the stronger in the provinces) to be misled into making putsches with the aid of revolutionary phrases.

In confused Germany developments are naturally not following the classically pure lines exhibited in France. We are much too backward for that and experience everything only after it has become obsolete elsewhere. But although our official parties are so rotten political life of any sort is much more favourable to us than the present political lifelessness with nothing afoot except intrigues in the field of foreign politics....

203

ENGELS TO EUGENIE PAPRITZ IN LONDON

[London,] June 26, 1884

Dear Madam,

The lithographed journal³⁴³ you write to me about is already known to me by reputation although I have never had a chance of seeing a copy of it.

Are you not being somewhat unjust to your fellow-countrymen? The two of us, Marx and I, had no grounds for complaint against them. If certain schools were more notable for their revolutionary ardour than for their scientific study, if there was and still is a certain groping here and there, on the other hand a critical spirit has evinced itself there and a devotion to research even in pure theory worthy of the nation that produced a Dobrolyubov and a Chernyshevsky. I am not speaking only of active revolutionary Socialists but also of the historical and critical school in Russian literature, which is greatly surpassing anything produced in this line in Germany or France by official historical science. And even among active revolutionaries our ideas and the science of political economy recast by Marx have always met with sympathetic understanding. You no doubt know that quite recently several of our works were translated into and published in Russian and that others are going to follow, particularly Marx's *Misère de la philosophie* [*Poverty of Philosophy*]. His smaller work, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital* [*Wage Labour and Capital*], published before 1848, also belongs to that series and has been published under that title.

I feel extremely flattered by your belief that it would be useful to translate my *Outlines etc.* Although I am still a bit proud of this my first work in social science I know only too well that it is now completely out of date and full not only of mistakes but of actual blunders. I am afraid it will cause more misunderstanding than do good.

I am sending you by mail a copy of *Dühring's Umwälzung* etc.

As for our old newspaper articles, it would be difficult to find them after so long a time. The majority of them are not topical today. When the publication of the manuscripts left by Marx leaves me sufficient leisure I intend to publish them in the form of a collection with explanatory notes, etc. But that is a matter of the distant future.

I am not quite sure what Address to the *English* workers you speak of. Could it be *The Civil War in France*, the Address of the International on the Paris Commune? I could send you that.

If my health allowed I would ask you for permission to visit you. Though I feel tolerably well when *at home* I am unfortunately forbidden to walk about in the city. If you should do me the honour of paying me a visit you will always find me at your disposal about seven or eight o'clock in the evening.

Yours respectfully,

F. Engels

204

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN ZURICH

London, June 26, 1884

Dear Kautsky,

The Anti-Rodbertus manuscript^a goes back tomorrow by registered mail. I found few remarks to make; have jotted down some comments in pencil. In addition the following:

1) Roman law was the consummate law of *simple*, i.e., precapitalist, *commodity production*, which however included most of the legal relations of the capitalist period. Hence precisely what our townsmen *needed* at the time of their rise and did *not* find in the local prescriptive law.

I have a number of objections to page 10.

1) Surplus *value* is only the exception in production carried on by slaves and serfs. It ought to read surplus *product*, most of which is consumed directly and not *turned into value*.

2) The treatment of the means of production is not quite correct. In all societies based on a naturally grown division of labour the product, and hence to a certain extent also the means of production, at least in certain cases, dominates the producers: in the Middle Ages the land dominated the peasant who was only

^a The allusion is to Kautsky's article "Das 'Kapital' von Rodbertus" (Rodbertus' *Capital*).—*Ed.*

an appendage to the land, the tools dominated the guild handicraftsman. Division of labour is directly domination of the labourer by the instruments of labour, although not in the capitalist sense.

A similar slip occurred at the end of your explanation of the means of production.

1) You must not separate *agriculture* and also *technology* from political economy in the way you have done on pages 21 and 22. Crop rotation, artificial fertiliser, steam-engine, and power loom are inseparable from capitalist production just as the tools of the savage or barbarian are inseparable from *his* production. The tools of the savage condition *his* society as much as the new ones condition capitalist society. Your view amounts to this: that, although production does determine social institutions *now*, it did not do so before capitalist production because the tools had not yet committed the original sin.

As soon as you speak of means of production you speak of society, and of society that is also *determined* by these means of production. Means of production *as such*, outside of society, without influence upon it, are just as non-existent as is capital *as such*.

But how the means of production, which in former periods including simple commodity production exercised only a very mild domination compared with now, came to exercise the present despotic domination is a thing that has to be proved, and your proof seems to me insufficient because it does not mention one of the poles: the genesis of a class which no longer possessed any means of production, hence also no means of subsistence, and hence had to sell itself piecemeal.

In connection with Rodbertus' positive proposals one must emphasise his Proudhonism—for he has proclaimed himself Proudhon I who anticipated the French Proudhon. Constituted value, which Rodbertus discovered as early as 1842, has to be established. These proposals are a lamentable step back in comparison with Bray and Proudhon's Exchange Bank. The worker is to get only one quarter of the product, but that for certain! We can talk about that later.

Rest (physical) is doing me a lot of good. I feel better every day and this time will get completely cured. The dictation of *Kapital*, volume two, is making excellent progress. We have already reached Part II, but there are some big gaps there. The editing is of course only provisional, but this will also be done. I can see my way ahead and that's sufficient.

I received Ede's^a letter. Thanks. But you people must have

^a Eduard Bernstein.—*Ed.*

patience and put up with my way of corresponding. My health must not get worse again and there's an awful pile of material accumulating, both work and correspondence.

Greetings.

Yours,
F.E.

Kapital und Lohnarbeit [*Wage Labour and Capital*] will follow as soon as compared; perhaps tomorrow.

†

205

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN ZURICH

London, September 20, 1884

Dear Kautsky,

Herewith I am returning the manuscripts³⁴⁴ registered.

As far as economics is concerned your article on Rodbertus is very good. What I object to again is apodictic assertions in fields where you do not feel yourself sure and where you have exposed your weak spots to Schramm who has been skilled enough to nail them.

This refers particularly to the "abstraction" which you have certainly run down much too much in general. In this case the difference is as follows:

Marx summarises the actual content common to things and relations and reduces it to its general logical expression. His abstraction therefore only reflects, in rational form, the content already existing in the things.

Rodbertus on the contrary invents a more or less imperfect logical expression and measures things by this conception to which the things must conform. He is seeking a true, *eternal* content of things and of social relations whose content however is essentially transient. Hence *true* capital. This is not *present-day* capital, which is only an imperfect manifestation of the concept. Instead of deducing the concept capital from the present, the only really existing capital, he has recourse to isolated man in order to arrive from present-day capital at true capital and asks what could function as capital in the productive process of such a man. Of course, simple means of production. Thus *true* capital is lumped together unceremoniously with the means of production, which depending on circumstances may or may not be capital. Thereby all *bad* properties, i.e., all *real* properties of capital are eliminated from capital. Now he can demand that real capital should conform to this concept, i.e., it should func-

tion only as simple social means of production, should discard everything that makes it capital and still remain capital and even just on that account become true capital....

206

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN BERLIN

London, December 11, 1884

...Our great advantage is that in our country the industrial revolution is only in full swing, while in France and England it is in the main concluded. There the division into town and country, industrial district and agricultural district, is so far advanced that it changes only slowly. The great mass of the people grow up in the conditions in which they later have to live; they are accustomed to them; even the fluctuations and crises have become something they practically take for granted. Added to this is the remembrance of the unsuccessful attempts of former movements. With us, on the other hand, everything is still in full flow. Remnants of the old industrial production of the peasants for the satisfaction of the producer's personal needs are being supplanted by capitalist domestic industry, while in other places capitalist domestic industry is already succumbing in its turn to machinery. And the very nature of our industry, limping behind at the very end, makes the social upheaval all the more fundamental. As the articles of mass production, both those for mass consumption and those of luxury, have already been monopolised by the English and French, what remains for our export industry is chiefly small stuff, which, however, also runs into huge quantities, and is at first produced by domestic industry and only later, when this line of production is also operated on a mass scale, by machines. Domestic (capitalist) industry is thus introduced into much wider regions and clears the way all the more thoroughly. If I except East-Elbe Prussia, that is to say East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and the greater part of Brandenburg, and also Old Bavaria, there are few districts where the peasant has not been swept more and more into domestic industry. The area thus industrially revolutionised therefore becomes larger with us than anywhere else.

Furthermore. Since for the most part the worker in domestic industry carries on his little bit of agriculture, it becomes possible to lower wages in a fashion unequalled elsewhere. What formerly constituted the happiness of the small man, the combination of agriculture and industry, now becomes the most powerful means of capitalist exploitation. The potato patch, the cow,

the little bit of farming make it possible for labour power to be sold below its price; they *necessarily bring this about* by tying the worker to his piece of land, which yet supports him only partially. Hence what makes it possible to put our industry on an export basis is the fact that the buyer is generally presented with the whole of the surplus value, while the capitalist's profit consists in a deduction from the normal wage. This is more or less the case with all rural domestic industry, but nowhere so much as with us.

Added to this is the fact that our industrial revolution, which was set in motion by the Revolution of 1848 with its bourgeois progress (feeble though this was), was enormously speeded up 1) by getting rid of internal hindrances in 1866 to 1870, and 2) by the French milliards,³⁴⁵ which after all were to be invested capitalistically. So we achieved an industrial revolution which is more deep and thorough and spatially more extended and comprehensive than that of the other countries, and this with a perfectly fresh and intact proletariat, undemoralised by defeats, and finally—thanks to Marx—with an insight into the causes of economic and political development and into the conditions of the impending revolution such as none of our predecessors possessed. But for that very reason it is our *duty* to be victorious.

As to pure democracy and its role in the future I do not share your opinion. It obviously plays a far more subordinate part in Germany than in countries with an older industrial development. But that does not prevent it from acquiring, in revolutionary situations, a temporary importance as the extreme *bourgeois* party, as which it already posed in Frankfurt,³⁴⁶ and as the final sheet-anchor of the whole bourgeois and even feudal economy. At such a moment the whole reactionary mass falls in behind it and strengthens it; all those who used to be reactionary behave as if they were democratic. Thus between March and September 1848 the whole feudal-bureaucratic mass supported the liberals in order to hold down the revolutionary masses, and, once this was accomplished, naturally to kick out the liberals as well. Thus in France, from May 1848 until Bonaparte's election in December, the purely republican party of the *National*,³⁴⁷ the weakest of all the parties, was in power, simply owing to the whole body of reaction rallying behind it. This has happened in every revolution: the tamest party that is still in any way capable of governing comes into power just because this seems to the defeated their last possibility of salvation. Now it cannot be expected that at the moment of crisis we shall already have the majority of the electorate and therefore of the nation behind us. The whole middle class and the remnants of the feudal possessing class, a large section of the lower middle class and

also of the rural population will then rally around the extreme bourgeois party, which will then take up an extremely revolutionary stance, and I consider it very possible that it will be represented in the provisional government and even temporarily form its majority. How, as a minority, one should *not* act in such a situation, was demonstrated by the Social-Democratic minority in the Paris government of February 1848. However, this is still an academic question at the moment.

Of course matters may take a different turn in Germany, and that for military reasons. As things are at present, an impulse from outside can scarcely come from anywhere but Russia. If it does not come, if Germany gives the impulse, then the revolution can only be started by the army. Militarily an unarmed nation against an up-to-date army is a quite negligible factor. In this case—if our twenty- to twenty-five-year-old reserves which have no vote but are drilled, came into action—pure democracy might be skipped. But this question is likewise still academic at present, although I, as a representative, so to speak, of the general staff of the Party, am obliged to take it into consideration. In any case our sole adversary on the day of the crisis and on the day after the crisis will be *the whole of the reaction which will rally around pure democracy*, and this, I think, should not be lost sight of....

1885

207

ENGELS TO VERA IVANOVNA ZASULICH
IN GENEVA

London, April 23, 1885

Dear Citizen,

I still owe you a reply to your letter of February 14th. The delay, certainly not to be ascribed to laziness on my part, was due to the following circumstances:

You asked me my opinion of Plekhanov's book, *Our Differences*. To do that one must have read it. I can read Russian fairly easily when I have occupied myself with it for a week. But often half a year passes in which I am unable to take up a Russian book; then I get out of practice and have to learn it all over again, so to speak. This is what happened to me in the case of the *Differences*.

Marx's manuscripts, which I am dictating to a secretary, keep me busy the whole day; in the evening come visitors whom one cannot after all turn out; there are proofs to be read and much correspondence to be dealt with, and finally there are (Italian, Danish, etc.) translations of my *Ursprung der Familie*, which I am asked to revise and the revision of which is at times neither superfluous nor easy. Well, all these interruptions have prevented me from getting further than page 60 of the *Differences*. If I had three days to myself the thing would be finished and I should have refreshed my knowledge of Russian as well.

However the small piece of the book which I have read is enough, I think, to acquaint me more or less with the differences in question.

First of all I repeat to you that I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which frankly and without equivocation accepts the great economic and historical theories of Marx and has definitely broken with all the anarchist and also the few existing Slavophil traditions of its predecessors. And Marx himself would have been equally proud of this had he lived a little longer. It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia. To me the historical theory of Marx is the fundamental condition of all *coherent* and

consistent revolutionary tactics; to discover these tactics one has only to apply the theory to the economic and political conditions of the country in question.

But to be able to do this one must know these conditions; and so far as I am concerned I know too little about the actual situation in Russia to presume myself competent to judge in detail of the tactics required there at a given moment. Moreover, the internal and secret history of the Russian revolutionary party, especially that of the last few years, is almost entirely unknown to me. My friends among the *Narodovoltsy* have never spoken to me about it. And this is an indispensable element for forming an opinion.

What I know or believe I know about the situation in Russia makes me think that the Russians are approaching their 1789. The revolution *must* break out there within a given time; it *may* break out any day. In these circumstances the country is like a charged mine which only needs a match to be applied to it. Especially since March 13.^a This is one of the exceptional cases where it is possible for a handful of people to *make* a revolution, i.e., by giving a small impetus to cause a whole system, which (to use a metaphor of Plekhanov's) is in more than labile equilibrium, to come crashing down, and by an action in itself insignificant to release explosive forces that afterwards become uncontrollable. Well, if ever Blanquism—the fantastic idea of overturning an entire society by the action of a small group of conspirators—had a certain *raison d'être*, that is certainly so now in Petersburg. Once the spark has been put to the powder, once the forces have been released and national energy has been transformed from potential into kinetic (another favourite image of Plekhanov's and a very good one)—the people who laid the spark to the mine will be swept along by the explosion, which will be a thousand times as strong as they themselves and which will seek its vent where it can, as the economic forces and forces of resistance determine.

Suppose these people imagine they can seize power, what harm does it do? Provided they make the hole which will shatter the dyke, the flood itself will soon rob them of their illusions. But if these illusions happen to give them greater force of will, why complain of that? People who boasted that they *made* a revolution have always seen the day after that they had no idea what they were doing, that the revolution *made* did not in the least resemble the one they intended to make. That is what Hegel calls the irony of history, an irony which few historical personalities escape. Look at Bismarck, the revolutionary against his will,

^a On March 1 (13), 1881 Alexander II was killed.—*Ed.*

and Gladstone, who has ended by coming to blows with his adored Tsar.

To me the important thing is that the impulse in Russia should be given, that the revolution should break out. Whether this faction or that faction gives the signal, whether it happens under this flag or that is a matter of complete indifference to me. If it were a palace conspiracy it would be swept away tomorrow. In a country where the situation is so strained, where the revolutionary elements have accumulated to such a degree, where the economic conditions of the enormous mass of the people become daily more impossible, where every stage of social development is represented, from the primitive commune to modern large-scale industry and high finance, and where all these contradictions are arbitrarily held in check by an unexampled despotism, a despotism which is becoming more and more unbearable to a youth in whom the dignity and intelligence of the nation are united—when 1789 has once been launched in such a country, 1793 will not be far away.

I shall now bid you farewell, dear Citizen. It is half past two at night and tomorrow I shall have no time to add anything before the mail leaves. If you prefer, write to me in Russian, but please do not forget that Russian *script* is something I do not get to read every day.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

208

ENGELS TO GERTRUD GUILLAUME-SCHACK
IN BEUTHEN

[London, about July 5, 1885]

[Draft]

Dear Madam,

In reply to your inquiry³⁴⁸ I can only tell you that I have no right to give out information ultimately intended for publication on Marx's and my *confidential* collaboration in certain political works. Nor can I assume any responsibility, either in Marx's or my own name, for a French general programme on which in the nature of things we could at most have been asked our advice. However, I can tell you *in confidence* that the *Preamble* of the Programme of the *Parti ouvrier* of the *Roanne* trend³⁴⁹ originated with Marx.

The French demands for the limitation of female labour are less insistent than those of the Germans for the reason that in France, and particularly in Paris, the work women do in factories plays only a comparatively minor role. Equal wages for equal work to either sex are demanded, as far as I know, by all Socialists so long as wages are not abolished altogether. That the working woman needs special protection against capitalist exploitation because of her special physiological functions seems obvious to me. The English women who championed the formal right of members of their sex to permit themselves to be as thoroughly exploited by the capitalists as the men, are mostly, directly or indirectly, interested in the capitalist exploitation of both sexes. I admit that I am more interested in the health of the future generations than in the absolute formal equality of the sexes during the last years of the capitalist mode of production. It is my conviction that real equality of women and men can become a fact only when the exploitation of either by capital has been abolished and private housework has been transformed into a public industry.

209

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN PLAUEN BEI DRESDEN

London, October 28, 1885

...The chronic depression in all the decisive branches of industry also continues here, in France and in America. Especially in iron and cotton. It is an unprecedented situation, though it is the inevitable result of the capitalist system: such colossal over-production that it cannot even bring things to a crisis! The over-production of disposable capital seeking investment is so great that the discount rate here actually fluctuates between 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum, and for money invested in short-term credits, which can be paid off or called in any day (money at call) one can hardly get $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. But the fact that the money capitalist prefers to invest his money in this way rather than in new industrial undertakings is an admission that the whole business looks rotten to him. And this fear of new investments and old-time speculation, which already manifested itself in the crisis of 1867, is the main reason why things are not brought to an acute crisis. But it will surely come in the end, and it is to be hoped that it will then make an end of the old trade unions here. These unions have simply retained the craft character which stuck to them from the first and which is becoming

more unbearable every day. Presumably you suppose that the engineers, joiners, bricklayers, etc., will without more ado admit any worker belonging to their trade? Not at all. Whoever wants admission must first have been attached as an apprentice for a period of years (usually seven) to some worker belonging to the trade union. This was intended to keep the number of workers limited, but apart from this it was pointless, except that it brought in money to the apprentice's master, for which he actually did nothing in return. This was tolerable up to 1848. But since then the colossal growth of industry has produced a class of workers of whom there are as many or more as there are "skilled" workers in the trade unions and whose output is similar to that of the "skilled" workers or greater, but who can never become members. These people have been *virtually brought into being* by the craft rules of the trade unions. But do you suppose the unions ever consider doing away with this silly bunk? Not in the least. I cannot recall having read of a single proposal of the kind at a Trade Union Congress. The fools want to reform society to suit themselves but not to reform themselves to suit the development of society. They cling to their traditional superstition, which does them nothing but harm, instead of getting rid of the rubbish and thus doubling their numbers and their power and really becoming again what at present they daily become less—associations of all the workers in a trade against the capitalists. This I think will explain many things to you in the behaviour of these privileged workers....

210

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, November 13, 1885

Dear Sir,

I received your two letters 6 (18) and 9 (21) August while I was in Jersey and immediately sent you the letter you desired for the "*Северный вестник*".³⁵⁰ Since then I have been prevented by press of work from replying more fully to these letters as well as that of the 25 August (5 September).

I had no doubt that the 2nd volume^a would afford you the same pleasure as it has done to me. The developments it contains are indeed of such a superior order that the vulgar reader will not take the trouble to fathom them and to follow them out. This is actually the case in Germany where all historical science,

^a Of Marx's *Kapital*.—Ed.

including political economy, has fallen so low that it can scarcely fall any lower. Our Katheder-Sozialisten have never been much more, theoretically, than slightly philanthropic *Vulgärökonomien*, and now they have sunk to the level of simple apologists of Bismarck's *Staatssozialismus*. To them, the 2nd volume will always remain a sealed book. It is a fine piece of what Hegel calls *die Ironie der Weltgeschichte*,^a that German historical science, by the fact of the elevation of Germany to the position of the first European power, should be again reduced to the same vile state to which it was reduced by the deepest political degradation of Germany, after the Thirty Years' War. But such is the fact. And thus, German "science" stares at this new volume without being able to understand it; only a wholesome fear of the consequences prevents them from criticising it in public, and so official economic literature observes a cautious silence with regard to it. The 3rd volume will however compel them to speak out.

Of that 3rd volume, I have completed the first transcript from the original into a legible manuscript. Three-fourths of it are almost fit for publication as they are; but the last fourth, or perhaps third, will require a great deal of work: the first section (relation of *Mehrwertsrate* to *Profitrate*^b) and then the subsequent sections on *Kredit* and partly also on *Grundrente*^c; besides certain portions of almost all the other sections. For the last two months I have been compelled to attend to a good deal of other work which had been neglected by my exclusive attention to the 2nd and 3rd volumes. This will continue for some time yet, and then, maybe, the revision of the English translation of volume 1, which is nearly completed, will occupy me for a month longer, but then I shall start with the 3rd volume and carry it out to the end. Maybe it will be published in 2 sections, as it will contain about 1,000 pages.

I thank you very much for your extracts from the author's letters^d from 1879 to 1881. I could not read them without a sorrowful smile. Alas, we are so used to these excuses for the non-completion of the work! Whenever the state of his health made it impossible for him to go on with it, this impossibility preyed heavily upon his mind, and he was only too glad if he could only find out some theoretical excuse why the work should not then be completed. All these arguments he had at the time made use of *vis-à-vis de moi*; they seemed to ease his conscience.

After completing the 3rd volume and selecting from the other MSs the portions fit for publication, I shall very likely try to

^a Irony of world history.—*Ed.*

^b Rate of surplus value to rate of profit.—*Ed.*

^c Rent of land.—*Ed.*

^d Engels alludes to Marx's letters to Danielson.—*Ed.*

collect such of the author's correspondence as is scientifically important, and there his letters to you rank amongst the first. When that time comes, I shall therefore avail myself of your kind offer of placing at my disposal copies of these letters.

I am often in the case of forwarding to you pamphlets etc.—republications of the author's and my own writings, etc., but do not know whether it would be safe to send them direct to you. I should be much obliged if you would tell me what to do.

I hope our mutual friend's^a health is improving, notwithstanding the bad prognosis of his doctors. Any news with regard to him will always be welcome.

That crisis of which the author speaks in his letter was indeed an exceptional one.^b The fact is it continues still, all Europe and America suffer under it to this day. The absence of the financial crash is one cause of it. But the principal cause is undoubtedly the totally changed state of the *Weltmarkt*.^c Since 1870, Germany and especially America have become England's rivals in modern industry, while most other European countries have so far developed their own manufactures as to cease to be dependent on England. The consequence has been the spreading of the process of over-production over a far larger area than when it was mainly confined to England, and has taken—up to now—a chronic instead of an acute character. By thus delaying the thunderstorm which formerly cleared the atmosphere every ten years, this continued chronic depression must prepare a crash of a violence and extent such as we have never known before. And the more so as the agricultural crisis of which the author speaks has also continued up to now, has been extended to almost all European countries, and must continue while the virgin чернозем [chernozem] of the Western American prairies remains unexhausted.

Very faithfully yours,

P. W. Rosher

211

ENGELS TO MINNA KAUTSKY IN VIENNA

London, November 26, 1885

...I have now also read *Die Alten und die Neuen* [*The Old Ones and the New*],^d for which I sincerely thank you. The life of the

^a Lopatin.—*Ed.*

^b See Marx's letter to Danielson of April 10, 1879, pp. 296-300 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^c World market.—*Ed.*

^d A novel by Minna Kautsky.—*Ed.*

salt-mine workers is described with as masterly a pen as were the portraits of the peasants in *Stefan*.^a The descriptions of the life of Viennese society are for the most part likewise very fine. Vienna is indeed the only German city which has a society; Berlin possesses merely "certain circles", and still more uncertain ones, that is why its soil produces only novels about men of letters, officials or actors. You are in a better position to judge whether the plot in this part of your work develops sometimes too rapidly. Many things that may give us this impression, perhaps look quite natural in Vienna considering the city's peculiar international character and its intermixture with Southern and East-European elements. In both spheres the characters exhibit the sharp individualisation so customary in your work. Each of them is a type but at the same time also a definite individual, a "Dieser",^b as old Hegel would say, and that is how it should be. And now, to be impartial, I have to find fault with something, which brings me to Arnold. He is really much too worthy a man and when he is finally killed in a landslide one can reconcile this with poetic justice only by assuming that he was too good for this world. But it is always bad if an author adores his own hero and this is the error which to some extent you seem to me to have fallen into here. In Elsa there is still a certain individualisation, though she is also idealised, but in Arnold the personality merges still more in the principle.

The novel itself reveals the origins of this shortcoming. You obviously felt a desire to take a public stand in your book, to testify to your convictions before the entire world. This has now been done; it is a stage you have passed through and need not repeat in this form. I am by no means opposed to partisan poetry as such. Both Aeschylus, the father of tragedy, and Aristophanes, the father of comedy, were highly partisan poets, Dante and Cervantes were so no less, and the best thing that can be said about Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* [*Intrigue and Love*] is that it represents the first German political problem drama. The modern Russians and Norwegians, who produce excellent novels, all write with a purpose. I think however that the purpose must become manifest from the situation and the action themselves without being expressly pointed out and that the author does not have to serve the reader on a platter the future historical resolution of the social conflicts which he describes. To this must be added that under our conditions novels are mostly addressed to readers from bourgeois circles, i.e., circles which are not directly ours. Thus the socialist problem novel in my opinion fully carries

^a Minna Kautsky's novel *Stefan vom Grillenhof*.—*Ed.*

^b "This one."—*Ed.*

out its mission if by a faithful portrayal of the real conditions it dispels the dominant conventional illusions concerning them, shakes the optimism of the bourgeois world, and inevitably instils doubt as to the eternal validity of that which exists, without itself offering a direct solution of the problem involved, even without at times ostensibly taking sides. Here your exact knowledge and admirably fresh and lifelike presentation of both the Austrian peasants and Vienna "society" find ample material, and in *Stefan* you have demonstrated that you are capable of treating your characters with the fine irony which attests to the author's dominion over the beings he has created....

1886

212

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BERLIN

London, January 20[—23], 1886

...The disintegration of the German Liberals in the economic sphere corresponds entirely to what is going on among the English Radicals. The people of the old Manchester School à la John Bright are dying out and the younger generation, just like the Berliners, goes in for patchwork social reforms. Only that here the bourgeois does not want to help the industrial worker so much as the agricultural worker, who has just done him excellent service at the elections, and that in English fashion it is not so much the State as the municipality which is to intervene. For the agricultural workers, little gardens and potato plots; for the town workers, sanitary improvements and the like—such is their programme. It is an excellent sign that the bourgeoisie are already obliged to sacrifice their own classical economic theory, partly because of political considerations but partly because they themselves, owing to the practical consequences of this theory, have begun to doubt it. The same thing is proved by the growth of *Katheder-Sozialismus*³⁵¹ which in one form or another is more and more supplanting classical political economy in the Academic chairs both here and in France. The actual contradictions engendered by the mode of production have become so glaring that no theory can conceal them any longer, unless it were this Katheder-socialist hotchpotch, which however is no longer a theory but drivel.

Six weeks ago symptoms of an improvement in trade were said here to be showing themselves. Now this has all faded away again, the distress is greater than ever and the lack of prospects, too, in addition we have an unusually severe winter. This is now already the eighth year of the pressure of over-production on the markets and instead of getting better it is steadily getting worse. There is no longer any doubt that the situation has essentially changed from what it was formerly; ever since England has had important rivals on the world market the period of crises, in the sense known hitherto, has come to a close. If the crises

become chronic instead of acute and at the same time lose nothing in intensity, what will be the outcome? A period of prosperity, even if a short one, must after all return sometime, when the accumulated commodities have been absorbed; but I am eager to see how all this is going to take place. However, two things are certain: we have entered a period incomparably more dangerous to the existence of the old society than the period of decennial crises; and secondly, when prosperity returns, England will be much less affected by it than formerly, when she alone skimmed the cream off the world market. The day this becomes clear here, the socialist movement here will begin seriously; not before.

213

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN ZURICH

[London,] June 3, 1886

Whatever the mistakes and the *Borniertheit*^a of the leaders of the movement, and partly of the newly awakening masses too, one thing is certain: the American working class is moving, and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider one of the greatest events of the year. What the downfall of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe—the snapping of their mainstay—that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois; a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, *as yet*, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. The way in which they have made their appearance on the scene is quite extraordinary: six months ago nobody

^a Narrow-mindedness.—*Ed.*

suspected anything, and now they appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class. I only wish Marx could have lived to see it!...

214

ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS

London, October 2, 1886

I am afraid Paul exaggerates the significance of the Paris verdict³⁵² in so far as it is a symptom of the accessibility of the industrial bourgeoisie for socialist ideas. The struggle between usurer and industrial capitalist is one within the bourgeoisie itself, and though no doubt a certain number of petty bourgeois will be driven over to us by the certainty of their impending expropriation *de la part des boursiers*,^a yet we can never hope to get the mass of them over to our side. Moreover, this is not desirable, as they bring their narrow class prejudices along with them. In Germany we have too many of them, and it is they who form the dead weight which trammels the march of the party. It will ever be the lot of the petty bourgeois—as a mass—to float undecidedly between the two great classes, one part to be crushed by the centralisation of capital, the other by the victory of the proletariat. On the decisive day, they will as usual be tottering, wavering and helpless, *se laisseront faire*,^b and that is all we want. Even if they come round to our views they will say: of course communism is the ultimate solution, but it is far off, maybe 100 years before it can be realised—in other words: we do not mean to work for its realisation neither in our, nor in our children's lifetime. Such is our experience in Germany.

Otherwise the verdict is a grand victory and marks a decided step in advance. The bourgeoisie, from the moment it is faced by a conscious and organised proletariat, becomes entangled in hopeless contradictions between its liberal and democratic general tendencies *here*, and the repressive necessities of its defensive struggle against the proletariat *there*. A cowardly bourgeoisie, like the German and Russian, sacrifices its general class tendencies to the momentary advantages of brutal repression. But a bourgeoisie with a revolutionary history of its own, such as the English and particularly the French, cannot do that so easily.

^a By the money-bags.—*Ed.*

^b They will not interfere.—*Ed.*

Hence that struggle, within the bourgeoisie itself, which in spite of occasional fits of violence and oppression, on the whole drives it forward—see the various electoral reforms of Gladstone in England, and the advance of radicalism in France. This verdict is a new *étape*.^a And so the bourgeoisie, in doing its own work, is doing ours....

215

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, November 29, 1886

Dear Sorge,

This morning I carried the last corrected proofs of the Preface^b to the publisher and now I am at last rid of this nightmare. I expect to be able to send you a copy of the translation in a fortnight. The day after tomorrow Mrs. Liebknecht is coming here to wait for her husband who only left New York the day before yesterday.

The Henry George boom³⁵³ has of course brought to light a colossal mass of fraud, and I am glad I was not there. But in spite of it all it was an epoch-making day. The Germans do not know how to use their theory as a lever to set the American masses in motion; most of them do not understand the theory themselves and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart and which will then satisfy all requirements without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action. What is more, they learn no English on principle. Hence the American masses had to seek out their own path and seem to have found it for the time being in the Knights of Labor,³⁵⁴ whose confused principles and ludicrous organisation seem to correspond to their own confusion. But from all I hear, the Knights of Labor are a real power, especially in New England and the West, and are becoming more so every day owing to the brutal opposition of the capitalists. I think it is necessary to work inside this organisation, to form within this still quite plastic mass a core of people who understand the movement and its aims and will therefore take over the leadership, at least of a section, when the inevitable, now impending break-up of the

^a Stage.—*Ed.*

^b The Preface to the first English edition of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. 1, published in 1886.—*Ed.*

present "order" takes place. The worst side of the Knights of Labor was their political neutrality, which has resulted in sheer trickery on the part of the Powderlys, etc.; but the edge of this has been taken off by the behaviour of the masses in the November elections, especially in New York. The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party. And this step has been taken, much more rapidly than we had a right to expect, and that is the main thing. That the first programme of this party is still confused and extremely deficient and that it has raised the banner of Henry George are unavoidable evils but also merely transitory ones. The masses must have time and opportunity to develop, and they have the opportunity only when they have a movement of their own—no matter in what form so long as it is *their own* movement—in which they are driven further by their own mistakes and learn from their experience. The movement in America is at the same stage as it was in our country before 1848; the really intelligent people there will first have to play the part played by the Communist League among the workers' associations before 1848. Except that in America things will now proceed infinitely faster. For the movement to have gained such election successes after scarcely eight months of existence is wholly unprecedented. And what is still lacking will be set going by the bourgeoisie; nowhere in the whole world do they come out so shamelessly and tyrannically as over there, and your judges brilliantly outshine Bismarck's imperial pettifoggers. Where the bourgeoisie wages the struggle by such methods, a crucial stage is rapidly reached, and if we in Europe do not hurry up the Americans will soon outdistance us. But just now it is doubly necessary that there should be a few people on our side who have a firm grasp of theory and well-tryed tactics and can also speak and write English; because for good historical reasons the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical questions; and although they did not bring over any mediaeval institutions from Europe, they did bring over masses of mediaeval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism—in short, every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for stupefying the masses. If there are some theoretically lucid minds there, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make them understand that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system constantly in view as the final goal is bound to go astray and fail—then much nonsense can be avoided and the process considerably shortened. But it must be done in the

English way, the specific German character must be laid aside, and the gentlemen of the *Sozialist* will hardly be capable of doing this, while those of the *Volkszeitung* are cleverer only where *business* is involved.

In Europe the effect of the American elections in November was tremendous. That England and America in particular had no labour movement up to now was the big trump card of the radical republicans everywhere, especially in France. Now these gentlemen are dumbfounded; Mr. Clemenceau in particular saw the whole foundation of his policy collapse on November 2nd. "Look at America", was his eternal motto; "where there is a real republic, there is no poverty and no labour movement!" And the same thing is happening to the Progressives and "democrats" in Germany and here—where they are also witnessing the beginnings of their own movement. The very fact that the movement is so sharply accentuated as a labour movement and has sprung up so suddenly and forcefully has stunned these people completely.

Here the lack of any competition, on the one hand, and the government's stupidity, on the other, have enabled the gentlemen of the Social-Democratic Federation³⁵⁵ to occupy a position which they did not dare to dream of three months ago. The hubbub about the plan—never intended to be taken seriously—of a parade behind the Lord Mayor's procession on November 9, and later the same hubbub about the Trafalgar Square meeting on November 21, when the mounting of artillery was talked of and the government finally backed down—all this forced the gentlemen of the S.D.F. to hold a very ordinary meeting at last on the 21st, without empty rodomontades and pseudo-revolutionary demonstrations with *obbligato* mob accompaniment—and the philistines suddenly gained respect for the people who had stirred up such a fuss and yet behaved so respectably. And since, except for the S.D.F., nobody takes any notice of the unemployed, who constitute a fairly numerous group each winter during the chronic stagnation of business and suffer very acute hardships, the S.D.F. is winning the game hands down. The labour movement is beginning here and no mistake, and if the S.D.F. is the first to reap the harvest that is the result of the cowardice of the radicals and the stupidity of the Socialist League,³⁵⁶ which is squabbling with the Anarchists and cannot get rid of them, and hence has no time to concern itself with the living movement that is taking place outside under its very nose. Incidentally, how long Hyndman & Co. will persist in their present comparatively rational mode of action is uncertain. Anyhow I expect that they will soon commit colossal blunders again; they're in too much of a hurry. And then they will see that this can't be done in a serious movement.

Things are getting prettier all the time in Germany. In Leipzig sentences of as much as four years *penal servitude* for "sedition"! They want to provoke a riot at all costs.

At present I still have seven small jobs in my desk—Italian and French translations, prefaces, new editions, etc.—and then I shall start working unflinchingly on Volume III.

Your old,
F. E.

216

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK

London, 28th December, 1886

...My preface³⁵⁷ will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American working men in the last ten months, and naturally also touch Henry George and his land scheme.³⁵⁸ But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with it. Nor do I think the time for that has come. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat than that it should start and proceed, from the beginning, on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, "*durch Schaden klug werden*".^a And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move *as a class*; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, Henry George or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor³⁵⁹ a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionised from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinseligmachendes Dogma*,^b and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will

^a To learn by bitter experience.—*Ed.*

^b Only-saving dogma.—*Ed.*

start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its *faktische*^a starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the *Kommunistischen Manifest: in der Gegenwart der Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung zu repräsentieren*.^b But above all give the movement time to consolidate; do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand, but which they will soon learn. A million or two of working men's votes next November for a bona fide working men's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt—soon to be made if the movement progresses—to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis will bring them all face to face, Georgites, Knights of Labor, Trades Unionists and all; and if our German friends by that time have learnt enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticise the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labour. But any thing that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the working men's party—on no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to Henry George or the Knights of Labor....

^a Actual.—*Ed.*

^b To represent in the movement of the present the future of that movement.—*Ed.*

1887

217

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK

[London,] January 27, 1887

...The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the Ocean. On the spot, personal bickering and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march, would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent, that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. And the Germans have most to guard against this. Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically. *Je weniger sie den Amerikanern von außen eingepaukt wird und je mehr sie sie durch eigne Erfahrung—unter dem Beistand der Deutschen—erproben, desto tiefer geht sie ihnen in Fleisch und Blut über.*^a When we returned to Germany in spring 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules in such a way that *all* working-class Socialists of that period could join it—Proudhonists, Pierre-Lerouxists, and even the more advanced section of the English Trades Unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the Anarchists, whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did. Had we from 1864-73 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform—where should we be today? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organisation, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake....

^a The less it is crammed into the Americans from without and the more the test it through their own experience—with the help of the Germans—the more it will become second nature with them.—*Ed.*

1888

218

ENGELS TO MARGARET HARKNESS
IN LONDON

{Draft}

{London, beginning of April 1888}

Dear Miss Harkness,

I thank you very much for sending me your *City Girl*^a through Messrs. Vizetelly. I have read it with the greatest pleasure and avidity. It is indeed, as my friend Eichhoff your translator calls it, *ein kleines Kunstwerk*^b; to which he adds, what will be satisfactory to you, that consequently his translation must be all but literal, as any omission or attempted manipulation could only destroy part of the original's value.

What strikes me most in your tale besides its realistic truth is that it exhibits the courage of the true artist. Not only in the way you treat the Salvation Army, in the teeth of supercilious respectability, which respectability will perhaps learn from your tale, for the first time, *why* the Salvation Army has such a hold on the popular masses. But chiefly in the plain unvarnished manner in which you make the old, old story, the proletarian girl seduced by a middle-class man, the pivot of the whole book. Mediocrity would have felt bound to hide the, to it, commonplace character of the plot under heaps of artificial complications and adornments, and yet would not have got rid of the fate of being found out. You felt you could afford to tell an old story, because you could make it a new one by simply telling it truly.

Your Mr. Arthur Grant is a masterpiece.

If I have anything to criticise, it would be that perhaps, after all, the tale is not quite realistic enough. Realism, to my mind, implies, besides truth of detail, the truth in reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances. Now your characters are typical enough, as far as they go; but the circumstances which surround them and make them act, are not perhaps equally so. In the *City Girl* the working class figures as a passive mass, unable to help itself and not even showing (making) any attempt at striving to help itself. All attempts to drag it out of its torpid

^a A novel by Margaret Harkness. — *Ed.*

^b A small work of art. — *Ed.*

misery come from without, from above. Now if this was a correct description about 1800 or 1810, in the days of Saint-Simon and Robert Owen, it cannot appear so in 1887 to a man who for nearly fifty years has had the honour of sharing in most of the fights of the militant proletariat. The rebellious reaction of the working class against the oppressive medium which surrounds them, their attempts—convulsive, half conscious or conscious—at recovering their status as human beings, belong to history and must therefore lay claim to a place in the domain of realism.

I am far from finding fault with your not having written a point-blank socialist novel, a "*Tendenzroman*",^a as we Germans call it, to glorify the social and political views of the authors. That is not at all what I mean. The more the opinions of the author remain hidden, the better for the work of art. The realism I allude to, may crop out even in spite of the author's opinions. Let me refer to an example. Balzac whom I consider a far greater master of realism than all the Zolas *passés, présents et à venir*,^b in *La Comédie humaine* gives us a most wonderfully realistic history of French "society", describing, chronicle-fashion, almost year by year from 1816 to 1848 the progressive inroads of the rising bourgeoisie upon the society of nobles, that reconstituted itself after 1815 and that set up again, as far as it could, the standard of *la vieille politesse française*.^c He describes how the last remnants of this, to him, model society gradually succumbed before the intrusion of the vulgar moneyed upstart, or were corrupted by him; how the *grande dame* whose conjugal infidelities were but a mode of asserting herself in perfect accordance with the way she had been disposed of in marriage, gave way to the bourgeoisie, who corned her husband for cash or cashmere; and around this central picture he groups a complete history of French society from which, even in economic details (for instance the re-arrangement of real and personal property after the Revolution) I have learned more than from all the professed historians, economists and statisticians of the period together. Well, Balzac was politically a Legitimist; his great work is a constant elegy on the irretrievable decay of good society, his sympathies are all with the class doomed to extinction. But for all that his satire is never keener, his irony never bitterer, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathises most deeply—the nobles. And the only men of whom he always speaks with undisguised admiration, are his bitterest political antagonists, the republican heroes of the Cloître Saint-Méry,³⁶⁰ the men, who

^a Problem novel.—*Ed.*

^b Past, present, and yet to come.—*Ed.*

^c Old French refinement.—*Ed.*

at that time (1830-36) were indeed the representatives of the popular masses. That Balzac thus was compelled to go against his own class sympathies and political prejudices, that he *saw* the necessity of the downfall of his favourite nobles, and described them as people deserving no better fate; and that he *saw* the real men of the future where, for the time being, they alone were to be found—that I consider one of the greatest triumphs of realism, and one of the grandest features in old Balzac.

I must own, in your defence, that nowhere in the civilised world are the working people less actively resistant, more passively submitting to fate, more *hébétés*^a than in the East End of London. And how do I know whether you have not had very good reasons for contenting yourself, for once, with a picture of the passive side of working class life, reserving the active side for another work?

^a Bewildered. — *Ed.*

1889

219

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, June 8, 1889

...With the exception of the Social-Democratic Federation,³⁶¹ the Possibilists³⁶² have not *a single socialist organisation on their side in the whole of Europe*. They have consequently to fall back on the non-socialist trade unions and would give the world if they could have even the old trade unions here, Broadhurst & Co., but the latter were fed up with things here in London in November.^a From America they will get one Knight of Labor.

The essential point in this context is—and this was the reason why I put my shoulders to the wheel—that it is again the old split in the International that comes to light here, the old battle of the Hague. The adversaries are the same, but the banner of the Anarchists has been replaced by the banner of the Possibilists: the selling of principles to the bourgeoisie for small-scale concessions, especially in return for well-paid jobs for the leaders (on the city councils, labour exchanges, etc.). And the tactics are exactly the same. The manifesto of the Social-Democratic Federation, obviously written by Brousse, is a new edition of the Sonvillier circular.³⁶³ And Brousse knows it too; he continues to attack authoritarian Marxism with the same lies and slanders, and Hyndman is imitating him—his principal sources of information about the International and the political activity of Marx are the local malcontents of the General Council: Eccarius, Jung & Co.

The alliance of the Possibilists and the Social-Democratic Federation was to constitute the nucleus of a new International that was to be founded in Paris: with the Germans, if they joined as the third member of the league, otherwise against them. Hence the many little congresses one after another, constantly growing in number; hence the exclusionism with which the allies treated all the other French and English tendencies as non-existent;

^a An allusion to the International Congress of Trade Unions held in November 1888, at which the old Trade Unions suffered a serious defeat.—*Ed.*

and hence the intrigues, particularly with those small little nations, which also were Bakunin's support. But the people engaged in this activity became alarmed when the Germans, with their St. Gall resolution,³⁶⁴ also entered the congress movement, quite naively—in absolute ignorance of what was going on elsewhere. And since these small people preferred to go against the Germans rather than with them—for the latter were considered far too Marxified—the struggle became inevitable. But you have no idea how naive the Germans are. It has cost me tremendous effort to make even Bebel understand what it is all really about, although the Possibilists know it very well and proclaim it every day. And with all these mistakes I had little hope that things would work out well, that immanent reason, which is gradually evolving to consciousness of itself in this affair, would win out as early as this. I am all the more pleased by the proof that today occurrences like those of 1873 and 1874 can no longer happen. The intriguers are beaten already, and the significance of the congress—whether it entails another one or not—lies in the fact that the unanimity of the socialist parties of Europe is demonstrated to all the world, and the few plotters left out in the cold unless they submit....

220

ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER
IN VIENNA

London, December 4, 1889

Dear Adler,

I recommended you to *revise* Avenel's *Cloots*^a for the following reasons:

In my opinion (and that of Marx) the book contains the first correct account, based on a study of the archives, of the *critical period of the French Revolution*, namely from 10 August to 9 Thermidor.

The Commune of Paris and Cloots were for the propagandist war as the only means of salvation, whereas the Committee of Public Safety *played the statesman*, was afraid of the European coalition and tried to get peace by *dividing* the coalition. Danton wanted peace with England, that is with Fox and the English opposition, which hoped to come into power at the elections; Robespierre intrigued with Austria and Prussia at Basle and

^a Anacharsis Cloots, *L'orateur du genre humaine* (*The Orator of the Humanity*).—Ed.

tried to come to an understanding with *them*. Both united against the Commune in order above all to overthrow the people who wanted the propagandist war and the republicanisation of Europe. They succeeded, the Commune (Hébert, Cloots, etc.) was beheaded. But from that time onwards agreement became impossible between those who wanted to conclude peace only with England and those who wanted to conclude it only with the German powers. The English elections turned out in favour of Pitt, Fox was kept out of the government for years; this ruined Danton's position, Robespierre was victorious and beheaded him. But—and Avenel has *not sufficiently* stressed this—while the reign of terror was now intensified to a pitch of insanity because it was necessary to keep Robespierre in power under the existing internal conditions, it was rendered entirely superfluous by the victory of Fleurus on June 26, 1794, which not only freed the frontiers but delivered Belgium and indirectly the left bank of the Rhine into the hands of France. Thereupon Robespierre too became superfluous and fell on July 28.

The whole French Revolution is dominated by the War of the Coalition, all its pulsations depend upon it. If the army of the coalition penetrates into France—predominant activity of the vagus nerve, violent heart-beat, revolutionary crisis. If it is driven back—predominance of the sympathetic nerve, the heart-beat becomes slower, the reactionary elements push themselves again into the foreground; the plebeians, the rudiments of the later proletariat, whose energy alone has saved the revolution, are brought to reason and order.

The tragedy is that the party supporting war *à outrance*, war for the emancipation of the nations, is proved in the right and that the Republic gets the better of all Europe, but only after that party itself has long been beheaded; and that in place of the propagandist war comes the Peace of Basle³⁶⁵ and the bourgeois orgy of the Directory.³⁶⁶

The book must be completely revised and shortened—the rhetoric cut out, the factual material supplemented by facts given in ordinary history books and brought into bold relief. Cloots can move entirely into the background, the most important things from the *Lundis révolutionnaires*^a can be inserted and it may become a work on the revolution such as has never existed up till now.

An explanation of how the battle of Fleurus put an end to the reign of terror was published in the (first) *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842 by K. F. Koppen in an excellent criticism of H. Leo's

^a *Lundis révolutionnaires 1871-1874 (Revolutionary Mondays 1871-1874)* is a collection of essays by Avenel on the French Revolution.—*Ed.*



Friedrich Sorge

Geschichte der französischen Revolution [History of the French Revolution].

Best regards to your wife and Louise Kautsky

Yours,
F. E.

221

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, December 7, 1889

Dear Sorge,

Letters of October 8 and 29 received. Thanks.

Things won't turn out so well that the Socialist Labor Party³⁶⁷ will go into liquidation. Rosenberg has a lot of heirs besides Schewitsch, and the conceited doctrinaire Germans over there certainly have no desire to give up the position they have arrogated to themselves to teach the "immature" Americans. Otherwise they would be nobodies.

Over here it is being proved that it is not so easy to cram doctrines and dogmas into the heads of a great nation, even if one has the best of theories, evolved out of their own conditions of life, and even if one has relatively better crammers than the Socialist Labor Party has. Now the movement *has* at last been set going and, I believe, for good. But it is not directly socialist, and those among the English who have understood our theory best remain outside it: Hyndman because he is incorrigibly jealous and loves intriguing, Bax because he is a bookworm. Formally, the movement is first of all a trade union movement, but utterly different from that of the *old* Trade Unions of skilled labourers, the labour aristocracy. The people are making a much greater effort than before now, they are drawing far greater masses into the struggle, shaking up society far more profoundly, and putting forward much more far-reaching demands: the eight-hour day, a general federation of all organisations, and complete solidarity. Through Tussy, the Gas-Workers' and General Labourers' Union has got women's branches *for the first time*. Moreover, the people regard their immediate demands as only provisional, although they themselves do not yet know toward what final goal they are working. But this vague notion has a strong enough hold on them to make them elect as leaders *only* downright Socialists. Like everyone else, they must learn by their own experiences, from the consequences of their own mistakes. But since, unlike the old Trade

Unions, they greet every suggestion of the identity of interest between capital and labour with scornful laughter, this will not take very long....

The most repugnant thing here is the bourgeois "respectability", which has grown deep into the bones of the workers! The division of society into innumerable strata, each recognised without question, each with its own pride but also its inborn respect for its "betters" and "superiors", is so old and firmly established that the bourgeois still find it fairly easy to get their bait accepted. I am not at all sure, for instance, that John Burns is not secretly prouder of his popularity with Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor, and the bourgeoisie in general than of his popularity with his own class. And Champion—an ex-lieutenant—has always intrigued with bourgeois and especially with conservative elements, preached socialism at the parsons' Church Congress, etc. And even Tom Mann, whom I regard as the best of the lot, is fond of mentioning that he will be lunching with the Lord Mayor. If one compares this with the French, one realises what a revolution is good for after all....

222

ENGELS TO GERSON TRIER
IN COPENHAGEN

[Draft]

London, December 18, 1889

Dear Mr. Trier,

I thank you very much for your interesting communication of the 8th.

If I am to tell you my view of the great pother recently raised in Copenhagen³⁶⁸ to which you fell victim I shall start with a point on which I do *not* agree with you.

You reject on principle any and every collaboration, even the most transient, with other parties. I am enough of a revolutionary not to renounce even this means if in the given circumstances it is more advantageous or at least less harmful.

We are agreed on this: that the proletariat cannot conquer political power, the only door to the new society, without violent revolution. For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day it must—and Marx and I have advocated this ever since 1847—form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party.

But that does not mean that this party cannot at certain moments use other parties for its purposes. Nor does this mean that it cannot temporarily support the measures of other parties if these measures either are directly advantageous to the proletariat or progressive as regards economic development or political freedom. I would support anyone waging a real struggle in Germany for the abolition of primogeniture and other feudal survivals, the bureaucracy, protective tariffs, the Anti-Socialist Law, and restrictions on the right of assembly and of association. If our German Progressive Party or your Danish *Venstre* were real radical-bourgeois parties and did not simply consist of wretched windbags who take to the bushes at the first threat of a Bismarck or Estrup, I would by no means be *unconditionally* opposed to any and every temporary collaboration with them for definite purposes. It is also collaboration when our deputies cast their votes for a proposal which was submitted by another party—and they have to do that often enough. But I am for this only if the advantage to us is direct or if the historical development of the country in the direction of the economic and political revolution is indisputable and worth while; and provided that the proletarian class character of the Party is not jeopardised thereby. For me this is the absolute limit. You can find this policy set forth as early as 1847 in the *Communist Manifesto*; we pursued it in 1848, in the International, everywhere....

1890

223

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN NEW YORK

London, January 11, 1890

... The stormy tide of the movement last summer has somewhat abated. And the best of it is that the unthinking sympathy for the labour movement, which was expressed by the middle-class mob during the dockers' strike, has also abated, and is beginning to make way for the far more natural feeling of distrust and uneasiness. In the South London gas strike, which was forced on the workers by the gas company, the workers once more find themselves entirely deserted by all the philistines. This is very good and I only hope Burns will some day go through this experience himself, in a strike led by himself—he cherishes all sorts of illusions on that score.

There is, moreover, all kind of friction, as was only to be expected, between the gas-workers and the dockers, for instance. But despite it all the masses are on the move and there is no holding them back any more. The longer the stream is dammed up the more powerful will be the breakthrough when it comes. And these unskilled workers are very different fellows from the fossilised men of the old Trade Unions; not a trace of the old formalist spirit and of the craft exclusiveness of the engineers, for example; on the contrary, a general call for the organisation of *all* Trade Unions into *one* brotherhood and for a direct struggle against capital. In the dock strike, for instance, there were *three* engineers at the Commercial Docks who kept the steam-engine going. Burns and Mann—both are engineers, and Burns is a member of the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers Trade Union—were asked to persuade the men to leave, as then none of the cranes could have worked and the dock company would have had to climb down. The three engineers refused. the Engineers' Executive did not intervene and hence the length of the strike! Furthermore, at the Silvertown Rubber Works, where there was a twelve weeks' strike, the strike failed because of the engineers, who did not join in and even did labourers' work *against* their own union rules! And why? "In order to keep the supply of workers low", these fools have a rule that *nobody who has not been through the regular period*

of apprenticeship may be admitted to their union. By this means they have created an army of rivals, so-called black-legs, who are just as skilled as they themselves and who would gladly join the union, but who are forced to remain black-legs because they are kept outside by this pedantry which has no sense at all nowadays. And because they knew that both in the Commercial Docks and in Silvertown these black-legs would immediately have stepped into their place, they stayed on and so became black-legs themselves against the strikers. There you see the difference: the new unions stick together; in the present gas strike, sailors and (steamers') firemen, lightermen and coal carters, etc., are all united, but, of course, again not the engineers; they continue working!

However, these old swaggering large Trade Unions will soon be made to look small; their mainstay, the London Trades Council,³⁶⁹ is being gradually conquered by the *new* Trade Unions, and in two or three years at most the Trades Union Congress will also be revolutionised. Even at the next Congress the Broadhursts will get the surprise of their lives.

The fact that you have got rid of Rosenberg and Co. is the main point about the revolution in your American socialist tea-pot. The German party over there must be smashed up *as such*, it is the worst obstacle. The American workers are coming along already, but just like the English they go their own way. One cannot at the outset cram theory into them, but their own experience and their own blunders and the evil consequences of them will soon bump their noses up against theory—and then it will be all right. Independent nations go their own way, and of them all the English and their offspring are surely the most independent. Their insular stiff-necked obstinacy is often enough annoying, but it also guarantees that what is begun will be carried out once a thing has been set going.

224

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, April 19, 1890

Dear Sorge,

I receive the *Nationalist* regularly, but unfortunately it contains very little of interest. They are a poor imitation of the Fabians in this country. Superficial and shallow as the Dismal Swamp, but proud of the noble magnanimity with which they, the "educated" bourgeois, condescend to emancipate the workers; in return however the workers must keep quiet and obediently carry out the

orders of the "educated" cranks and their *isms*. Let them amuse themselves for a little while, but one fine day the movement will efface all this. We continentals, who have felt the influence of the French Revolution in quite a different way, have the advantage that such things are quite impossible here....

In a country with such an old political and labour movement there is always a tremendous heap of traditionally inherited rubbish which has to be got rid of by degrees. There are the prejudices of the skilled Unions—Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters and Joiners, Type Compositors, etc.—which have all to be broken down; the petty jealousies of the particular trades, which become intensified in the hands and heads of the leaders to the point of direct hostility and underhand struggle; there are the conflicting ambitions and intrigues of the leaders: one wants to get into Parliament and so does another one, a third wants to become a member of the County Council or the Schoolboard, someone else wants to organise a general central body comprising all workers, another one wants to start a paper, another one a club, etc., etc. In short, there is friction galore. And among them are the Socialist League,³⁷⁰ which looks down on everything that is not directly revolutionary (which means here in England as in your country: those who do not limit themselves to making phrases and doing nothing apart from that), and the Federation,³⁷¹ which still behaves as if all the others were asses and bunglers, although it is precisely owing to the recent upswing of the movement that the *Federation* has managed to get some following again. In short, anyone who looks only at the surface would say it was all confusion and personal squabbles. But *under* the surface the movement is going on, is embracing ever wider sections and mostly just among the hitherto stagnant *lowest strata*. The day is no longer far off when this mass will suddenly *find itself*, when it will dawn upon it that it is this colossal advancing mass, and when that day comes short work will be made of all the rascality and squabbling....

225

ENGELS TO PAUL ERNST
IN BERLIN

[Draft]

London, June 5, 1890

...As far as your attempt to treat the matter materialistically is concerned I must say in the first place that the materialist method turns into its opposite if it is not taken as one's guiding prin-

ciple in historical investigation but as a ready-made pattern according to which one shapes the facts of history to suit oneself. And if Mr. Bahr thinks he caught you on this wrong tack he seems to me to be not altogether wrong.

You put all Norway and everything that happens there into one category: philistinism, and then you unhesitatingly attribute to this Norwegian philistinism the qualities which in your opinion distinguish *German* philistinism. But here two facts stand in the way.

First: when throughout Europe the victory over Napoleon became a victory of reaction over revolution and only in its cradle, France, did the revolution still inspire sufficient fear to wrest a liberal bourgeois constitution from the returning legitimist regime, at that time, Norway found it possible to acquire a constitution that is far more democratic than any other of contemporary Europe.

Second: Norway has experienced in the last twenty years a literary upsurge unparalleled in any other country except Russia during this period. Whether they are philistines or not, these people have achieved much more than others have and have left their imprint also on other literatures, and they have certainly exerted their influence on German literature.

These facts make it necessary, in my opinion, to investigate to some extent the specific features of Norwegian philistinism.

And here you will probably find that there is quite a substantial difference. In Germany philistinism is the outcome of a shipwrecked revolution, of an interrupted, repressed development. Cowardice, narrow-mindedness, helplessness and inability to take the initiative—the specific, abnormally developed traits of German philistinism are a result of the Thirty Years' War³⁷² and the period following it, precisely the period of rapid rise of almost all other great peoples. It retained these characteristic features even when Germany was again swept into the historical movement. They were strong enough to impress their mark as the more or less general German type on all other classes of German society, until finally our working class broke through these narrow limits. The “non-patriotism” of the German workers is expressed most strongly by the fact that they have cast off all German philistine narrow-mindedness.

German philistinism is therefore not a normal historical phase but an extreme caricature, a piece of degeneration, just as the Polish Jew is a caricature of Jewry. The English, French, etc., petty bourgeois are by no means on the same level as the German.

On the other hand in Norway the small peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie with a slight admixture of medium bourgeoisie—such as existed, say, in England and France in the seventeenth century

—have constituted the normal state of society for several centuries. It was by no means an unsuccessful great movement and a Thirty Years' War which forcibly thrust the country back into antiquated conditions. The country was trailing behind on account of its isolation and natural conditions but the state of affairs in the country fully corresponded to its conditions of production and hence was normal. Only quite recently a modicum of modern industry has sporadically come into the land, but there is no room for the stock exchange, the most powerful lever of the concentration of capital, and it is precisely the enormous expansion of marine commerce that exerts a conservative influence. For, while everywhere else steam power is displacing sailing vessels, Norway is increasing its maritime fleet of sailing ships tremendously and has if not the biggest then surely the second biggest sailing fleet in the world, mostly the property of small and medium shipowners, a position similar to that in England say around 1720. Nevertheless this has brought movement into the old stagnant life and this movement is finding expression also in the literary resurgence.

The Norwegian peasant was *never a serf* and this provides an entirely different background for the whole development, which in a way was similar to that in Castile. The Norwegian petty bourgeois is the son of a free peasant and under these circumstances is a *man* in comparison with the debased German philistine. Likewise the Norwegian woman of the lower middle class stands sky-high above the spouse of the German philistine. And whatever the shortcomings of, for instance, Ibsen's plays may be they mirror, it is true, a world of the small and medium bourgeoisie but there is an enormous difference between it and the position in Germany, they mirror a world in which people still have strength of character and initiative and act independently, even though according to the concepts prevalent in other countries their actions may often seem odd. I prefer to make a thorough study of such things before making a final judgement.

226

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT IN BERLIN

London August 5 1890

... I saw a review of Paul Barth's book^a by that bird of ill omen, Moritz Wirth, in the Vienna *Deutsche Worte*, and *this* criticism left on my mind an unfavourable impression of the book it-

^a Engels refers to Barth's *Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann* (*Hegel's Philosophy of History and the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann*).—Ed.

self, as well. I will have a look at it, but I must say that if little Moritz is right when he quotes Barth as stating that the sole example of the dependence of philosophy, etc., on the material conditions of existence which he can find in all Marx's works is that Descartes declares animals to be machines, then I am sorry for the man who can write such a thing. And this man cannot possibly have understood the subject he is writing about if he has not yet discovered that although the material mode of existence is the *primum agens*^a this does not prevent the ideological spheres from reacting upon it and influencing it in their turn, but this is a secondary effect. However, as I have said, all this is second-hand and little Moritz is a dangerous friend. The materialist conception of history has a lot of dangerous friends nowadays, who use it as an excuse for *not* studying history. Just as Marx, commenting on the French "Marxists" of the late seventies used to say: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."

There has also been a discussion in the *Volks-Tribüne* about the distribution of products in future society, whether this will take place according to the amount of work done or otherwise. The question has been approached very "materialistically" in opposition to certain idealistic phraseology about justice. But strangely enough it has not struck anyone that, after all, the method of distribution essentially depends on *how much* there is to distribute, and that this must surely change with the progress of production and social organisation, and that therefore the method of distribution will also change. But everyone who took part in the discussion, described "socialist society" not as something continuously changing and advancing but as something stable and fixed once and for all, which must, therefore, also have a method of distribution fixed once and for all. All one can reasonably do, however, is 1) to try and discover the method of distribution to be used *at the beginning*, and 2) to try and find the *general tendency* of the further development. But about this I do not find a single word in the whole debate.

In general, the word "materialist" serves many of the younger writers in Germany as a mere phrase with which anything and everything is labelled without further study, that is, they stick on this label and then consider the question disposed of. But our conception of history is above all a guide to study, not a lever for construction after the Hegelian manner. All history must be studied afresh, the conditions of existence of the different formations of society must be examined in detail before the attempt is made to deduce from them the political, civil-law, aesthetic, philosophic, religious, etc., views corresponding to them. Up to now

^a Primary agent, prime cause.—*Ed.*

very little has been done in this respect because only a few people have got down to it seriously. We need a great deal of help in this field, for it is immensely big, and anyone who will work seriously can achieve much and distinguish himself. But instead of this too many of the younger Germans simply make use of the phrase historical materialism (and *everything* can be turned into a phrase) only in order to get their own relatively scanty historical knowledge—for economic history is still in its swaddling clothes!—constructed into a neat system as quickly as possible, and they then fancy that they have achieved something tremendous. And after that a Barth can come along and attack the subject itself, which in his circle has indeed been degraded to a mere phrase.

However, all this will adjust itself after all. We are now strong enough in Germany to stand a lot. One of the greatest services which the Anti-Socialist Law³⁷³ did us was to free us from the obtrusiveness of the German scholar who had got tinged with socialism. We are now strong enough to digest the German scholar too, who is giving himself great airs again. You, who have really done something, must have noticed yourself how few of the young literary men who attach themselves to the Party take the trouble to study economics, the history of economics, the history of trade, of industry, of agriculture, of the social formations. How many know anything of Maurer except his name! The self-conceit of the journalist must therefore accomplish everything and the result looks like it. It often seems as if these gentlemen think anything is good enough for the workers. If these gentlemen only knew that Marx thought his best things were still not good enough for the workers, and that he considered it a crime to offer the workers anything but the very best!...

227

ENGELS TO JOSEPH BLOCH
IN KÖNIGSBERG

London, September 21[-22], 1890

...According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining factor in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Neither Marx nor I have ever asserted more than this. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its results, such as constitutions established by the victorious class

after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and especially the reflections of all these real struggles in the brains of the participants, political, legal, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas—also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases determine their *form* in particular. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent and neglect it), the economic movement is finally bound to assert itself. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.

We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite antecedents and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one. The Prussian state also arose and developed from historical, ultimately economic, causes. But it could scarcely be maintained without pedantry that among the many small states of North Germany, it was precisely Brandenburg that had to become the great power embodying the economic, linguistic and, after the Reformation, also the religious differences between North and South, because of economic necessity and not also because of other factors (above all its entanglement with Poland, owing to the possession of Prussia, and hence with international political relations—which were indeed also decisive in the formation of the Austrian dynastic power). It is hardly possible, without making oneself ridiculous, to explain in terms of economics the existence of every small state in Germany, past and present, or the origin of the High German consonant shift, which widened the geographic partition formed by the mountain ranges, from the Sudetes to the Taunus, into a regular fissure running across Germany.

In the second place, however, history proceeds in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, and every one of them is in turn made into what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant—the historical event. This may in its turn again be regarded as the product of a power which operates as a whole *unconsciously* and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one intended. Thus history has proceeded hitherto in the manner of a natural process and is essentially subject to the same laws of motion. But from

the fact that the wills of individuals—each of whom desires what he is impelled to by his physical constitution and external, in the last resort economic, circumstances (either his own personal circumstances or those of society in general)—do not achieve what they want, but are merged into an aggregate mean, a common resultant, it must not be concluded that they are equal to zero. On the contrary, each contributes to the resultant and is to this extent included in it.

I would furthermore ask you to study this theory from its original sources and not at second-hand; it is really much easier. Marx hardly wrote anything in which it did not play a part. But especially *Der 18. Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* [*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*] is a most excellent example of its application. There are also many allusions to it in *Kapital*. Perhaps I may also refer you to my writings: *Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* [*Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*] and *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* [*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*], in which I have given the most detailed account of historical materialism which, as far as I know, exists.

Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise the main principle *vis-à-vis* our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other factors involved in the interaction. But when it came to presenting a section of history, that is, to applying the theory in practice, it was a different matter and there no error was permissible. Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado as soon as they have assimilated its main principles, and even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent "Marxists" from this reproach, for the most amazing stuff has been produced in that quarter, too...

228

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT
IN BERLIN

London, October 27, 1890

Dear Schmidt,

I am taking advantage of the first free hour to reply to you. I think it would be wise to accept the post in Zurich. You could certainly learn a good deal about economics there, especially if

you bear in mind that Zurich is after all only a third-rate money and speculative market, and that therefore the impressions felt there are weakened by two-fold or three-fold reflection or are deliberately distorted. But you will get a practical knowledge of the mechanism and be obliged to follow the stock exchange reports from London, New York, Paris, Berlin and Vienna at first-hand, and thus gain an insight into the world market, as it is reflected in the money and stock market. Economic, political and other reflections are just like those in the human eye: they pass through a convex lens and therefore appear upside down, standing on their heads. But the nervous apparatus to put them on their feet again in our imagination is lacking. The money market man sees the movement of industry and of the world market only in the inverted reflection of the money and stock market and thus effect becomes cause to him. I noticed that already in the forties in Manchester: the London stock exchange reports were utterly useless for understanding the course of industry and its periodical maxima and minima because these gentlemen tried to explain everything by crises on the money market, which were after all usually only symptoms. At that time the point was to prove that temporary over-production is not the cause of industrial crises, so that the thing had in addition its tendentious side, conducive to distortion. This point has now ceased to exist—for us, at any rate, once and for all—it is moreover a fact that the money market can also have its own crises, in which direct disturbances of industry play only a subordinate part or no part at all, and in this context a great deal has still to be ascertained and examined, especially in the history of the last twenty years.

Where there is division of labour on a social scale the separate labour processes become independent of each other. In the last instance production is the decisive factor. But as soon as trade in products becomes independent of production proper, it has a movement of its own, which, although by and large governed by that of production, nevertheless in particulars and within this general dependence again follows laws of its own inherent in the nature of this new factor; this movement has phases of its own and in its turn reacts on the movement of production. The discovery of America was due to the thirst for gold which had previously driven the Portuguese to Africa (cf. Soetbeer's *Edelmetall-Produktion* [*Production of Precious Metals*]), because European industry and accordingly trade which had grown enormously in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries required more means of exchange than Germany, the great silver country from 1450 to 1550, could provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and English between 1500 and 1800 had *imports from India* as its object—nobody dreamt of exporting anything there. And yet what colossal

repercussions upon industry had these discoveries and conquests, which were called forth solely by trade interests; it was only the need for *exports* to these countries that created and developed modern large-scale industry.

So it is, too, with the money market. As soon as trade in money becomes separate from trade in commodities it has—under definite conditions determined by production and commodity trade and within these limits—a development of its own, specific laws determined by its own nature and distinct phases. Add to this the fact that money trade, developing further, comes to include trade in securities and that these securities are not only government papers but also industrial and transport stocks, consequently money trade gains direct control over a portion of the production by which it is on the whole itself controlled, thus the repercussions of money trading on production become still stronger and more complicated. The money-dealers become owners of railways, mines, iron works, etc. These means of production take on a double aspect: their operation is governed sometimes by the interests of direct production, sometimes however also by the requirements of the shareholders, in so far as they are money-dealers. The most striking example of this is furnished by the North American railways, whose operation is entirely dependent on the daily stock exchange transactions of a Jay Gould or a Vanderbilt, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with the particular railway and its interests as means of communication. And even here in England we have seen contests lasting decades between different railway companies over the boundaries of their respective territories—contests on which an enormous amount of money was thrown away, not in the interests of production and communication but simply because of a rivalry whose sole object usually was to facilitate the stock exchange transactions of the shareholding money-dealers.

With these few indications of my conception of the relation of production to commodity trade and of both to money trade, I have actually answered your questions about "historical materialism" generally. The thing is easiest to grasp from the point of view of the division of labour. Society gives rise to certain common functions which it cannot dispense with. The persons appointed for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour *within society*. This gives them particular interests, distinct, too, from the interests of their mandators; they make themselves independent of the latter and—the state is in being. And now things proceed in a way similar to that in commodity trade and later in money trade: the new independent power, while having in the main to follow the movement of production, reacts in its turn, by virtue of its inherent relative independence—that is, the relative inde-

pendence once transferred to it and gradually further developed—upon the conditions and course of production. It is the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand, the economic movement, on the other, the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been set up, is endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole, the economic movement prevails, but it has also to endure reactions from the political movement which it itself set up and endowed with relative independence, from the movement of the state power, on the one hand, and of the opposition simultaneously engendered, on the other. Just as the movement of the industrial market is, in the main and with the reservations already indicated, reflected in the money market and, of course, in *inverted* form, so the struggle between the classes already existing and fighting with one another is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, but likewise in inverted form, no longer directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a fight for political principles, and it is so distorted that it has taken us thousands of years to get to the bottom of it.

The retroaction of the state power upon economic development can be of three kinds: it can proceed in the same direction, and then things move more rapidly; it can move in the opposite direction, in which case nowadays it [the state] will go to pieces in the long run in every great people; or it can prevent the economic development from proceeding along certain lines, and prescribe other lines. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones. But it is obvious that in cases two and three the political power can do great damage to the economic development and cause extensive waste of energy and material.

Then there is also the case of the conquest and brutal destruction of economic resources, as a result of which, in certain circumstances, the entire economic development in a particular locality or in a country could be ruined in former times. Nowadays such a case usually has the opposite effect, at least with great peoples: in the long run the vanquished often gains more economically, politically and morally than the victor.

Similarly with law. As soon as the new division of labour which creates professional lawyers becomes necessary, another new and independent sphere is opened up which, for all its general dependence on production and trade, has also a specific capacity for reacting upon these spheres. In a modern state, law must not only correspond to the general economic condition and be its expression, but must also be an *internally coherent* expression which does not, owing to internal conflicts, contradict itself. And in order to achieve this, the faithful reflection of economic conditions suffers increasingly. All the more so the more rarely it hap-

pens that a code of law is the blunt, unmitigated, unadulterated expression of the domination of a class—this in itself would offend the “conception of right”. Even in the *Code Napoléon* the pure, consistent conception of right held by the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 1792-96 is already adulterated in many ways, and, in so far as it is embodied in the Code, has daily to undergo all sorts of attenuations owing to the rising power of the proletariat. This does not prevent the *Code Napoléon* from being the statute book which serves as the basis of every new code of law in every part of the world. Thus to a great extent the course of the “development of law” simply consists in first attempting to eliminate contradictions which arise from the direct translation of economic relations into legal principles, and to establish a harmonious system of law, and then in the repeated breaches made in this system by the influence and compulsion of further economic development, which involves it in further contradictions. (I am speaking here for the moment only of civil law.)

The reflection of economic relations in the form of legal principles is likewise bound to be inverted: it goes on without the person who is acting being conscious of it; the jurist imagines he is operating with *a priori* propositions, whereas they are really only economic reflections; everything is therefore upside down. And it seems to me obvious that this inversion, which, so long as it remains unrecognised, forms what we call *ideological outlook*, influences in its turn the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it. The basis of the right of inheritance is an economic one, provided the level of development of the family is the same. It would, nevertheless, be difficult to prove, for instance, that the absolute liberty of the testator in England and the severe and very detailed restrictions imposed upon him in France are due to economic causes alone. But in their turn they exert a very considerable effect on the economic sphere, because they influence the distribution of property.

As to the realms of ideology which soar still higher in the air—religion, philosophy, etc.—these have a prehistoric stock, found already in existence by and taken over in the historical period, of what we should today call nonsense. These various false conceptions of nature, of man’s own being, of spirits, magic forces, etc., have for the most part only a negative economic factor as their basis; the low economic development of the prehistoric period is supplemented and also partially conditioned and even caused by the false conceptions of nature. And even though economic necessity was the main driving force of the increasing knowledge of nature and has become ever more so, yet it would be pedantic to try and find economic causes for all this primitive nonsense. The history of science is the history of the gradual clearing away of

this nonsense or rather of its replacement by fresh but less absurd nonsense. The people who attend to this belong in their turn to special spheres in the division of labour and they think that they are working in an independent field. And to the extent that they form an independent group within the social division of labour, their output, including their errors, exerts in its turn an effect upon the whole development of society, and even on its economic development. But all the same they themselves are in turn under the predominant influence of economic development. In philosophy, for instance, this can be most readily proved true for the bourgeois period. Hobbes was the first modern materialist (in the sense of the eighteenth century) but he was an absolutist at a time when absolute monarchy was in its heyday throughout Europe and began the battle against the people in England. Locke was in religion and in politics the child of the class compromise of 1688. The English deists and their consistent followers, the French materialists, were the true philosophers of the bourgeoisie, the French even of the bourgeois revolution. The German philistinism runs through German philosophy from Kant to Hegel, sometimes in a positive and sometimes negative way. But the precondition of the philosophy of each epoch regarded as a distinct sphere in the division of labour is a definite body of thought which is handed down to it by its predecessors, and which is also its starting point. And that is why economically backward countries can still play first fiddle in philosophy: France in the eighteenth century as compared with England, on whose philosophy the French based themselves, and later Germany as compared with both. But both in France and in Germany philosophy and the general blossoming of literature at that time were the result of an economic revival. The ultimate supremacy of economic development is for me an established fact in these spheres too, but it operates within the terms laid down by the particular sphere itself: in philosophy, for instance, by the action of economic influences (which in their turn generally operate only in their political, etc., make-up) upon the existing philosophic material which has been handed down by predecessors. Here economy creates nothing anew, but it determines the way in which the body of thought found in existence is altered and further developed, and that too for the most part indirectly, for it is the political, legal and moral reflexes which exert the greatest direct influence on philosophy.

As regards religion I have said everything necessary in the last section on Feuerbach.

Hence if Barth alleges that we altogether deny that the political, etc., reflections of the economic movement in their turn exert any effect upon the movement itself, he is simply tilting at windmills. He should only look at Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*, which deals

almost exclusively with the *particular* part played by political struggles and events, of course within their *general* dependence upon economic conditions. Or *Kapital*, the section on the working day, for instance, where legislation, which is surely a political act, has such a drastic effect. Or the section on the history of the bourgeoisie. (Chapter XXIV.)^a And why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent? Force (that is, state power) is also an economic power!

But I have no time to criticise the book^b now. Volume III must first be published and besides I think that Bernstein, for instance, could very well deal with it.

What these gentlemen all lack is dialectics. They always see only cause here, effect there. That this is an empty abstraction, that such metaphysical polar opposites exist in the real world only during crises, and that the whole vast process goes on in the form of interaction—though of very unequal forces, the economic movement being by far the strongest, the primary and most decisive and that in this context everything is relative and nothing absolute—they cannot grasp at all. As far as they are concerned Hegel never existed....

^a The corresponding chapters in the English edition of Marx, *Capital*, are XXVI-XXXII.—*Ed.*

^b The reference is to Barth's *Geschichtsphilosophie Hegel's und der Hegelianer bis auf Marx und Hartmann* (*Hegel's Philosophy of History and the Hegelians up to Marx and Hartmann*).—*Ed.*

1891

229

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE
AT LE PERREUX

London, January 31, 1891

My dear Lafargue,

Like nine-tenths of the news published in Paris about Germany, that which alarmed you is nothing but a false report.

The leading Committee of the German Party has not expressed any opinion about May 1st. The parliamentary *group* (the socialist members of the Reichstag) passed a resolution, unanimous save for one vote, that in *Germany* (and nowhere else) it would be desirable to celebrate May Day on Sunday, May 3rd, and not on May 1st. That is all. As the Party rules do not give the "group" any official standing, there is nothing more to it than the simple expression of a desire, which, however, will probably receive general approval.

As for the idea of suggesting to other nationalities that they should similarly change the date of the demonstration, our papers do not say a word. Nevertheless, it may be that *individually* this or that deputy thought of it; as Bebel is in Zurich for his daughter's wedding I shall write to Fischer to stop any such foolishness should anyone have it in mind.

You and Bonnier, from whom I have a long letter on the matter in my pocket, can say whatever you please; the English will probably do like the Germans and celebrate on the Sunday. As for the Germans, it is pretty well an absolute necessity. Last year you found their behaviour "flabby". Very well, in Hamburg, the town where we are best organised and have the greatest strength relative to the rest of the population, and where we had very considerable funds (Party as well as trade union)—in Hamburg May 1st was celebrated in defiance of the employers. But business was rather poor, so the latter took advantage of the one-day stoppage to close their factories and to announce that they would reopen them only to workers who leave their trade unions and who promise never to rejoin a union. The fight lasted throughout the summer and until the autumn; in the end, the employers gave up their demands; but our trade union organisation in Hamburg was badly

shaken, funds were exhausted there and elsewhere, owing to contributions to the *lock-outs*, and there is not the smallest desire to go through all this again in the spring, the industrial situation having grown worse.

It's all very well for you to talk about hesitations and flabbiness. You have a republic, and the bourgeois republicans, to defeat the royalists, have been forced to grant you political rights which we are far from having in Germany. Moreover, for the time being, split as you are with the Broussists in tow to the government, you are not too dangerous; on the contrary, Constans would like to see you "demonstrate" and frighten the Radicals a bit. In Germany, our people are a genuine force, one and a half to two million voters, the only disciplined and growing party. If the government wishes the Socialists to hold demonstrations, it is because it wants to provoke them into rioting so as to be able to crush them and to get rid of them for a decade. The German Socialists' best demonstration is their existence and their slow, steady, irresistible progress. We are still far from being able to withstand an open fight, and we have the duty, in relation to the whole of Europe and America, of not suffering a defeat, but of winning, when the time comes, the first great battle. To that consideration I subordinate every other.

Naturally it would be very fine to see all the socialist workmen in the Old and the New World celebrate May 1st on the same day. But it would not be a simultaneous and uniform stoppage. You in Paris would strike, let us say from 8 a.m. until 8 p.m.; when the New Yorkers start at 8 a.m. it will be 1 p.m. in Paris, and the Californians will start three hours later still. The demonstration lost nothing last year by being spread over two days, and that will be still less the case this year. The Austrians are in a totally different situation: regular agitation and organisation are made so difficult for them that a one-day stoppage is their only means of making a demonstration, as Adler has shown very clearly.

So console yourself. The movement will not suffer from this lack of "unity", and such purely formal unity would not be worth the price we should have to pay for it in Germany and possibly in England too.

I find your behaviour in relation to the anti-Broussists capital. To conclude a treaty of practical co-operation, to put aside any attempt at merging for the moment, to leave everything until the proper time comes and, in the last resort, until the International Congress³⁷⁴—there is no better way of benefiting from the situation than you have done. It is what Marx proposed to Liebknecht at the time of the fusion with the Lassalleans, but our friend was in too much of a hurry.

Guesde has played a fine trick on him in his reports for the *Vorwärts*. Liebknecht has always defended the bourgeois republic to annoy the Prussians; people like Constans, Rouvier, etc., were almost perfect according to him. And now Guesde comes and destroys this illusion. It's delightful, and also very good for Germany.

Kiss Laura for me. My compliments to Doctor Z. on his article on the Toulon affair.³⁷⁵ Louise is particularly grateful for it. She wishes to be remembered kindly to you and to Laura.

Ever yours,
F.E.

230

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN STUTTGART

London, February 23, 1891

Dear Kautsky,

You will have received my hurried congratulations of the day before yesterday. So now to return again to our muttens, Marx's letter.³⁷⁶

The fear that it would put a weapon in the hands of our opponents was unfounded. Malicious aspersions are indeed cast on anything and everything, but by and large the impression produced on our opponents was one of complete amazement at this ruthless self-criticism, and it gave rise to the feeling: what internal strength must a party possess that can afford to do this! That can be seen from the hostile newspapers that you sent me (for which many thanks) and from those to which I have otherwise had access. And, frankly speaking, that really was my intention when I published the document. That at the first moment some persons here and there were bound to be unpleasantly affected by it I was aware of, but it was not to be avoided and it was amply outweighed, in my view, by the factual content of the document. I knew, also, that the Party was certainly strong enough to endure it, and I counted on the fact that the Party today would be able to stand this frank language used fifteen years ago; and that with justifiable pride one would point to this test of strength and say: Which other party can dare to do anything similar? It was however left to the Saxonian and Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and to the *Züricher Post* to do that.³⁷⁷

That in No. 21 of the *Neue Zeit* you take upon yourself the responsibility for the publication is very good of you, but do not

forget that after all I gave the first impulse and moreover to a certain extent forced your hand.³⁷⁸ I claim, therefore, the main responsibility for myself. As far as details are concerned, one can certainly always have different opinions about them. I have deleted and altered everything that you and Dietz objected to, and if Dietz had marked even more I would still, as far as possible, have been amenable even then, of that I have always given you proof. But, as far as the main point is concerned, it was *my duty* to publish the thing as soon as the programme came up for discussion. And especially after Liebknecht's report in Halle, in which he in part utilised his extracts from it unceremoniously as his own property, and in part polemised against it without naming it, Marx would certainly have confronted this version with the original and it was my duty in his place to do the same. Unfortunately, at that time I had not yet found the document; I discovered it only considerably later after much search.

You say Bebel writes to you that Marx's treatment of Lassalle has caused bad blood among the old Lassalleans. That may be so. After all these people do not know the real story and nothing seems to have been done to enlighten them about it. If those people do not know that Lassalle's whole greatness was due to the fact that for years Marx allowed him to parade the results of Marx's research as his own and to distort them moreover owing to insufficient economic knowledge, then that is not my fault. But I am Marx's literary executor and as such I have duties as well.

Lassalle has belonged to history for twenty-six years. While under the Anti-Socialist Law historical criticism of him was left in abeyance, the time is at last at hand when it must be expressed and Lassalle's position in relation to Marx be made plain. The legend that conceals the true image of Lassalle and glorifies him can surely not become an article of faith of the Party. However highly one may estimate Lassalle's services to the movement, his historical role in it remains an equivocal one. Lassalle the Socialist is dogged at every step by Lassalle the demagogue. Everywhere, Lassalle the conductor of the Hatzfeldt law suit³⁷⁹ shows through Lassalle the agitator and organiser: the same cynicism in the choice of means, the same preference for surrounding himself with disreputable and corrupt people who can be used as mere tools and discarded. Until 1862 a specifically Prussian vulgar democrat in practice, with strong Bonapartist leanings (I have just looked through his letters to Marx), he suddenly switched round for purely personal reasons and began his agitation; and before two years had gone by he was demanding that the workers should take the part of the monarchy against the bourgeoisie, and intriguing with Bismarck, whose character was rather

similar, in a way that would certainly have led to the actual betrayal of the movement, if fortunately for him he had not been shot in time. In his propagandist writings, the correct things that he borrowed from Marx are so much interwoven with Lassalle's own, invariably false expositions that the two are hardly to be separated. The section of the workers who feel offended by Marx's judgment know Lassalle only through his two years of agitation, and even these only through coloured spectacles. But historical criticism cannot stand eternally, hat in hand, before such prejudices. It was my duty finally to settle accounts between Marx and Lassalle. That has been done. For the time being I can content myself with that. Moreover, I myself have other things to do now. And the published ruthless judgment of Marx on Lassalle will have its effect by itself and give others courage. But should I be forced to it, there would be no choice for me: I should have to make a clean sweep of the Lassalle legend once and for all.

That voices have been raised in the Reichstag group^a saying that the *Neue Zeit* should be placed under censorship is indeed a fine affair. What is this, the ghost of the group's dictatorship during the Anti-Socialist Law (a dictatorship which was necessary and excellently carried out), or remembrance of von Schweitzer's whim strict organisation? It is in fact a brilliant idea to put German socialist science, after its liberation from Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law, under a new Anti-Socialist Law to be manufactured and carried out by the Social-Democratic Party authorities themselves. For the rest, it is ordained that trees shall not grow into the sky.

The article in the *Vorwärts*³⁸⁰ concerns me very little. I shall wait for Liebknecht's account of what happened and shall then reply to both in as friendly a tone as possible. Only a few inaccuracies in the *Vorwärts* article have to be corrected (for example, that we did not desire unity, that events proved Marx wrong, etc.) and a few obvious things to be confirmed. With this answer I intend then, for my part, to close the discussion unless new attacks or false assertions compel me to take further steps.

Tell Dietz that I am working on the *Ursprung*.^b But today Fischer writes to me and he also wants three new prefaces.

Yours,
F E.

^a The Social-Democratic Parliamentary Party.—Ed.

^b Engels was preparing the fourth edition of his *Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats* (*Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*) which was published by Dietz in November 1891.—Ed.

231

ENGELS TO JOSÉ MESA

London, March 24, 1891

My dear Mesa,

We have learned with great pleasure from your letter of the 2nd inst. that your Spanish translation of Marx's *Misère de la Philosophie* [*Poverty of Philosophy*] is about to be published. Of course we readily approve of this enterprise. It will certainly have a most favourable effect on the development of socialism in Spain.

The Proudhonian theory, whose foundations were demolished by Marx's book, disappeared from the scene after the fall of the Paris Commune. But it is still the great arsenal from which the middle-class radicals and pseudo-socialists of Western Europe procure the phrases with which they lull the workers to sleep. And as the workers of these countries have inherited similar Proudhonist phrases from their predecessors the phraseology of the radicals still strikes a responsive chord among many of them. That is the case in France where the only Proudhonists still in existence are the middle-class radicals or republicans who call themselves Socialists. And if I am not mistaken you too have in your Cortès and in your press republicans of this type who call themselves Socialists because they see in the Proudhonian ideas a quite suitable means of opposing an adulterated middle-class socialism to true socialism, the rational and valid expression of the aspirations of the proletariat.

Fraternal greetings,

F. Engels

232

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN STUTTGART

[Ryde, June 29, 1891]

Dear Kautsky,

I have escaped here to Pumps for a few days; the flood of work breaking in upon me became too great. I was just happy and content in the middle of Group-Marriage, when the Party programme³⁸¹ arrived and that *had to be* taken up. I wanted first to try and make the wording of the preamble somewhat more concise but lack of time prevented me from doing this; besides it seemed

to me more important to analyse the partly avoidable and partly unavoidable deficiencies of the political part, as in so doing I found an opportunity to let fly at the conciliatory opportunism of the *Vorwärts* and the old wretched mess growing *frisch-fromm-fröhlich-frei*^a "into socialist society". Meanwhile I have heard that you proposed a new introduction to them; so much the better....

233

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN STUTTGART

London, October 14, 1891

Dear Kautsky,

To my great astonishment I found unexpectedly cropping up in the *Vorwärts* text of your draft^b the term "one reactionary mass". I am writing you at once about it although I am almost afraid it is too late. This propaganda phrase spoils, like a shrill discordant note, the whole harmonious array of tersely and precisely worded scientific propositions. For it is a propaganda phrase and extremely one-sided at that and hence entirely wrong in the apodictically absolute form in which alone it seems convincing.

Wrong because it enunciates an *historical tendency*, which is correct as such, as an *accomplished fact*. The moment the socialist revolution starts all other parties *appear* to be a reactionary mass vis-à-vis us. They may possibly *be* it already, and have lost all capacity for any progressive action whatsoever, although this is not inevitable. But at the *present moment* we cannot say that, at least not with the certainty with which we proclaim the other programmatic principles. Even in Germany conditions may arise under which the Left parties, despite their wretchedness, may be *forced* to sweep away part of the colossal anti-bourgeois, bureaucratic and feudal rubbish that is still lying there. And in that event they are by no means a reactionary mass.

So long as we are not strong enough to seize the helm of state ourselves and realise our principles there can be no talk, strictly speaking, of *one* reactionary mass vis-à-vis us. Otherwise the whole nation would be divided into a reactionary majority and an impotent minority.

^a Lively, devout, cheerful, free—the motto of the German sports associations.—*Ed.*

^b The draft programme of the German Social-Democratic Party.—*Ed.*

Did the people who broke up the system of small states in Germany, who gave the bourgeoisie elbow-room to make the industrial revolution, who introduced a unified communications system, both for persons and things, and who thereby were bound to give us greater freedom of movement—did they do that as a “reactionary mass”?

Did the French bourgeois republicans, who in 1871-78 definitely vanquished the monarchy and the rule of the clergy and secured freedom of the press, of association and of assembly to an extent previously unheard-of in France in non-revolutionary times, who introduced compulsory education and made instruction general and improved it to such an extent that we in Germany could profit by their example—did they act as a reactionary mass?

The Englishmen belonging to either of the official parties, who have enormously extended the suffrage, quintupled the number of voters, equalised the election districts, introduced compulsory education and improved instruction, who at each session vote not only for bourgeois reforms but also for ever new concessions to the workers—they proceed slowly and listlessly but nobody can condemn them offhand as “one reactionary mass”.

In brief, we have no right to represent a tendency gradually becoming a reality as an already accomplished fact, and particularly not since in England for instance this tendency will *never* become an absolute fact. When the turning point comes here the bourgeoisie will still be ready to introduce various small reforms. But at that time it will be completely pointless to insist on introducing small reforms in a system that is being overthrown.

The Lassallean phrase is justified *under certain circumstances* in agitation, although our people too have greatly misused it, for example since October 1, 1890^a in the *Vorwärts*. *But it does not belong in the Programme*, for there it would be absolutely wrong and misleading. There it would look like banker Bethmann’s wife on the balcony they wanted to build for his house: “If you build me a balcony my wife will squat down on it and spoil the whole façade!”

I cannot mention any other changes in the *Vorwärts* text for I have mislaid the paper and the letter must be mailed.

The Party Congress started on a glorious day. October 14 is the anniversary of the battles of Jena and Auerstedt³⁸² where old, pre-revolutionary Prussia collapsed. May October 14, 1891 inaugurate for Prussianised Germany the “*internal Jena*” predicted by Marx.

Yours,
F. Engels

^a On October 1, 1890 the Anti-Socialist Law was abrogated in Germany.—Ed.

234

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, October 24, 1891

... I can very well believe that the movement in the U.S.A. is again at a low ebb. Over there everything is liable to big ups and downs. But in each of the ups new ground is definitely gained and so one makes progress in the long run. Thus the powerful surge of the Knights of Labor³⁸³ and of the strike movement of 1886 to 1888 despite all the set-backs has on the whole advanced our cause. There is now quite a different spirit among the masses. Still more ground will be gained next time. But the living standard of the native American worker is nevertheless considerably higher than even that of the English worker, and this alone is sufficient to relegate him to a back seat for some time. Besides there is the competition of the emigrants and some other reasons. *When* the time is ripe things will move there with enormous speed and energy, but it may take a little while till that point is reached. Miracles don't happen anywhere. Add to this moreover the unfortunate business with the supercilious Germans who want to play the schoolmaster and at the same time the commander and who have thus made the natives dislike learning even the best things from them....

Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus [Socialism: Utopian and Scientific] will be published here in a translation prepared by Aveling and edited by me (in Sonnenschein's Social Series). In face of this authorised translation the American pirate edition³⁸⁴ with its miserable English will be rather innocuous. It is moreover not even complete, whatever they found too difficult they have left out....

235

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG

[London,] October 29-31, 1891

Dear Sir,

When your letter of 21st September arrived I was travelling in Scotland and Ireland; only today I find time and leisure to reply to it.

Your letter of 20th January was indeed lost, which I regret doubly, first because the interesting information it contained was kept from me for so long, and second because it put you to the trouble of working it out again for me. Many thanks!

The "Züchtung von Millionären,"^a as Bismarck puts it, seems indeed to go on in your country with giant steps. Such profits as your official statistics show are unheard-of nowadays in English, French or German textile manufactories. 10, 15, at the outside 20 per cent, average profits, and 25-30 per cent in very very exceptional years of prosperity, are considered *good*. It was only in the childhood of modern industry that establishments with the very latest and best machinery, producing their goods with considerably less labour than was at the time socially necessary, were able to secure such rates of profit. At present, such profits are made only on lucky speculative undertakings with new inventions, that is to say on one undertaking out of a hundred, the rest mostly being dead failures.

The only country where similar, or approximatively similar profits are nowadays possible in staple industries, is the United States, America. There the protective tariff after the civil war, and now the McKinley tariff, have had similar results, and the profits must be, and are, enormous. The fact that this state of things depends entirely on tariff legislation, which may be altered from one day to another, is sufficient to prevent any large investment of *foreign* capital (large in proportion to the quantity of domestic capital invested) in these industries, and thus to keep out the principal source of competition and lowering of profits.

Your description of the changes produced by this extension of modern industry in the life of the mass of the people, of the ruin of their home industry for the *direct consumption of the producers*, and by and by also of the home industry carried on for the capitalist purchaser, reminds me vividly of the chapter of our author^b on the *Herstellung des innern Markts*,^c and of what took place in most places of Central and Western Europe from 1820 to 1840. This change, of course, with you has different effects to some extent. The French and German peasant proprietor dies hard, he lingers for two or three generations in the hands of the usurer before he is perfectly ripe for being sold out of his land and house; at least in the districts where modern industry has not penetrated. In Germany the peasantry are kept above water by all sorts of domestic industries—pipes, toys, baskets, etc.—carried on for account of capitalists, their spare time being of no value to them after they have tilled their little fields; they consider every kopek they receive for extra work as so much gain; hence the ruinously low wages and the inconceivable cheapness of such industrial products in Germany.

With you, there is the resistance of the община [obshchina] to be overcome (although I should say that that must be giving way

^a "Breeding of millionaires."—*Ed.*

^b Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

^c Creation of a home market.—*Ed.*

Next Monday I begin again with Vol. III—and hope not to discontinue until complete.

This letter has been delayed until today, 31 October, in consequence of interruption.

236

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT IN ZURICH

London, November 1, 1891

... It is impossible, of course, to dispense with Hegel and the man also takes some time to digest. The shorter *Logik* in the *Encyclopädie* makes quite a good beginning. But you must take the edition published in the sixth volume of his *Werke*, not the separate edition by Rosenkranz (1845), because there are far more explanatory additions from the lectures in the former, even if that ass Henning often did not understand them himself.

In the Introduction you have the criticism, first (§ 26, etc.) of Wolf's version of Leibnitz (metaphysics in the historical sense), then of English-French empiricism (§ 37, etc.), then of Kant (§ 40 seqq.) and finally, of Jacobi's mysticism (§ 61). In the first section (Being) do not ponder too long over Being and Nothing; the last paragraphs on Quality and then Quantity and Measure are much finer, but the main section is the doctrine of Essence: the reduction of abstract opposites to their untenableness, that is as soon as one tries to hold on to one side alone, it changes imperceptibly into the other, etc. At the same time you can always make the thing clear to yourself by concrete examples; for instance, you, as a bridegroom, have a striking example of the inseparability of identity and difference in yourself and your bride. It is absolutely impossible to ascertain whether sexual love is pleasure in the identity in difference or in the difference in identity. Take away the difference (in this case of sex) or the identity (the human nature of both) and what have you got left? I remember how much this very inseparability of identity and difference worried me at first, although we can never take a step without stumbling upon it.

But you ought on no account to read Hegel as Mr. Barth has done, namely in order to discover the paralogisms and rotten expedients which served him as levers in construction. That is pure schoolboy's work. It is much more important to discover the truth and the genius which lie beneath the false form and within the artificial connections. Thus the transitions from one category or from one contradiction to the next are nearly always arbitrary—often made through a pun, as when Positive and Negative,

§ 120, "zugrunde gehn"^a in order that Hegel may arrive at the category "Grund".^b Lengthy meditations on this are a waste of time.

Since with Hegel every category represents a stage in the history of philosophy (as he generally indicates), you would do well to compare his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* [Lectures on the History of Philosophy], one of his most brilliant works. As relaxation, I can recommend the *Ästhetik*. When you have worked your way into it you will be amazed.

The inversion of Hegel's dialectics is due to the fact that it is supposed to be the "self-development of thought", of which the dialectics of facts therefore is only a reflection, whereas the dialectics in our heads is merely the reflection of the actual development going on in the world of nature and of human history in accordance with dialectical forms.

If you compare development from commodity to capital in Marx with development from being to essence in Hegel you have a fairly good parallel: here the concrete development which results from facts; there the abstract construction, in which exceedingly brilliant ideas and often very important transformations, like that of quality into quantity and *vice versa*, are moulded into the apparent self-development of one concept from another—transformations of the kind one could have manufactured a dozen more of....

^a Perish.—*Ed.*

^b Reason, ground.—*Ed.*

1892

237

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, January 6, 1892

... There is no place yet in America for a *third* party, I believe. The divergence of interests even in *the same* class stratum is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different strata and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality, and to a very large extent each of the two parties contains representatives of nearly every particular section of the possessing class, though *today* big industry on the whole forms the core of the Republicans, just as the big landed property of the South forms that of the Democrats. The apparent haphazardness of this jumbling together provides the splendid soil for the corruption and the exploitation of the government that flourish over there so extensively. Only when the land—the public lands—is completely in the hands of the speculators and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or becomes the subject of trickery—only then, I think, with *tranquil* development, will the time for a third party come. *Land* is the basis of speculation, and the mania and opportunity for speculation in America are the chief levers that keep the native-born worker under the sway of the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that can no longer expect *anything* from speculation will we have a solid foothold in America. But of course who can count on *tranquil* development in America? There are economic leaps over there like the political ones in France, and they do indeed produce the same temporary retrogressions.

The small farmers and the lower middle class will hardly ever succeed in forming a strong party: they consist of elements that change too rapidly—the farmer moreover is often migratory, working two, three, and four farms in succession in different states and territories; immigration and bankruptcy promote change in personnel in the two groups, and economic dependence upon the creditor also impedes independence—but on the other hand they are a splendid element for politicians, who speculate on their discontent in order to sell them out to one of the big parties afterward.

The "tenacity" of the Yankees, who are even rehashing the green-back humbug, is a result of their theoretical backwardness and their Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory. They are punished for this by a superstitious belief in every philosophical and economic absurdity, by religious sectarianism, and idiotic economic experiments, which however are profitable to certain bourgeois cliques....

238

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN BERLIN

London, February 19, 1892

... The situation in Germany is indeed becoming acute. Things must have gone far if oppositional tendencies repeatedly appear among the National Liberals³⁸⁵ and Richter can dream of a German "great Liberal Party". Capitalist society, which formally has not yet subordinated the state to itself, is compelled to leave the actual rule to a hereditary monarchist-bureaucratic-squirearchal caste and content itself with the idea that by and large its own interests decide matters in the end. This society, in view of its situation in Germany, wobbles between two trends: On the one hand an alliance of all official and possessing strata of society against the proletariat. This trend leads in the long run to "one reactionary mass" and, in a *tranquil* development, finally retains the upper hand. On the other hand there is a trend which continually places on the agenda that old conflict which out of cowardice has never been fought out, the conflict between the monarchy with its absolutist relics, the landed aristocracy, and the bureaucracy, which deems itself superior to all parties, and, opposed to all of them, the industrial bourgeoisie, whose material interests are suffering every day and hour at the hands of these obsolete elements. Such contingencies as personality, locality and the like determine which of these trends has the upper hand at any given moment. At the present moment the ascendancy of the second one seems about to start, in which event the industrial barons *à la* Stumm and the shareholders of the industrial companies will naturally side in the main with the decrepit reaction. But this rehash of the old conflict of 1848 that has been dished up an infinite number of times can become very serious only if the government and the landed aristocracy, flushed with their successes so far, should commit some monstrous imbecilities. I do not consider that impossible as the strange personal desires in top quarters are finding support in the increasing conviction of the Junkers that in the end industry *will be unable to stand* the taxes on raw materials and

foodstuffs. What point this conflict will reach depends, as I have said, on the fortuitousness of the personal element.

A characteristic feature in this context is that the old way of doing things is being used: They hit the bag but mean to hit the donkey (or rather both). They give it to the Social-Democracy but incidentally the bourgeoisie gets a good dose too; at first politically, with regard to its liberal principles, which it has been lavishly displaying for the past sixty years, and with regard to the tiny share it has *directly* in the government; but later on, if things fare well, also economically, sacrificing its interests to those of landed property.

A sharp turn to the right seems therefore to be in preparation, its pretext being the need to halt *our* advance....

239

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN BERLIN

London, March 8, 1892

... I am very glad that the disturbances in Berlin have blown over and that our people have so firmly kept out of them. There was always the possibility that some shooting might occur, and that would have served as a sufficient reason to cause us all sorts of trouble. If shooting had taken place in Berlin the National-Liberals might have gladly voted the elementary-school law and finally turn against us the sporadic fits of anger of certain people. The one reactionary mass which is gradually coming into being is from our point of view at present undesirable; as long as *we* are unable to participate actively in the making of history it is not in our interest that historical development should cease and to that end the brawls between the bourgeois parties come in useful. In this respect the present regime is priceless, for it helps to create this situation. If, however, shooting starts *too early*, i.e., before the old parties are tightly locked in combat with one another, they will be induced to come to terms and form a united front against us. That is as certain as twice two is four. If this happens when we are twice as strong as now, it won't do us any harm. And even if it were to happen now, the personal regime would surely see to it that squabbles start again among our opponents. But it is best to be on the safe side. At present things are going so well that we can only hope that nothing will interfere with their further progress.

As regards unemployment, it is indeed possible that this will become worse next year. Protectionism has had exactly the same

consequences as Free Trade, namely to glut individual national markets—and in fact it has done so almost everywhere—except that it is so far not as bad here as in your parts. But even here, where since 1867 we have experienced two or three lingering minor crises, it seems that an acute crisis is in the offing. The colossal cotton harvests of the last two or three years, reaching over 9 million bales per year, have brought down prices to as low a level as during the worst period of the 1846 crisis and are, moreover, exerting an enormous pressure on industry so that the manufacturers here must over-produce because the American planters have produced too much. In doing so they constantly lose money, because, as a result of the falling prices of raw material, their products that are being made from expensive cotton depreciate before they reach the market. *This is also the cause of the cries of distress uttered by the German and Alsatian spinners;* but this is passed over in silence in the Imperial Diet. Other branches of industry too are no longer in a particularly good state; railway revenues and the export of industrial commodities have been certainly declining during the past 15 months, so that next winter things may become rather difficult here as well. An improvement in the continental protectionist states can hardly be expected, trade agreements may bring some temporary relief, but their effect will be counterbalanced within a year. If next winter a similar row, on a larger scale, begins in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, and is re-echoed from London and New York it can become serious. In that case it is good that at least Paris and London have town councillors who *know only too well* their dependence on the workers' votes, and who will therefore not be inclined to offer serious resistance to demands that can be put into operation immediately, such as employment on public works, short working hours, wages in accordance with trade union demands—since they realise this is the best and only way of saving the masses from worse socialist—*really* socialist—heresies. We will then see whether the town councillors in Vienna and Berlin, elected on the basis of a system of class voting and of electoral qualification, will have to follow them willy-nilly....

240

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER IN NEW YORK

London, March 30, 1892

...Your great obstacle in America, it seems to me, lies in the exceptional position of the native workers. Up to 1848 one could only speak of the permanent native working class as an exception:

the small beginnings of it in the cities in the East could always hope to become farmers or bourgeois. Now a native working class has developed and is also to a large extent organised in trade unions. But it still assumes an aristocratic posture and wherever possible leaves the ordinary badly paid occupations to the immigrants, of whom only a small section enter the aristocratic trades. These immigrants however are divided into different nationalities and understand neither one another nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian Government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each one against the other, so that differences in the living standard of the workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard-of elsewhere. And added to this is the total indifference of a society which has grown up on a purely capitalist basis, without any genial feudal background, towards the human beings who succumb in the competitive struggle: "there will be plenty more, and more than we want, of these damned Dutchmen, Irishmen, Italians, Jews and Hungarians"; and, to cap it all, John Chinaman stands in the background who far surpasses them all in his ability to live on next to nothing.

In such a country, continually renewed waves of advance, followed by equally certain setbacks, are inevitable. But the advancing waves are always becoming more powerful, the setbacks less paralysing, and on the whole things are nevertheless moving forward. But this I consider certain: the purely bourgeois basis, with no pre-bourgeois humbug behind it, the corresponding colossal energy of the development, which manifests itself even in the mad excesses of the present protective tariff system, will one day bring about a change that will astound the whole world. Once the Americans get started it will be with an energy and vehemence compared with which we in Europe shall be mere children.

241

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, June 18, 1892

... Could Russia, in the year 1890, have existed and held its own in the world, as a purely agricultural country, living upon the export of her corn and buying foreign industrial products with

it? And there I believe we can safely reply: *no*. A nation of 100 million that play an important part in the history of the world, could not, under the present economic and industrial conditions, continue in the state in which Russia was up to the Crimean war. The introduction of steam engines and working machinery, the attempt to manufacture textile and metal products by modern means of production, at least for home consumption, *must* have been made sooner or later, but at all events at *some* period between 1856 and 1880. Had it not been made, your domestic patriarchal industry would have been destroyed all the same by English machine competition, and the end would have been—India, a country economically subject to the great Central Workshop, England. And even India has reacted by protective duties against English cotton-goods; and all the rest of the British colonies, no sooner had they obtained self-government, than they protected their home manufactures against the overwhelming competition of the mother country. English interested writers cannot make it out, that their own Free Trade example should be repudiated everywhere, and protective duties set up in return. Of course, they *dare* not see that this, now almost universal, protective system is a—more or less intelligent and in some cases absolutely stupid—means of self-defence against this very English Free Trade, which brought the English manufacturing monopoly to its greatest height. (Stupid for instance in the case of Germany, which had become a great industrial country under Free Trade and where protection is extended to agricultural produce and raw materials, thus raising cost of industrial production!) I do not consider this universal recurrence to protection as a mere accident, but as a reaction against the unbearable industrial monopoly of England; the *form* of this reaction as I said, may be inadequate and even worse, but the historical necessity of such a reaction seems to me clear and evident.

All governments, be they ever so absolute, are *en dernier lieu*^a but the executors of the economic necessities of the national situation. They may do this in various ways, good, bad and indifferent; they may accelerate or retard the economic development and its political and juridical consequences, but in the long run they must follow it. Whether the means by which the industrial revolution has been carried out in Russia have been the best for the purpose, is a question by itself which it would lead too far to discuss. For my purpose it is sufficient if I can prove that this industrial revolution, in itself, was unavoidable....

^a In the final analysis.—*Ed.*

242

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN STUTTGART

Ryde, September 4, 1892

... If you had been here during the last elections you would have talked differently about the Fabians.³⁸⁶ In our tactics one thing is firmly established for all modern countries and times: to convince the workers of the necessity of forming their own independent party, opposed to all bourgeois parties. During the last elections the English workers compelled by the course of events took a determined step in this direction for the first time and perhaps still only instinctively and this step has been surprisingly successful and has contributed more to the development of the minds of the workers than any other event during the last twenty years. And what did the Fabians do, not just this or that Fabian but the Society as a whole? It preached and practised: *affiliation of the workers to the Liberals*, and what was to be expected happened: the Liberals assigned them four seats impossible to win and the Fabian candidates conspicuously failed. The paradoxical man of letters Shaw—very talented and witty as a writer but absolutely useless as an economist and politician, although honest and not a careerist—wrote to Bebel that if they did not follow this policy of forcing their candidates on the Liberals they would reap nothing but defeat and disgrace (as if defeat were not often more honourable than victory) and now they have pursued their policy and have reaped both.

That is the crux of the whole matter. At a juncture when the workers for the first time come out independently, the Fabian Society advises them to remain the tail of the Liberals. And the Socialists on the Continent must be told that openly. To gloss this over would be to share the blame. That's why I was sorry that the final portion of the Avelings' article^a did not appear. It was not written *post festum*, not as an afterthought. It had simply been overlooked in the rush to get the article off. The article is not complete without a description of the attitude of both socialist organisations towards the elections, and the readers of the *Neue Zeit* have a right to know about this.

I believe I told you myself in my last letter that both in the Social-Democratic Federation and in the Fabian Society the provincial members were better than the central body. But that

^a The reference is to the article "Die Wahlen in Grossbritannien" ("Elections in Great Britain") by Eleanor and Edward Aveling published in the *Neue Zeit*.—Ed.

is of no avail as long as the attitude of the central body determines that of the Society. I don't know any of the other fine chaps except Banner. Curiously enough Banner has never come to see me since he joined the Fabian Society. I suppose his action was determined by his disgust with the Social Democratic Federation and the need for some kind of organisation, perhaps also some illusions. But this swallow makes no summer.

You see something unfinished in the Fabian Society. On the contrary, this crowd is only *too* finished: a clique of middle-class "Socialists" of diverse calibres, from careerists to sentimental Socialists and philanthropists, united only by their fear of the threatening rule of the workers and doing all in their power to avert this danger by making *their own* leadership secure, the leadership exercised by the "edicated". If afterwards they admit a few workers into their central board in order that they may play there the role of the worker Albert of 1848, the role of constantly outvoted minority, this should not deceive anyone.

The means employed by the Fabian Society are just the same as those of the corrupt parliamentary politicians: money, intrigues, careerism. That is, the English way, according to which it is self-understood that every political party (only among the workers it is supposed to be different!) pays its agents in some way or other or rewards them with posts. These people are immersed up to their necks in the intrigues of the Liberal Party, hold Liberal Party jobs, as for instance Sidney Webb, who in general is a genuine British politician. These gentry do everything that the workers have to be warned against.

In spite of all this I do not ask you to treat these people as enemies. But in my opinion you should not shield them from criticism either, just as you don't shield anybody else. And that is precisely what the omission of the passages concerning them in the article by the Avelings looked like. But if you would like the Avelings to give you an article on the history and attitude of the different English socialist organisations, you only have to say so and I'll propose it to them....

243

ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING IN BERLIN

London, September 28, 1892

Dear Mr. Mehring,

Kautsky sent me a part of one of your letters with a query addressed to me. If you believe you cannot very well write to me because many years ago I once left two of your letters unanswered,

I have no right to complain on that score. At that time however we were in different camps, the Anti-Socialist Law was in force and this compelled us to act according to the rule: He who is not for us is against us. Besides, if I remember rightly, you yourself said in one of the letters that you could not expect an answer. But that was a long time ago. Since then we have come to be in the same camp and you have published excellent works in the *Neue Zeit* and I have been by no means stingy in my appreciation of them, in letters to Bebel for instance. It is therefore with pleasure that I take the opportunity of answering you direct.

The claim that the discovery of the materialist outlook in history should be attributed to the Prussian romanticists of the historical school is indeed something new to me. I have Marwitz's *Nachlass* myself and read the book through a few years ago but I discovered nothing in it except superb things about cavalry and an unshakeable belief in the miraculous power of five blows of the whip when administered by nobleman to plebeian. Apart from that I have remained an entire stranger to this literature since 1841-42—I have only very superficially glanced over it—and I certainly owe absolutely nothing to it in the field in question. In his Bonn and Berlin days Marx had read Adam Müller and Mr. von Haller's *Restauration*, etc.; he spoke only with considerable contempt of this insipid, bombastic, verbose imitation of the French romanticists Joseph de Maistre and Cardinal Bonald. But even if he had come across passages like the one cited from Lavergne-Peguilha^a they could not have made the slightest impression upon him at that time if he understood at all what those people wanted to say. Marx was then a Hegelian and that passage was pure heresy to him. He knew nothing whatever about political economy and could not have had any idea about the meaning of a term like "*economic form*". Hence the passage in question, even if he had known it, would have gone in one ear and come out the other without leaving a perceptible trace in his memory. But I greatly doubt whether traces of such views could have been found in the works of the romantic historians which Marx read between 1837 and 1842.

The passage is of course very remarkable but I would like to have the quotation verified. I do not know the book, but its author is familiar to me as an adherent of the Historical School. The passage deviates in two points from the modern conception: 1) in deducing production and distribution from the form of economy instead of conversely deducing the form of economy from production; and 2) in the role which it assigns to the "appropriate utili-

^a Engels refers to Lavergne-Peguilha, *Grundzüge der Gesellschaftswissenschaft (Elements of Sociology)*.—Ed.

sation" of the form of economy, which one may take to mean anything conceivable until one learns from the book itself what the author has in mind.

However the most peculiar thing is that the correct conception of history is to be found *in abstracto* among the very people who have been distorting history most *in concreto*, theoretically as well as practically. These people might have seen in the case of feudalism how *there* the form of state evolves from the form of economy because things are as it were quite plain and obvious there. I say they "*might*" because apart from the above unverified passage—you say yourself it was *given* to you—I have never been able to discover more about it than that the theoreticians of feudalism are of course less abstract than the bourgeois liberals. If now one of these goes further and generalises this conception of the interconnection between the spread of culture and the form of state on the one hand and the form of economy within feudal society on the other by extending it to *all* forms of economy and state, how explain after that the total blindness of the same romanticist as soon as *other* forms of economy are at issue, for instance, the bourgeois form of economy and the forms of state corresponding to its various stages of development: mediaeval guild commune, absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, republic? It is certainly difficult to explain this. And the man who regards the economic form as the basis of the entire social and political organisation belongs to a school to which the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries already signifies the fall of man, a betrayal of the true political doctrine.

But it also says that the political form results just as inevitably from the economic form and its *appropriate utilisation* as the child from the sexual union of man and woman. In consideration of the universally known doctrine of the school to which the author belongs I can explain this only as follows: The true economic form is the feudal one. But since the malice of man conspires against it it must be "appropriately utilised" in such a way that its existence is protected from these attacks and preserved for all eternity and that the "political form", etc., always corresponds to it, accordingly it must as far as possible be brought back to the form it had in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Then the best of all worlds and the finest of historical theories would equally be realised and the Lavergne-Peguillenian generalisation would be reduced again to its true content: that feudal society produces a feudal political system.

For the present I can only assume that Lavergne-Peguillen did not know what he wrote. Proverbially certain animals also find pearls occasionally and these animals are strongly represented among Prussian romanticists. Incidentally, their French prototypes

should also be compared to see whether this is not borrowed, too.

To you I can only express thanks for having called my attention to this point, which unfortunately I cannot go into further at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,
F. Engels

244

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, December 31, 1892

Dear Sorge,

A few lines before the year ends. I have received your letters of November 18 and December 16. Many thanks. Did you get the parcel of books that I mailed you in September containing *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse* [*Condition of the Working-Class*], new edition, and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, translated by Aveling with an introduction by me? If not I'll send you another parcel registered.

Here in old Europe things are a little livelier than in your "youthful" country, which still doesn't quite want to grow out of its hobbledehoy stage. It is remarkable but wholly natural how firmly rooted bourgeois prejudices are even in the working class in such a young country, which has never known feudalism and has grown up on a bourgeois basis from the beginning. Out of his very opposition to the mother country—which still wears its feudal disguise—the American worker, too, imagines that the traditional bourgeois regime he inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time, a *nec-plus ultra*. Just as in New England Puritanism, the reason for the whole colony's existence, has for that very reason become an heirloom and almost inseparable from local patriotism. The Americans may strain and struggle as much as they like, but they simply cannot discount their future—colossally great as it is—like a bill of exchange; they must wait for the date on which it falls due; and just *because* their future is so great, their present must be occupied mainly with preparatory work for that future, and this work, as in every young country, is of a predominantly material nature and involves a certain backwardness of thought, a clinging to the traditions connected with the foundation of the new nationality. The Anglo-Saxon race—these damned Schleswig-Holsteiners, as Marx always called

them—is slow-witted anyhow, and its history, both in Europe and America (economic success and predominantly peaceful political development), has encouraged this still more. Only great events can be of assistance in such cases, and if, added to the more or less completed transfer of the public lands to private ownership, there now comes an expansion of industry under a less insane tariff policy and the conquest of foreign markets, things may go well with you, too. The class struggles here in England, too, were more turbulent during the *period of development* of large-scale industry and died down just in the period of England's undisputed industrial domination of the world. In Germany, too, the development of large-scale industry since 1850 coincides with the rise of the socialist movement, and it will probably not be different in America. It is the revolutionising of all traditional relations by industry *as it develops* that also revolutionises people's minds.

Moreover, the Americans have for a long time been providing the European world with the proof that the bourgeois republic is the republic of capitalist businessmen, in which politics is simply a business like any other; and the French, whose ruling bourgeois politicians have long known this and practised it in secret, are now at last, through the Panama scandal,³⁸⁷ learning this truth also on a national scale. But to keep the constitutional monarchies from putting on virtuous airs, every one of them has had its little Panama—England, the building societies scandals, one of these societies, the Liberator, has thoroughly “liberated” a mass of small depositors from some £8,000,000 in savings; Germany, the Baare scandals³⁸⁸ and Löwe's rifles³⁸⁹ (which prove that the Prussian officer continues to steal, but on a very, very small scale—the one thing in which he is modest); Italy, the Banca Romana,³⁹⁰ which is already nearly a Panama, and has bought about 150 deputies and senators. I am informed that documents about this are to be published in Switzerland shortly—Schlüter should watch for everything that appears in the papers about the Banca Romana. And in Holy Russia Prince Meshchersky from an ancient-Russian family is outraged by the indifference with which the Panama disclosures are received in Russia and can find no other explanation for it than that Russian virtue has been corrupted by French examples and that “we ourselves have more than one Panama at home”....

1893

245

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, January 18, 1893

... Here a conference of the Independent Labour Party³⁹¹ was held in Bradford, which you know about from the *Workman's Times*. The Social Democratic Federation³⁹² on the one hand and the Fabians³⁹³ on the other have, because of their sectarian attitude, not been able to absorb the rush towards Socialism in the provinces, so the formation of a third party was quite a good thing. But the rush has now become so great, especially in the industrial areas of the North, that the new party was already at this first Congress stronger than the Social Democratic Federation or the Fabians, if not stronger than the two together. And as the *mass* of the membership is certainly very good, as the centre of gravity lies in the provinces and not in London, the centre of intrigues, and as the main point of the programme is the same as ours, Aveling was right in joining and in accepting a seat on the Executive. If the petty private ambitions and intrigues of the London would-be-greats are held somewhat in check here and its tactics do not turn out *too* wrongheaded, the Independent Labour Party may succeed in detaching the masses from the Social Democratic Federation and in the provinces from the Fabians, too, thus forcing them to unite.

... The Fabians here in London are a band of careerists who have enough sense to realise that the social revolution is inevitable, but who could not possibly entrust this gigantic task to the crude proletariat alone and have thus acquired the habit of setting themselves at the head. Fear of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the "eddicated" *par excellence*. Their socialism is municipal socialism; not the nation but the *commune* is to become the owner of the means of production, at least provisionally. This socialism of theirs is then represented as an extreme but inevitable consequence of middle-class liberalism; hence their tactics of not decisively opposing the Liberals as adversaries but of pushing them on towards socialist conclusions and therefore of intriguing with them, of *permeating* liberalism with

socialism—of not putting up socialist candidates against the Liberals but of foisting and forcing them upon the Liberals, or cajoling the latter into taking them. They do not realise of course that in doing this they are either told a pack of lies and imposed on by others or else they themselves are lying about socialism.

With great industry they have produced amid all sorts of rubbish some good propaganda writing as well, in fact the best the English have produced in this field. But as soon as they turn to their specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle, it becomes rotten. Hence, too, their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us—because of the class struggle.

These people have of course many middle-class followers and therefore money....

246

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL IN BERLIN

London, January 24, 1893

... I am very anxious to see the stenographic copy of Singer's speech on the stock exchange; it read very well indeed in the *Vorwärts*. But one point of this topic is easily overlooked by all our people: The stock exchange is an institution where the bourgeoisie exploit not the workers but *one another*. The surplus value which changes hands on the Exchange is surplus value already *in existence*, the product of *past* exploitation of labour. Only when that process is finished can the surplus value serve the ends of stock exchange swindling. The stock exchange interests us in the first place only indirectly just as its influence, its repercussion on the capitalist exploitation of the workers, is felt only indirectly, and in a round-about way. To ask that the workers should take a direct interest and wax indignant over the way the landlords, manufacturers and petty bourgeois are fleeced on the stock exchange means demanding that the workers should take to arms in order to protect their direct exploiters so that they can remain in possession of the surplus value which they had filched from these selfsame workers. No, thank you. But as the finest fruit of bourgeois society, as the hearth of extreme corruption, as the hothouse of the Panama³⁹⁴ and other scandals—and therefore also as an excellent medium for the concentration of capitals, the disintegration and dissolution of the last remnants of naturally formed interconnections in bourgeois society and at the same time for the annihilation of all orthodox moral concepts and their perversion into their opposites, as an incomparable means of destruction and

as a most powerful accelerator of the impending revolution—in this historical sense the stock exchange is also of direct interest to us....

247

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE AT LE PERREUX

London, February 25, 1893

My dear Lafargue,

How time passes! Old Harney has reminded me this morning that yesterday was the anniversary of the February revolution. "Long Live the Republic!" Lord, we have so many other anniversaries to celebrate now that one forgets these semi-bourgeois occasions. And to think that in five years it will be a half century since that one took place. At the time we were all enthusiasm for the republic—with a small *r*; since it has been written with a capital *R*, it seems worthless, save as an almost obsolete historical stage.

Your speech was very good and I regret only one thing: that it was not delivered two months ago. But better late than never. It doesn't surprise me that the Chamber and the press found it ill-timed; if we were to wait upon their *placet* we should never open our mouths. As for the Radical Socialists *à la* Millerand & Co., it is absolutely essential that the alliance with them should be based on the fact that our Party is a separate party, and that they recognise that. Which in no way rules out joint action in the forthcoming elections, provided that the distribution of seats to be jointly contested is made in accordance with the actual state of the respective forces; those gentlemen are in the habit of claiming the lion's share.

Do not let the fact that your speeches do not create as much stir as formerly discourage you. Look at our people in Germany: they were booed for years on end, and now the 36 dominate the Reichstag. Bebel writes saying: if we were eighty or a hundred (out of 400 members), the Reichstag would become an impossibility. There is not a debate, no matter what the subject, in which we do not intervene and we are listened to by all the parties. The debate on the socialist organisation of the future lasted five days, and Bebel's speech was wanted in *three and a half million copies*. Now they are having the whole debate published in pamphlets at five sous, and the effect, already tremendous, will be doubled!

You are absolutely right to make preparations for the elections. We ought to capture at least 20 seats. You have the immense advantage of knowing, from the municipal elections,³⁹⁵ the *minimum*

extent of your strength in each locality; for I am sure that, since last May, you have appreciably increased it. That will help you greatly in apportioning candidatures between yourselves and the Radical Socialists. But possibly you would prefer to put up your candidates wherever you stand a chance, with the proviso to withdraw them, if necessary, in favour of the Radicals, for the second ballot, in the event of the latter having polled more votes.

The most important thing in the elections is to establish once and for all that it is our Party which represents socialism in France, and that all the other more or less socialist factions—Broussists, Allemanists, and pure or impure Blanquists—have been able to play a part beside us only by virtue of the temporary dissensions incidental to the more or less infantile phase of the proletarian movement; but that now the stage of infantile disorders is over, and the French proletariat has reached full consciousness of its historic role. Should we win 20 seats, all the others combined will not have as many, since they are more likely to lose some than to gain any. In which case things will go forward. In the meantime, *nurse your re-election*: I have a feeling that your absences from the Chamber have not contributed any too much to ensure it.

Panama is not finished, not by a long chalk. And it is a disgrace that the trouble and honour of making disclosures should be left to the Royalists and their dubious allies. They could not have a better battle-cry than: Down with the robbers, and if the great mass of the *stupid* countryside takes their part against the Republicans, it is to the cowardice of the *Radical* Republicans that they will owe this triumph. You say that the republic is not in danger, that the deputies have returned from the recess with this certainty; well, then, they should strike for all they are worth and not let themselves be confused with the robbers by their silence. You are quite right: the political ineptitude of the whole bourgeoisie defies the imagination.

The only country where the bourgeoisie still has a little common sense is England. Here the formation of the Independent Labour Party (though still in embryo) and its conduct in the Lancashire and Yorkshire elections have put a match to the government's backside; it is stirring itself, doing things unheard-of for a Liberal Government.³⁹⁶ The Registration Bill 1) unifies the suffrage for all parliamentary, municipal, etc., elections, 2) adds at least 20 to 30 per cent to the working-class vote, 3) removes the cost of election expenses from the candidates' shoulders and places it on those of the government. The payment of an honorarium to M.P.s is promised for the next session; and there are also a whole number of juridical and economic measures for the benefit of workers. Finally, the Liberals recognise that, to make sure of governing at the present time, there is nothing for it but to

increase the political power of the working class who will naturally kick them out afterwards. The Tories, on the other hand, are behaving at the moment with unbounded stupidity. But once Home Rule is on the Statute Book, they will realise that there is nothing for it but to enter the lists to gain power, and to that end there remains but one means: to win the working-class vote by political or economic concessions; thus Liberals and Conservatives cannot help extending the power of the working class, and hastening the time which will eliminate both the one and the other.

Amongst the workers here, things are going well. They begin to realise their strength more and more, and that there is only one way of using it, namely, by forming an independent party.

At the same time international feeling gains ground. In short, things are going well everywhere.

In Germany the dissolution of the Reichstag is still a possibility; but it becomes less and less likely; everyone, apart from us, is afraid of it. We should win 50 to 60 seats.

On March 26th there will be an international conference at Brussels which is to make preparations for the Zurich Congress. Shall you go to it?³⁹⁷

Good riddance to your taenia, and look after your bowels; I was going to make an *Irish bull* by saying: they are the sinews of war!

Ever yours,
F. Engels

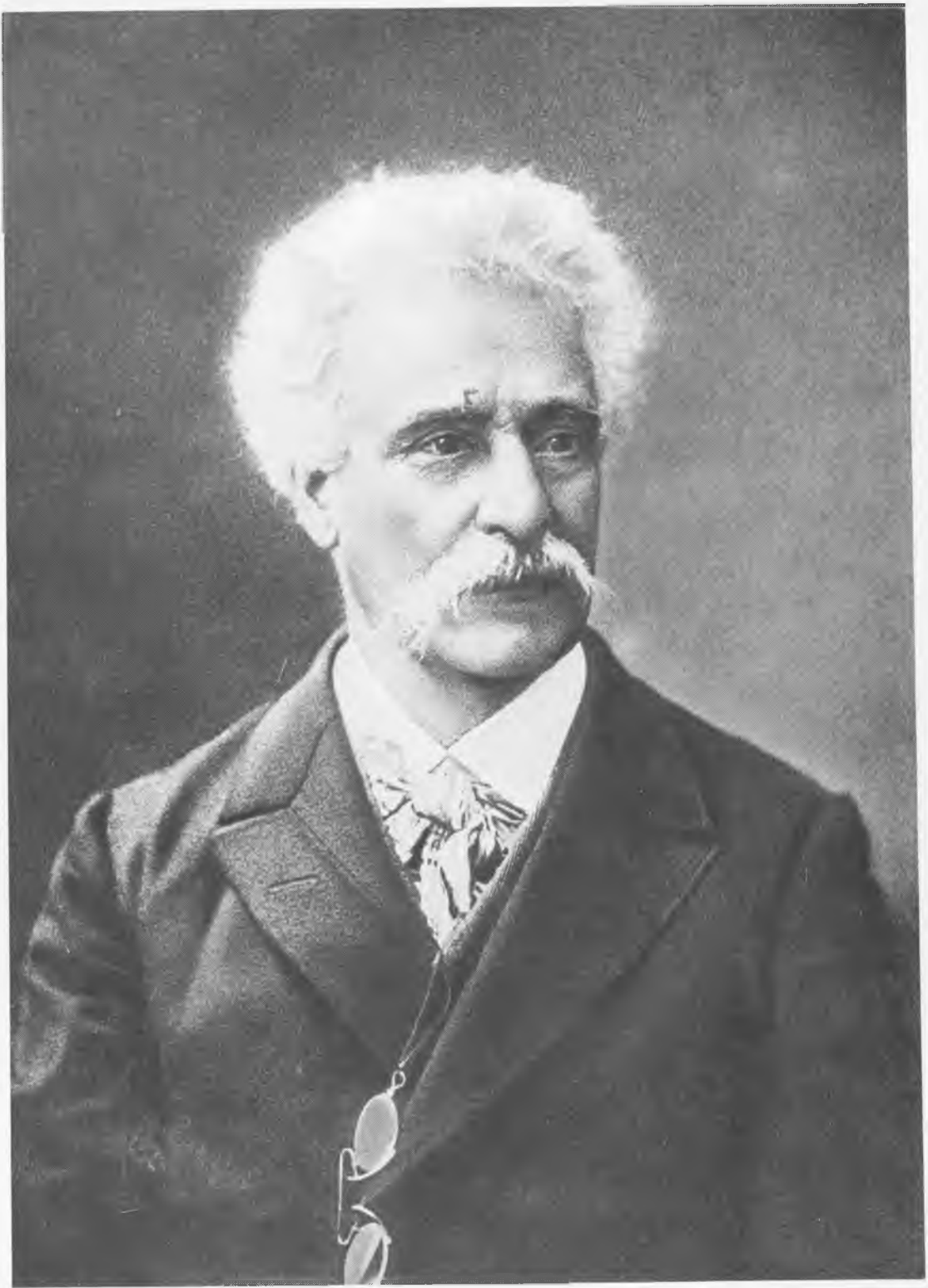
248

ENGELS TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE BULGARIAN SYMPOSIUM *SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT*³⁹⁸
ДО РЕДАКЦИЯТА НА СВОРНИКЪ "СОЦИАЛЪ-ДЕМОКРАТЪ"

London, June 9, 1893

Dear Party Comrades,

I cordially thank you for sending me No. 2 of your *Social-Democrat* and am endeavouring to show you by the superscription of this letter that I am at least beginning to understand your language. The requirements of internationalism are growing with each year. Up to 1848 one believed one had done enough if one had a smattering of the main languages of Western and Central Europe, but now a point has been reached where I must in my old age learn even Rumanian and Bulgarian if I want to follow the progress of socialism eastward and south-eastward. However for



Paul Lafargue

all that we in the West rejoice no less over these our south-eastern vanguards on the Asian frontier, who are carrying as far as the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea the banner of the modern proletariat that Marx has unfurled—if only he had lived to see this!—and who answer the enticements and threats of Russian tsarism by countering the tsarist proclamations with socialist works written by the Russian champions of the proletariat. It has given me great pleasure to see Plekhanov's works translated into Bulgarian.

Long Live International Socialism!

Yours,
F. Engels

249

ENGELS TO FRANZ MEHRING IN BERLIN

London, July 14, 1893

Dear Mr. Mehring,

Today is my first opportunity to thank you for the *Lessing-Legende* you were kind enough to send me. I did not want to reply with a bare formal acknowledgment of receipt of the book but intended at the same time to say something about it, about its contents. Hence the delay.

I shall begin at the end—the appendix “Über den historischen Materialismus” [“On Historical Materialism”], in which you have summarised the main points excellently and for any unprejudiced person convincingly. If I find anything to object to it is that you give me more credit than I deserve, even if I count everything which I might perhaps have found out for myself—in time—but which Marx with his more rapid *coup d'oeil* and wider vision discovered much more quickly. When one had the good fortune to work for forty years with a man like Marx, one usually does not during his lifetime get the recognition one thinks one deserves. Then, when the greater man dies, the lesser easily gets overrated and this seems to me to be just my case at present; history will set all this right in the end and by that time one has managed to kick the bucket and does no longer know anything about anything.

Otherwise only one more point is lacking, which, however, Marx and I always failed to stress enough in our writings and in regard to which we are all equally guilty. That is to say, in the first instance we all laid, and *were bound to lay*, the main emphasis on the *derivation* of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions,

from basic economic facts. But at the same time we have on account of the content neglected the formal side—the manner in which these notions, etc., come about. This has given our adversaries a welcome opportunity for misunderstandings and distortions, of which Paul Barth is a striking example.

Ideology is a process which is indeed accomplished consciously by the so-called thinker, but it is the wrong kind of consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to the thinker; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or illusory motive forces. Because it is a rational process he derives its form as well as its content from pure reasoning, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works exclusively with thought material, which he accepts without examination as something produced by reasoning, and does not investigate further for a more remote source independent of reason; indeed this is a matter of course to him, because, as all action is *mediated* by thought, it appears to him to be ultimately *based* upon thought.

The historical ideologist (historical is here simply a comprehensive term comprising political, juridical, philosophical, theological—in short, all the spheres belonging to *society* and not only to nature) thus possesses in every sphere of science material which has arisen independently out of the thought of previous generations and has gone through its own independent course of development in the brains of these successive generations. True, external facts belonging to one or another sphere may have exercised a co-determining influence on this development, but the tacit presupposition is that these facts themselves are also only the fruits of a process of thought, and so we still remain within that realm of mere thought, which apparently has successfully digested even the hardest facts.

It is above all this semblance of an independent history of state constitutions, of systems of law, of ideological conceptions in every separate domain that dazzles most people. If Luther and Calvin “overcome” the official Catholic religion, or Hegel “overcomes” Fichte and Kant, or Rousseau with his republican *Contrat social* indirectly “overcomes” the constitutional Montesquieu, this is a process which remains within theology, philosophy or political science, represents a stage in the history of these particular spheres of thought and never passes beyond the sphere of thought. And since the bourgeois illusion of the eternity and finality of capitalist production has been added to this, even the overcoming of the mercantilists by the physiocrats and Adam Smith is regarded as a sheer victory of thought; not as the reflection in thought of changed economic facts but as the finally achieved correct understanding of actual conditions subsisting always and every-

where—in fact, if Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus had introduced free trade instead of getting mixed up in the crusades we should have been spared five hundred years of misery and stupidity.

This aspect of the matter, which I can only indicate here, we have all, I think, neglected more than it deserves. It is the old story: form is always neglected at first for content. As I say, I have done that too and the mistake has always struck me only later. Hence I am not only far from reproaching you with this in any way—as the older of the guilty parties I certainly have no right to do so, on the contrary, but I would like all the same to draw your attention to this point for the future.

Connected with this is the fatuous notion of the ideologists that because we deny an independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a part in history we also deny them any *effect upon history*. The basis of this is the common undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, the total disregard of interaction. These gentlemen often almost deliberately forget that once an historic element has been brought into the world by other, ultimately economic causes, it reacts, and can react on its environment and even on the causes that have given rise to it. For instance, Barth when he speaks of the priesthood and religion, your page 475. I was very glad to see how you settled this fellow, whose banality exceeds all expectations; and such a man is made professor of history in Leipzig! Old Wachsmuth—also rather a bonehead but greatly appreciative of facts—was after all quite a different chap.

As for the rest, I can only repeat about the book what I repeatedly said about the articles when they appeared in the *Neue Zeit*; it is by far the best presentation in existence of the genesis of the Prussian state. Indeed, I may well say that it is the only good presentation, correctly developing in most matters their interconnections down to the very details. One regrets only that you were unable to include the entire further development down to Bismarck and one cannot help hoping that you will do this another time and present a complete coherent picture, from the Elector Frederick William down to old William.^a For you have already made the preliminary investigations and, in the main at least, they are as good as finished. The thing has to be done sometime anyhow before the shaky old shanty comes tumbling down. The dissipation of the monarchical-patriotic legends, although not really a necessary precondition for the abolition of the monarchy which screens class domination (for a *pure*, bourgeois republic in Germany has been

^a William I.—*Ed.*

made obsolete by events before it has come into existence) is nevertheless one of the most effective levers for that purpose.

Then you will also have more space and opportunity to depict the local history of Prussia as part of Germany's general misery. This is the point where I occasionally depart somewhat from your view, especially in the conception of the preliminary conditions for the dismemberment of Germany and of the failure of the bourgeois revolution in Germany during the sixteenth century. If I get down to reworking the historical introduction to my *Peasant War*, which I hope I shall do next winter, I shall be able to develop there the points in question. Not that I consider those you indicated incorrect, but I put others alongside them and group them somewhat differently.

In studying German history—the story of a continuous state of wretchedness—I have always found that only a comparison with the corresponding French periods produces a correct idea of proportions, because what happens there is the direct opposite of what happens in our country. There, the establishment of a national state from the scattered parts of the feudal state precisely at the time we pass through the period of our greatest decline. There, a rare objective logic during the whole course of the process; with us, increasingly dreary desultoriness. There, during the Middle Ages, the English conqueror, who intervenes in favour of the Provençal nationality against the Northern French nationality, represents foreign intervention, and the wars with England represent, in a way, the Thirty Years' War, which there, however, ends in the ejection of the foreign invaders and the subjugation of the South by the North. Then comes the struggle between the central power and Burgundy, the vassal, which relies on its foreign possessions, and plays the part of Brandenburg-Prussia, a struggle which ends, however, in the victory of the central power and conclusively establishes the national state. And precisely at that moment the national state completely collapses in our country (in so far as the "German kingdom" within the Holy Roman Empire can be called a national state) and the plundering of German territory on a large scale sets in. This comparison is most humiliating for Germans but for that very reason the more instructive; and since our workers have put Germany back again in the forefront of the historical movement it has become somewhat easier for us to swallow the ignominy of the past.

Another especially significant feature of the development of Germany is the fact that not one of the two member states which in the end partitioned Germany between them was purely German—both were colonies on conquered Slav territory: Austria a Bavarian and Brandenburg a Saxon colony—and that they acquired power *within* Germany only by relying upon the support

of foreign, non-German possessions: Austria upon that of Hungary (not to mention Bohemia) and Brandenburg that of Prussia. On the Western border, the one in greatest jeopardy, nothing of the kind took place; on the Northern border it was left to the Danes to protect Germany against the Danes; and in the South there was so little to protect that the frontier guard, the Swiss, even succeeded in tearing themselves loose from Germany!

But I am speaking of all kinds of extraneous matter, let this palaver at least serve you as proof of how stimulating an effect your work has upon me.

Once more cordial thanks and greetings from

Yours,

F. Engels

250

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG

London, October 17, 1893

Dear Sir,

When I received your letter of July 26th announcing your return home, I was on the point myself of going abroad for two months and am only just returned. This is the reason of my long silence.

Many thanks for the copies of the *Очерки*,^a—three of which I have forwarded to appreciative friends. The book, I am glad to see, has caused considerable stir and indeed sensation, as it well merited. Among the Russians I have met, it was the chief subject of conversation. Only yesterday one of them writes: у нас на Руси идет спор о "судьбах капитализма в России". In the Berlin *Sozialpolitische Centralblatt* a Mr. P. v. Struve has a long article on your book; I must agree with him in this one point, that for me, too, the present capitalistic phase of development in Russia appears an unavoidable consequence of the historical conditions as created by the Crimean war,³⁹⁹ the way in which the change of 1861 in agrarian conditions was accomplished, and the political stagnation in Europe generally. Where he is decidedly wrong, is in comparing the present state of Russia with that of the United States, in order to refute what he calls your pessimistic views of the future. He says, the evil consequences of modern capitalism in Russia will be as easily overcome as they are in the United

^a Engels refers to Danielson's *Essays on Our National Economy Since the Reform*, which he published under the pseudonym Nikolai —on.—Ed.

States. There he quite forgets that the U.S. are modern, bourgeois, from the very origin; that they were founded by petits bourgeois and peasants who ran away from European feudalism in order to establish a purely bourgeois society. Whereas in Russia, we have a groundwork of a primitive communistic character, a pre-civilisation *Gentilgesellschaft*^a, crumbling ruins, it is true, but still serving as the groundwork, the material upon which the capitalistic revolution (for it is a real social revolution) acts and operates. In America, *Geldwirtschaft*^b has been fully established for more than a century, in Russia, *Naturalwirtschaft*^c was all but exclusively the rule. Therefore it stands to reason that the change, in Russia, must be far more violent, far more incisive, and accompanied by immensely greater sufferings than it can be in America.

But for all that it still seems to me that you take a gloomier view of the case than the facts justify. No doubt, the passage from primitive agrarian communism to capitalistic industrialism cannot take place without terrible dislocation of society, without the disappearance of whole classes and their transformation into other classes; and what enormous suffering, and waste of human lives and productive forces that necessarily implies, we have seen—on a smaller scale—in Western Europe. But from that to the complete ruin of a great and highly gifted nation there is still a long way. The rapid increase of population to which you have been accustomed, may be checked; the reckless deforestation combined with the expropriation of the old помещики^d as well as the peasants may cause a colossal waste of productive forces; but after all, a population of more than a hundred million will finally furnish a very considerable home market for a very respectable *grande industrie*, and with you as elsewhere, things will end by finding their own level—if capitalism lasts long enough in Western Europe.

You yourself admit that

“the social conditions in Russia after the Crimean War were not favourable to the development of the form of production inherited by us from our past history”.

I would go further and say, that no more in Russia than anywhere else would it have been possible to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless—that higher form was *already in existence* in another country, so as to serve as a model. That higher form being, wherever it is historically possi-

^a Gentile society.—*Ed.*

^b Money economy.—*Ed.*

^c Natural economy.—*Ed.*

^d Landlords.—*Ed.*

ble, the necessary consequence of the capitalistic form of production and of the social dualistic antagonism created by it, it could not be developed directly out of the agrarian commune, unless in imitation of an example already in existence somewhere else. Had the West of Europe been ripe, 1860-1870, for such a transformation, had that transformation then been taken in hand in England, France etc., then the Russians would have been called upon to show what could have been made out of their Commune, which was then more or less intact. But the West remained stagnant, no such transformation was attempted, and capitalism was more and more rapidly developed. And as Russia had no choice but this: either to develop the Commune into a form of production from which it was separated by a number of historical stages, and for which not even in the West the conditions were then ripe—evidently an impossible task—or else to develop into Capitalism, what remained to her but the latter chance?

As to the Commune, it is only possible so long as the differences of wealth among its members are but trifling. As soon as these differences become great, as soon as some of its members become the debt-slaves of the richer members, it can no longer live. The кулаки and мироеды^a of Athens, before Solon, destroyed the Athenian *gens* with the same implacability with which those of your country destroy the Commune. I am afraid that institution is doomed. But on the other hand, capitalism opens out new views and new hopes. Look at what it has done and is doing in the West. A great nation like yours outlives every crisis. There is no great historical evil without a compensating historical progress. Only the *modus operandi* is changed. *Que les destinées s'accomplissent!*^b

Yours ever,

When Vol. III is in the press, will take care to send you advance sheets.

251

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, November 11, 1893

... Read the article by Autolycus (Burgess) about the Fabian Manifesto printed on the front page of today's *Workman's Times*.

^a Big peasants and village exploiters.—*Ed.*

^b May destiny take its course!—*Ed.*

These gentlemen, after having declared for years that the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished through the Great Liberal Party, after having decried all independent election activity of the workers against Liberal candidates too as disguised Toryism and after having proclaimed the permeation of the Liberal Party by socialist principles as the sole task of the Socialists—these gentlemen now declare that the Liberals are traitors, that nothing can be done with them and that in the next elections the workers should put up candidates of their own, regardless of Liberals or Tories, with the aid of £30,000 to be made available in the meantime by the Trade Unions if these do the Fabians that favour, which they certainly won't. It is a complete confession of sins by these supercilious bourgeois, who graciously condescend to emancipate the proletariat from above provided it is sensible enough to realise that such a raw, uneducated mass is unable to emancipate itself and cannot achieve anything except by the grace of these clever lawyers, writers and sentimental old women. And now the first attempt of these gentlemen, which was announced with the beating of drums and sounding of trumpets as a world-shaking event, has so brilliantly failed that they have to admit it themselves. That is the comical side of the story....

1894

252

ENGELS TO W. BORGIUS IN BRESLAU

London, January 25, 1894

Dear Sir,

Here is the answer to your questions:

1. By economic relations, which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society, we understand the manner in which men in a given society produce their means of subsistence and exchange the products (in so far as division of labour exists). They comprise therefore the *entire technique* of production and transport. According to our conception this technique also determines the mode of exchange and, further more, of the distribution of products and hence, after the dissolution of gentile society, also the division into classes, and consequently the relations of lordship and servitude and consequently the state, politics, law, etc. The economic relations comprise also the *geographical basis* on which they operate and those remnants of earlier stages of economic development which have been actually transmitted and have survived—often only as a result of tradition or inertia; and of course also the external environment which surrounds this form of society.

If, as you say, technique largely depends on the state of science, science depends far more still on the *state* and the *requirements* of technique. If society has a technical need, that advances science more than ten universities. The whole of hydrostatics (Torricelli, etc.) was called forth by the necessity for regulating the mountain streams of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only since the technical applicability of electricity was discovered do we know anything rational about it. But unfortunately it is customary in Germany to write the history of the sciences as if they had fallen from the skies.

2. We regard economic conditions as that which ultimately determines historical development. But race is itself an economic factor. In this context, however, two points must not be overlooked:

a) Political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all

these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. One must think that the economic situation is *cause, and solely active*, whereas everything else is only passive effect. On the contrary, interaction takes place on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself. The state, for instance, exercises an influence by protective tariffs, free trade, good or bad fiscal system; and even the extreme debility and impotence of the German philistine, arising from the wretched economic condition of Germany from 1648 to 1830 and expressing themselves at first in pietism, then in sentimentality and cringing servility to princes and nobles, were not without economic effect. That was one of the greatest obstacles to recovery and was not shaken until the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars made the chronic misery an acute one. The economic situation therefore does not produce an automatic effect as people try here and there conveniently to imagine, but men make their history themselves, they do so however in a given environment, which conditions them, and on the basis of actual, already existing relations, among which the economic relations—however much they may be influenced by other, political and ideological, relations—are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the keynote which alone leads to understanding.

b) Men make their history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will according to a collective plan or even in a clearly defined given society. Their aspirations clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by *necessity*, whose complement and manifestation is *accident*. The necessity which here asserts itself through all accident is again ultimately economic necessity. In this connection one has to deal with the so-called great men. That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course, pure chance. But if one eliminates him there is a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found, good or bad, but in the long run he will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own warfare, had rendered necessary, was chance; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled the place, is proved by the fact that a man was always found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot and all the English historians up to 1850 are evidence that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that it simply *had* to be discovered.

So with all the other contingencies, and apparent contingencies, of history. The further the particular sphere which we are inves-

tigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure abstract ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run zigzag. But if you plot the average axis of the curve, you will find that this axis will run more and more nearly parallel to the axis of economic development the longer the period considered and the wider the field dealt with.

In Germany the greatest hindrance to correct understanding is the irresponsible neglect by literature of economic history. It is very difficult not only to rid oneself of the historical notions drilled into one at school but still more to take up the necessary material for doing so. Who, for instance, has read even old G. von Gülich, whose dry collection of material nevertheless contains so much stuff for the clarification of innumerable political facts!

By the way, the fine example which Marx has given in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* should, I think, provide a fairly good answer to your questions, precisely because it is a practical example. It seems to me moreover that I have already touched on most of the points in *Anti-Dühring* I, chs. 9-11, and II, 2-4, as well as in III, 1, or Introduction, and also in the last section of *Feuerbach*.

Please do not weigh each word in the above too scrupulously, but keep the general connection in mind; I regret that I have not the time to word what I am writing to you as exactly as I should be obliged to do for publication....

253

ENGELS TO FILIPPO TURATI

[London,] January 26, 1894

Dear Turati,

The situation in Italy seems to me to be as follows:

The bourgeoisie which came to power during and after the national emancipation, has neither been able nor willing to complete its victory. It has not destroyed the remnants of feudalism nor has it reorganised national production on the modern bourgeois pattern. Incapable of allowing the country to share in the relative and temporary advantages of the capitalist regime it has imposed upon it all the burdens, all the disadvantages of that system. And as if that did not suffice it has forfeited forever, by filthy bank swindles, whatever respect and credit it still enjoyed.

The working people—peasants, handicraftsmen, agricultural and industrial workers—consequently find themselves crushed on the one hand by the antiquated abuses inherited not only from feudal times but even the days of antiquity (share farming, *Latifundia* in the South, where cattle supplant men); on the other hand by the most voracious taxation system ever invented by the bourgeois system. It is a case where one may well say with Marx: "We, like all the rest of Continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms. We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!*"⁴⁰⁰

The situation is found to lead to a crisis. Everywhere the producing masses are in ferment; here and there they are rising. Where will this crisis lead us?

Evidently the socialist party is too young and, on account of the economic situation, too weak to be able to hope for an immediate victory of socialism. In this country the agricultural population far outweighs the urban population. There is not much large-scale industries, in the towns the *typical* proletariat is therefore rather small; handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and declassed elements—a mass fluctuating between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat—compose the majority. It is the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the Middle Ages in decay and disintegration, for the most part proletarians of the future but not yet proletarians of the present. It is this class alone which, always facing economic ruin and now driven to desperation, will be able to furnish both the bulk of fighters and the leaders of a revolutionary movement as well. It will be supported by the peasants, who are prevented from displaying any effective initiative because of the territorial fragmentation and their illiteracy, but they will nevertheless be powerful and indispensable allies.

In case success is more or less peacefully achieved a simple change of government will take place and "converted" republicans, the Cavallottis & Co., will accede to power; in case of a revolution there will be a bourgeois republic.

Faced with this eventuality, what role must the socialist party play?

Ever since 1848 the tactics that have brought the Socialists the greatest successes were those set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*:

"In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they

[the Communists] always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.... The communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

They therefore take an active part in every phase of the struggle between the two classes without ever losing sight of the fact that these phases are just so many stages leading to the first great goal: the conquest of political power by the proletariat as a means for reorganising society. Their place is in the ranks of those fighting to achieve immediate results in the interests of the working class. They accept all these political or social achievements, but merely *as payments on account*. Accordingly they consider every revolutionary or progressive movement as a step in the direction in which they themselves are moving. It is their special mission to impel the other revolutionary parties onward and, should one of them be victorious, to safeguard the interests of the proletariat. Those tactics, which never lose sight of the grand objective, spare Socialists the disappointment that inevitably will befall the other and less clear-sighted parties, be they pure republicans or sentimental Socialists, who mistake what is a mere stage for the final goal of their forward march.

Let us apply all this to Italy.

The victory of the disintegrating petty bourgeoisie and of the peasantry may therefore possibly lead to the formation of a government of the "converted" republicans. That will give us universal suffrage and considerably greater freedom of movement (press, assembly, association, abolition of police surveillance, etc.)—new weapons that are not to be scorned.

Or it will bring us a bourgeois republic with the same people and a few Mazzinists. That would to a far greater extent increase our liberty and our field of action, at least for the time being. And as Marx said the bourgeois republic is the only political form in which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be fought to a finish; to say nothing of the repercussions this would have in Europe.

The victory of the present revolutionary movement is therefore bound to make us stronger and create a more favourable climate for us. Thus we should commit the greatest error if we were to stand aside, if in our conduct vis-à-vis "related" parties we were to confine ourselves to purely negative criticism. A moment may come when we will have to co-operate with them in a positive way. Who knows when that moment will arrive?

It is obviously not our business to make direct preparations for a movement which, strictly speaking, is not a movement of the

class we represent. If the republicans and radicals believe the hour for action has struck, let them give free rein to their impetuosity. As for ourselves we have been deceived too often by the high-sounding promises of these gentlemen to be taken in once again. Neither their proclamations nor their conspiracies should move us in the least. If we are obliged to support every *real* popular movement we are no less obliged to see that the scarcely formed nucleus of our proletarian Party is not sacrificed in vain and that the proletariat is not decimated in futile local revolts.

But if on the contrary the movement is genuinely national, our people will join it without being asked to do so and it goes without saying that we will participate in such a movement. But in such a case it should be clearly understood, and we must loudly proclaim it, that we are participating *as an independent party*, allied for the moment with radicals and republicans but wholly distinct from them; that we entertain no illusions whatever as to the result of the struggle in case of victory; that far from satisfying us this result will only mean to us another stage won, a new base of operations for further conquests; that on the very day of victory our ways will part; that from that day on we shall constitute the *new opposition* to the new government, an opposition that is not reactionary but progressive, the opposition of the extreme Left, which will press on to new conquests beyond the ground already gained.

After the common victory we might be offered some seats in the new government, but so that we always remain *a minority*. *That is the greatest danger*. After February 1848 the French socialist democrats (of the *Réforme*,⁴⁰¹ Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Flocon, etc.) made the mistake of accepting such posts.⁴⁰² Constituting a minority in the government they voluntarily shared the responsibility for all the infamies and treachery which the majority, composed of pure Republicans, committed against the working class, while their presence in the government completely paralysed the revolutionary action of the working class which they claimed they represented.

All this is merely my personal opinion, which I have expressed because I was asked for it and I have expressed it with the greatest reticence. As regards the general tactics recommended by me I have found them effective during many years. They have never failed me. But as regards their application to present conditions in Italy, that is another matter that must be decided on the spot and it can only be decided by those who are in the thick of events.

Frederick Engels

254

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN PARIS

London, March 6, 1894

... But we have a republic in France, the ex-radicals will tell you. In our country it is another matter, we can use the government for socialist measures.

With respect to the proletariat the republic differs from the monarchy only in that it is the *ready-for-use* political form for the future rule of the proletariat. You are at an advantage compared with us in already having it; we for our part shall have to spend twenty-four hours to make it. But a republic, like every other form of government, is determined by its content; so long as it is a form of *bourgeois* rule it is as hostile to us as any monarchy (except that the *forms* of this hostility are different). It is therefore a wholly baseless illusion to regard it as essentially socialist in form or to entrust socialist tasks to it while it is dominated by the bourgeoisie. We shall be able to wrest concessions from it but never to put in its charge the execution of what is our own concern, even if we should be able to control it by a minority strong enough to change into the majority overnight....

255

ENGELS TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE FRENCH WORKERS'
PARTY ON THE OCCASION OF THE 23rd ANNIVERSARY
OF THE PARIS COMMUNE*London, March 18, 1894*

I drink with you to the speedy arrival of an international 18th of March, which will insure the victory of the proletariat, abolish class antagonisms and strife between nations and bring about peace and happiness in the civilised countries.

Engels

256

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, May 12, 1894

... Here things go on as before. No possibility of achieving unity among the labour leaders. Nevertheless the *masses* are moving forward—slowly, it is true, and only striving for consciousness, yet unmistakably. The development here will be similar to that in France and in Germany before that: they will be compelled to unite as soon as a number of independent workers (especially if they are elected without the assistance of the Liberals) have seats in Parliament. The Liberals are doing their utmost to prevent this. In the first place, they don't even extend the franchise to those who *on paper* are already entitled to it; on the contrary, in the second place, they are making the electoral registers even more expensive *for the candidates* than they were before, for they are to be drawn up twice a year and the costs of drawing them up correctly are to be defrayed by the candidates or the representatives of the respective political *parties* and not by the State; in the third place, they expressly refuse to have the State or the municipality assume the costs of the election; fourthly, the question of parliamentary salaries and, fifthly, second ballots. The preservation of all these old abuses amounts to a direct denial of the eligibility of working-class candidates in three-fourths or more of the constituencies. Parliament is to remain a *club of the rich*. And this at a time when the rich are all turning Conservative because they are satisfied with the *status quo*, and the Liberal Party is *dying out* and becomes more and more dependent upon the labour vote. But the Liberals insist that the workers should elect *only* bourgeois, not workers, and certainly not independent workers.

This is going to ruin the Liberals. Their lack of courage estranges the labour vote in the country, reduces their small majority in Parliament to nothing, and if they do not take some *very bold* steps at the last minute they are probably doomed. Then the Tories will get in and *accomplish* what the Liberals actually intended not merely to promise but to carry through. And then an independent labour party is fairly certain.

The Social-Democratic Federation here shares with your German-American Socialists the distinction of being the only parties who have contrived to reduce the Marxist theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to reach as a result of their class consciousness, but which, like an article of faith, is to be forced down their throats at once and without development. That is why both remain mere sects and, as Hegel says, come from nothing through nothing to nothing....

257

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE IN HOBOKEN

London, November 10, 1894

... The movement over here still resembles the American movement, save that it is *somewhat* ahead of you. The mass instinct that the workers must form a party of their own against the two official parties is getting stronger and stronger; this was more apparent than ever in the municipal elections on November 1. But all kinds of old traditional memories and a lack of people capable of transforming this instinct into conscious action that will embrace the entire country tends to keep the workers in this preliminary stage which is marked by haziness of thought and local isolation of action. Anglo-Saxon sectarianism prevails in the labour movement, too. The Social-Democratic Federation, just like your German Socialist Workers' Party, has managed to transform our theory into the rigid dogma of an orthodox sect; it is narrow-mindedly exclusive and, thanks to Hyndman, has a thoroughly rotten tradition in international politics, which is shaken from time to time, to be sure, but which has not yet been thrown overboard. The Independent Labour Party is extremely vague in its tactics, and its leader, Keir Hardie, is a supercunning Scot, whose demagogic tricks can not be trusted for a minute. Although he is a poor devil of a Scottish coal miner, he has founded a big weekly, *The Labour Leader*, which could not have been established without considerable money, and he is getting this money from Tory or Liberal-Unionist, that is, anti-Gladstone and anti-Home Rule sources. There can be no doubt about this, and his notorious literary connections in London as well as direct reports and his political attitude confirm it. As a result of this, it is possible that owing to desertions by Irish and radical voters, he may very easily lose his seat in Parliament at the 1895 general elections and that would be a stroke of good luck—the man is the greatest obstacle at present. He appears in Parliament only on demagogic occasions, in order to cut a figure with phrases about the unemployed—without getting anything done—or to address imbecilities to the Queen^a on the occasion of the birth of a prince, which is infinitely banal and cheap in this country, and so forth. Otherwise there are very good elements both in the Social-Democratic Federation and in the Independent Labour Party, especially in the provinces, but they are scattered; yet they have at least managed to foil all the efforts of the leaders to incite the two organisations against each other. John Burns stands pretty

^a Victoria.—*Ed.*

much alone politically; he is being viciously attacked both by Hyndman and by Keir Hardie and acts as if he despaired of the political organisation of the workers and set his hopes solely on the trade unions. To be sure, he has had bad experiences with the former and might starve if the Engineers' Union did not pay him his Parliamentary salary. He is vain and has allowed the Liberals, that is, the "social wing" of the radicals, to lead him a bit too much by the nose. He attaches altogether too much importance to the numerous individual concessions that he has forced through, but with all that he is the only really honest fellow in the whole movement, that is, among the leaders, and he has a thoroughly proletarian instinct which will, I believe, guide him more correctly at the decisive moment than cunning and selfish calculation will the others.

On the Continent success is developing the appetite for more success, and catching the peasant, in the literal sense of the word, is becoming the fashion. First the French, in Nantes, declare through Lafargue not only that it is not our business to hasten by our direct interference the ruin of the small peasants (I had written this to them), which capitalism is seeing to for us, but also that we must directly *protect* the small peasant against taxation, usury, and landlords. But we cannot co-operate in this, first because it is stupid and second because it is impossible. Next however Vollmar comes along in Frankfurt and wants to bribe the *peasantry as a whole*, and moreover the peasant he has to deal with in Upper Bavaria is not the debt-ridden small peasant of the Rhineland, but the middle and even the big peasant, who exploits male and female farmhands and sells cattle and grain in quantity. And that cannot be done without giving up the whole principle. We can win over the Alpine peasants and the Lower Saxon and Schleswig-Holstein big peasants only if we sacrifice the fieldhands and day labourers to them, and in doing that we lose more politically than we gain. The Frankfurt Party Congress did not take a stand on this question, and that is to the good in so far as the matter will now be studied thoroughly; the people who were there knew far too little about the peasantry and rural conditions, which differ so fundamentally in different provinces, to have been able to do anything but make random decisions. But the matter has to be settled some time all the same....

The war in China has given the death-blow to the old China. Isolation has become impossible; the introduction of railways, steam-engines, electricity, and modern large-scale industry has become a necessity, if only for reasons of military defence. But with it the old economic system of small peasant agriculture, where the family also made its industrial products itself, falls to pieces too, and with it the whole old social system which made

relatively dense population possible. Millions will be turned out and forced to emigrate; and these millions will find their way even to Europe, and en masse. But as soon as Chinese competition sets in on a mass scale, it will rapidly bring things to a head in your country and over here, and thus the conquest of China by capitalism will at the same time furnish the impulse for the overthrow of capitalism in Europe and America....

1895

258

ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER IN HOBOKEN

London, January 1, 1895

... Things here are much the same as in your country. The socialist instinct is getting stronger and stronger among the *masses*, but as soon as it is a question of translating the instinctive impulses into clear demands and ideas people at once begin to disagree. Some go to the Social-Democratic Federation, others to the Independent Labour Party, still others go no further than the trade union organisation, etc., etc. In brief, nothing but sects and no party. The leaders are almost all petty unreliable fellows, the candidates for the top leadership are very numerous but by no means conspicuously fitted for the posts, while the two big bourgeois parties stand there, purse in hand, on the look-out for someone they can buy. Besides, so-called "democracy" here is very much restricted by *indirect* barriers. A periodical costs a terrible amount of money, a parliamentary candidature as well, and the life of a member of Parliament, too, if only on account of the enormous correspondence entailed. Checking the miserably kept electoral register is likewise very costly and only the two official parties have so far been able to afford the expense. Anyone, therefore, who does not sign up with either of these parties has little chance of getting on the election list. In all these respects people here are a long way behind the Continent, and are beginning to notice this. Furthermore, there is no second ballot here and a relative majority or, as you Americans say, plurality, suffices. At the same time everything is designed for *two* parties *only*; a third party can at most turn the scales in favour of one of the two until it equals them in strength.

Nor are the Trade Unions in this country capable of accomplishing anything like the beer boycott in Berlin; an arbitration court like the one they succeeded in getting there is something still unattainable here.

On the other hand, here, as in your country, once the workers know what they want, the state, the land, industry and everything else will belong to them....

259

ENGELS TO FERDINAND TÖNNIES IN KIEL

London, January 24, 1895

... Your observations on Auguste Comte are very interesting. As far as this "philosopher" is concerned a considerable amount of work has in my opinion still to be done. Comte was for five years secretary to Saint-Simon and his intimate friend. The latter positively suffered from repleteness of thought. He was a genius and mystic in one. To establish clearness, order, system was not his forte. So Comte was a man he enlisted who after his master's death would perhaps present these overbrimming ideas to the world in orderly fashion. Comte's mathematical schooling and method of thought seemed to render him peculiarly fit for this in contrast to other pupils, who were dreamers. Suddenly Comte broke with his "master" and withdrew from the school. Then, after a rather lengthy period of time, he came out with his "positive philosophy".

In this system there are three characteristic elements: 1) a series of brilliant thoughts, which however are nearly always spoiled to some extent because they are incompetently set forth likewise; 2) a narrow, philistine way of thinking sharply contrasting with that brilliant mind; 3) a hierarchically organised religious constitution, whose source is definitely Saint-Simonian, but divested of all mysticism and turned into something extremely sober, with a regular pope at the head, so that Huxley could say of Comtism that it was Catholicism without Christianity.

Now I'll bet that No. 3 furnishes us the clue to the otherwise incomprehensible contradiction between No. 1 and No. 2; Comte took all his bright ideas from Saint-Simon but when arranging them he distorted these ideas in his own peculiar way; by divesting them of the mysticism that adhered to them he dragged them down to a lower level, reshaping them in philistine fashion to the best of his ability. In very many of them the Saint-Simonist origin can easily be traced and I am convinced that this would be possible in yet other cases if somebody could be found to tackle the job seriously. It would certainly have been discovered long ago if after 1830 Saint-Simon's own writings had not been completely stifled by the clamour of the Saint-Simonist school and religion, which stressed and developed certain aspects of the master's teaching to the detriment of the magnificent conceptions as a whole.

Then there is another point I should like to correct, the note on p. 513. ^a Marx never was Secretary General of the International

^a Engels refers to a note in Tönnies's article "Neuere Philosophie der Geschichte: Hegel, Marx, Comte" ("Modern Philosophy of History: Hegel, Marx, Comte").—*Ed.*

but only Secretary for Germany and Russia. And none of the Comtists in London participated in the founding of the International. Professor E. Beesly deserves great credit for his defence of the International in the press at the time of the Commune against the vehement attacks of that day. Frederic Harrison too publicly took up the cudgels for the Commune. But a few years later the Comtists cooled off considerably toward the labour movement. The workers had become too powerful and it was now a question of maintaining a proper balance between capitalists and workers (for both are producers according to Saint-Simon) and to that end of once more supporting the former. Ever since then the Comtists have wrapped themselves in complete silence as regards the labour question.

Yours very truly,
F. Engels

260

ENGELS TO WERNER SOMBART IN BRESLAU

London, March 11, 1895

Dear Sir,

Replying to your note of the 14th of last month may I thank you for your kindness in sending me your work on Marx;⁴⁰³ I had already read it with great interest in the issue of the *Archiv*^a which Dr. Heinrich Braun was good enough to send me, and was pleased for once to find such understanding of *Kapital* at a German University. Naturally I can't altogether agree with the terminology in which you render Marx's exposition. Especially the definitions of the concept of value which you give on pages 576 and 577 seem to me to be rather all-embracing: I would first limit them historically by explicitly restricting them to the economic phase in which alone value has up to now been examined, and could only have been examined, namely the forms of society in which commodity exchange, or commodity production, exists; in primitive communism value was unknown. And secondly it seems to me that the concept could also be defined in a narrower sense. But this would lead too far, in the main you are quite right.

Then, however, on page 586, you appeal directly to me, and the jovial manner with which you hold a pistol to my head made me laugh. But you need not worry, I shall "not assure you of the

^a *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Braun, Bd. VII, Berlin, 1894, S. 555-94.—*Ed.*

contrary". The logical sequence by which Marx deduces the general and equal rate of profit from the different values of $\frac{s}{c} = \frac{s}{c+v}$ produced in various capitalist enterprises is completely foreign to the mind of the individual capitalist. Inasmuch as it has a historical parallel, that is to say, as far as it exists in reality outside our heads, it manifests itself for instance in the fact that certain parts of the surplus value produced by capitalist A over and above the rate of profit, or above his share of the total surplus value, are transferred to the pocket of capitalist B whose output of surplus value remains as a rule below the customary dividend. But this process takes place objectively, in the things, unconsciously, and we can only now estimate how much work was required in order to achieve a proper understanding of these matters. If the *conscious* co-operation of the individual capitalists had been necessary to establish the average rate of profit, if the individual capitalist had *known* that he produces surplus value and how much of it, and that frequently he has to hand over part of his surplus value, then the relationship between surplus value and profit would have been fairly obvious from the outset and would presumably have already been described by Adam Smith, if not Petty.

According to Marx's views all history up to now, as far as the great events are concerned, has come about unconsciously, that is, the events and their further consequences have not been intended; the ordinary actors in history have either wanted to achieve something different, or else what they achieved has led to quite different unforeseeable consequences. Applied to the economic sphere: the individual capitalists, each on his own, chase after the *biggest* profit. Bourgeois economy discovers that this race in which every one chases after the *bigger* profit results in the general and *equal* rate of profit, the approximately *equal* rate of profit for each one. Neither the capitalists nor the bourgeois economists, however, realise that the goal of this race is the uniform proportional distribution of the total surplus value calculated on the total capital.

But how has the equalisation been brought about in reality? This is a very interesting point, about which Marx himself does not say much. But his way of viewing things is not a doctrine but a method. It does not provide ready-made dogmas, but criteria for further research and the method *for* this research. Here therefore a certain amount of work has to be carried out, since Marx did not elaborate it himself in his first draft. First of all we have here the statements on pages 153-156, [*Kapital*] III, I, ^a which are also

^a See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1971, pp. 173-78.—Ed.

important for your rendering of the concept of value and which prove that the concept has or had more reality than you ascribe to it. When commodity exchange began, when products gradually turned into commodities, they were exchanged approximately *according to their value*. It was the amount of labour expended on two objects which provided the only standard for their quantitative comparison. Thus value had a *direct and real existence* at that time. We know that this direct realisation of value in exchange ceased and that now it no longer happens. And I believe that it won't be particularly difficult for you to trace the intermediate links, at least in general outline, that lead from directly real value to the value of the capitalist mode of production, which is so thoroughly hidden that our economists can calmly deny its existence. A genuinely historical exposition of these processes, which does of course require thorough research but in return promises amply rewarding results, would be a very valuable supplement to *Kapital*.⁴⁰⁴

Finally, I must also thank you for the high opinion which you have formed of me if you consider that I could have made something better of volume III than it is now. But I cannot share your opinion, and believe I have done my duty by presenting Marx in Marx's words, even at the risk of requiring the reader to do a bit more thinking for himself.

Yours very respectfully,
F. Engels

261

ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT IN ZURICH

London, March 12, 1895

... Your letter I believe provides some explanation of why you have been side-tracked when dealing with the rate of profit. There I find the same habit of going off into details, for which I put the blame on the eclectic method of philosophising which has made such inroads in the German universities since 1848, and which loses all general perspective and only too often ends in rather aimless and fruitless speculation about particular points. Now of the classical philosophers it was precisely Kant whom you had formerly chiefly studied, and owing to the position of German philosophising in Kant's time and to his opposition to Wolf's pedantic Leibnitzianism, Kant was more or less obliged to make some apparent concessions in form to this Wolfian speculation.

This is how I explain your tendency, which also shows in the excursus on the law of value in your letter, to become so absorbed in details, without always, it seems to me, paying attention to the interconnection as a whole, that you degrade the law of value to a fiction, a necessary fiction, somewhat in the manner of Kant making the existence of God a postulate of the practical reason.

The objections you raise to the law of value apply to *all* concepts, regarded from the standpoint of reality. The identity of thinking and being, to use Hegelian language, everywhere coincides with your example of the circle and the polygon. Or the two of them, the concept of a thing and its reality, run side by side like two asymptotes, always approaching each other yet never meeting. This difference between the two is the very difference which prevents the concept from being directly and immediately reality and reality from being immediately its own concept. Because a concept has the essential nature of the concept and does not therefore *prima facie* directly coincide with reality, from which it had to be abstracted in the first place, it is nevertheless more than a fiction, unless you declare that all the results of thought are fictions because reality corresponds to them only very circuitously, and even then approaching it only asymptotically.

Is it any different with the general rate of profit? At any particular moment it exists only approximately. If it were for once realised in two establishments down to the last jot or tittle, if both yielded *exactly the same rate of profit* in a given year, that would be pure accident; in reality the rates of profit differ from business to business and from year to year according to the different circumstances, and the general rate only exists as an average of many businesses and a number of years. But if we were to demand that the rate of profit—say 14.876934... down to the 100th decimal place should be exactly identical in every business and every year, on pain of degradation to fiction, we should be grossly misunderstanding the nature of the rate of profit and of economic laws in general; none of them has any reality except as approximation, tendency, average, and not as *immediate* reality. This is due partly to the fact that their action clashes with the simultaneous action of other laws, but partly to their own nature as concepts.

Or take the law of wages, the realisation of the value of labour power, which is realised only as an average, and even that not always, and which varies in every locality, even in every branch, according to the customary standard of life. Or rent of land, representing a surplus profit over and above the general rate, derived from a monopolised force of nature. In this case too there is by no means a direct coinciding of real surplus profit and real rent, but only approximately on the average.

It is exactly the same with the law of value and the distribution of the surplus value according to the rate of profit.

1) Both attain their most complete approximate realisation only on the presupposition that capitalist production has been everywhere completely established, i.e., that society has been reduced to the modern classes of landowners, capitalists (industrialists and merchants) and workers—all intermediate stages having been eliminated. This condition does not yet exist even in England and will never exist—we shall not let it get that far.

2) Profit, including rent, consists of various component parts:—

a) Profit from cheating—which is cancelled out in the algebraic sum.

b) Profit from increased value of stocks (e.g., the remainder of the last harvest when the next one has failed). Theoretically this *ought* also to balance in the long run (in so far as it has not already been cancelled by falls in the values of other commodities) by either the capitalist buyers having to contribute what the capitalist sellers gain, or, in the case of the workers' means of subsistence, by eventual increases in wages. The most essential of these increases in value however are *not permanent*, and therefore the equalisation takes place only in an average of years, and quite incompletely, notoriously at the expense of the workers; they produce more surplus value because their labour power is not fully paid.

c) The total sum of surplus value, from which however that portion is deducted which is *presented as a gift to the buyer*, especially in crisis, when the surplus production is reduced to its real content of socially necessary labour.

From this indeed it follows as a matter of course that the total profit and the total surplus value can coincide only approximately. But when you further take into consideration the fact that both the total surplus value and the total capital are not constant but variable magnitudes which change from day to day, then any

coincidence with the rate of profit through $\frac{\sum s}{\sum (c+v)}$ other than that

of an approximating series, and any coincidence of total price and total value other than one which is constantly striving towards unity and yet perpetually moving away from it again, appears a sheer impossibility. In other words, the unity of concept and phenomenon manifests itself as an essentially infinite process, and that is what it is, in this case as in all others.

Did feudalism ever correspond to its concept? Founded in the kingdom of the West Franks, further developed in Normandy by the Norwegian conquerors, its formation continued by the French

Norsemen in England and Southern Italy, it came nearest to its concept—in the ephemeral kingdom of Jerusalem, which in the *Assises de Jérusalem*^a left behind it the most classic expression of the feudal order. Was this order a fiction because in a really classical form it achieved only in Palestine a shortlived existence, and even that, for the most part, on paper only?

Or are the concepts which prevail in the natural sciences fictions because they by no means always coincide with reality? From the moment we accept the theory of evolution all our concepts of organic life correspond only approximately to reality. Otherwise there would be no change. On the day when concepts and reality completely coincide in the organic world development comes to an end. The concept fish includes life in water and breathing through gills: how are you going to get from fish to amphibian without breaking through this concept? And it has been broken through, for we know a whole series of fish which have developed their air bladders further, into lungs, and can breathe air. How do you get from the egg-laying reptile to the mammal, which gives birth to living young without bringing one or both concepts into conflict with reality? And in reality we have in the monotremata a whole sub-class of egg-laying mammals—in 1843 I saw the eggs of the duck-bill in Manchester and with arrogant narrow-mindedness mocked at such stupidity—as if a mammal could lay eggs—and now it has been proved! So do not do to the concept of value what I had later to beg the duck-bill's pardon for!

In Sombart's otherwise very good article on Volume III I also find this tendency to dilute the theory of value; he too had obviously expected a somewhat different solution.

Your article in the *Centralblatt*^b is *very good* indeed and the proof of the specific difference between Marx's theory of the rate of profit—by quantitative determination—and that of the old political economy was very well demonstrated. The illustrious Loria in his wisdom sees in the third volume a direct renunciation of the theory of value, and here your article comes in handy as a ready reply. Now two people are interested in this: Labriola in Rome and Lafargue, who is polemising with Loria in the *Critica Sociale*. If therefore you could send a copy to Professor Antonio Labriola, Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, 251, Rome, the latter would do his utmost to publish an Italian translation of it; and a second copy to Paul Lafargue, Le Perreux, Seine, France, would occasion him to quote you. For that reason I wrote to both of them that

^a Collection of laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1100-1187), written down in the thirteenth century.—*Ed.*

^b "Der dritte Band des 'Kapital'" ("The Third Volume of *Capital*"), which was published in the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*.—*Ed.*

your article contained a ready answer to the main point. If you cannot get these copies off please advise me of that fact.

But here I must close, otherwise I'll never finish.

Best regards.

Yours,
F. Engels

262

ENGELS TO VICTOR ADLER IN VIENNA

London, March 16, 1895

... As you want to plough through *Capital* II and III behind the bars, I will give you a few hints to make it easier.

Volume II, Section I. Read Chapter 1 thoroughly, then you can take it easier with Chapters 2 and 3; Chapter 4 more exactly again as it is a summary; 5 and 6 are easy, especially 6, which deals with secondary matters.

Section II. Chapters 7-9 important. Especially important are 10 and 11. Likewise 12, 13, 14. On the other hand 15, 16, 17 need only be skimmed through at first.

Section III is a most excellent account of the entire circuit of commodities and money in capitalist society—the first since the days of the Physiocrats—excellent in content but fearfully heavy in form 1) because it is patched together from two expositions of the problem by two different methods and 2) because exposition No. 2 was carried to its conclusion by main force during a state of illness in which the brain was suffering from chronic insomnia. I should keep this for *the very end*, after working through Volume III for the *first time*. Besides, with regard to your work it is the part that can be easiest dispensed with at the beginning.

Then the third volume.

Important here are: In Section I, Chapters 1 to 4; less important for the *general* interconnection, on the contrary, are Chapters 5, 6, 7, on which not much time need be spent at first.

Section II. *Very important*: Chapters 8, 9, 10. Skim through 11 and 12.

Section III. *Very important*: everything—13-15.

Section IV. Likewise very important but also easy to read: 16-20.

Section V. Very important: Chapters 21-27. Less so Chapter 28. Chapter 29 important. As a whole Chapters 30-32 are not important for your purposes; 33 and 34 are important as soon as paper-money is dealt with; 35 important on international rates of exchange; 36: *of great interest to you* and easy to read.

Section VI. Rent of land. 37 and 38 important. 39 and 40: less so, but still to be included. 41-43 can be read more superficially. (Differential rent II. Particular cases.) 44-47 important again but mostly easy to read, too.

Section VII. Very fine, but unfortunately a torso and with very marked traces of sleeplessness to boot.

Thus, if you go through the main things thoroughly and the less important ones superficially to begin with, while following these directions (best first to re-read the main things in Volume I), you will get a general idea of the whole and later you will be able to work through the portions you have neglected more easily....

263

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN STUTTGART

London, April 1, 1895

Dear Baron,

Postcard received. To my astonishment I see in the *Vorwärts* today an extract from my "Introduction", printed without my prior knowledge and trimmed in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality at any price.⁴⁰⁵ So much the better that the whole thing is to appear now in the *Neue Zeit* so that this disgraceful impression will be wiped out. I shall give Liebknecht a good piece of my mind on that score and also, no matter who they are, to those who gave him the opportunity to misrepresent my opinion without even telling me a word about it....

264

ENGELS TO PAUL LAFARGUE IN PARIS

London, April 3, 1895

... Liebknecht has just played me a nice trick. He has taken from my *Introduction* to Marx's articles on France of 1848-50 everything that could serve him to support the tactics of *peace at any price and of opposition to force and violence*, which it has pleased him for some time now to preach, especially at present when coercive laws are being prepared in Berlin. But I am preaching these tactics only for *the Germany of today*, and even then *with an important proviso*. In France, Belgium, Italy, and Austria these tactics could not be followed in their entirety and in Germany may become inapplicable tomorrow....

265

ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY IN STUTT GART

London, May 21, 1895

... You had undertaken at that time to publish a history of socialism. Of all persons alive there was then but one—surely I am entitled to say this—whose collaboration in this work seemed absolutely necessary, and this one person was I. And I even venture to say that without my help such a job is at present bound to be incomplete and defective. You people knew that as well as I. But of all persons that could possibly be made use of it was exactly I, and I alone, who was *not* asked to collaborate. You must have had very cogent reasons for excluding precisely me. I don't complain about that; far from it. You had a perfect right to act the way you did. I am only stating a fact.

What did pique me, but only for a moment, was the strange mysteriousness in which you wrapped the matter as far as I was concerned, while the whole world was talking about it. It was only through third persons that I learned of the whole project and only through the printed prospectus of the outlines of the plan. Not a word from either you or Ede.^a It was as if you had a bad conscience. At the same time surreptitious inquiries were made by all sorts of people: how I regarded the matter, whether I had declined to collaborate, etc. And then at long last, when silence was no longer possible, good old Ede got to talking about this matter, with a shame-facedness and embarrassment that would have been worthy of a worse cause—for nothing improper had really occurred except this laughable comedy, which by the way, as Louise can testify, brought me many an hour of real good fun.

Well then, you have confronted me with an accomplished fact: a history of socialism without my collaboration. I have accepted this fact from the beginning without complaint. But you cannot unmake the fact you yourselves have accomplished, nor can you ignore it should this suit you some day. I too cannot unmake it. Having shut the big front door to me after mature deliberation at a time when my counsel and my help could be of substantial use to you, please do not now ask me to sneak in through some small back-door to help you out of a difficulty now. I confess that if our roles had been reversed I would have deliberated for a very long time before making a proposal like the one in question.⁴⁰⁶ Is it really so extremely difficult to understand that everyone must bear the consequences of his own action? As you make your bed,

^a Eduard Bernstein.—*Ed.*

so you must lie in it. If there is no room for me in this business, that is so only because you wanted it so.

Well, that's that. And now please do me the favour and consider this reply irrevocable. Let the whole incident be dead and buried as far as both of us are concerned. I shall also not speak about it with Ede, unless he starts.

Meanwhile I am about to send you a piece of work for the *Neue Zeit* that will please you: "Ergänzungen und Nachtrage zum *Kapital*, Buch III, Nr. I: Wertgesetz und Profitrate. [Supplement and addenda to *Capital*, Book III, No. 1: "Law of Value and Rate of Profit"], reply to the scruples of Sombart and Conrad Schmidt. Later No. 2 will follow: the role of the stock exchange, which has altered very considerably since Marx wrote about it in 1865. To be continued according to demand and time available. The first article would have been finished if my mind had been free.

As for your book^a I can say that it gets better the further one reads. Plato and Early Christianity are still inadequately treated, according to the original plan. The mediaeval sects much better, and *crescendo*, the best are the Taborites, Münzer, and the Anabaptists. Very many important economic analyses of political events, paralleled however by commonplaces where there were gaps in research. I have learnt a great deal from the book; it is an indispensable preliminary study for my new revision of the *Peasant War*. There seem to be two important shortcomings:

1) A very inadequate examination of the development and role of the declassed, almost pariah-like, elements, who were wholly outside the feudal structure and who were bound to come into existence whenever a town was formed and constituted the lowest stratum of the population of every mediaeval town, they were outside the pale of the law and separated from the *Markgenossenschaft*,^b from feudal dependence and from the craft guild. It is difficult [to do this], but it is the *main basis*, for by degrees, as the feudal ties were loosened, these elements became the *pre-proletariat*, which in 1789 made the revolution in the suburbs of Paris and which absorbed all the outcasts of feudal and guild society. You speak of proletarians—the expression is ambiguous—and bring in the weavers, whose importance you describe quite correctly, but only *after* declassed journeymen weavers came to exist outside the guilds, and only *in so far as* there were such, can you regard them as part of your "proletariat". Here there is still much room for improvement.

^a The reference is to *Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus* (*Forerunners of Modern Socialism*).—*Ed.*

^b Mediaeval village community.—*Ed.*

2) You have not fully grasped Germany's position in the world market, in so far as it is possible to speak of it, Germany's international economic position at the end of the 15th century. This position *alone* explains why the middle class-plebeian movement in religious form, which succumbed in England, the Netherlands and Bohemia, could achieve *some* success in Germany in the 16th century: the success of its *religious disguise*, whereas the success of the middle-class content was reserved for the next century and for Holland and England, the countries lying along the new world trade routes which had arisen in the meantime. This is a lengthy subject, which I hope to deal with *in extenso* in the *Peasant War*. If only I were already at it!...

NOTES

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- ¹ This is the earliest extant letter from Engels to Marx. Engels wrote it soon after his return to Germany from England. On his way back to Germany at the end of August 1844 Engels had visited Paris and stayed there for ten days. It was during this period that the historic meeting with Marx took place which was to be the beginning of their joint theoretical work and revolutionary struggle for the cause of the working class. p. 17
 - ² Bernays—one of the editors of the *Vorwärts*, a German newspaper which was published in Paris (See Note 4). p. 18
 - ³ Engels is referring to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Annals) edited by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge and published in German in Paris. The only issue to appear was a double number published in February 1844. Differences of principle between Marx and the bourgeois radical Ruge were the main reason for the discontinuation of the publication. p. 18
 - ⁴ *Vorwärts*—a German newspaper published in Paris from January to December 1844. Several articles by Marx and Engels were printed in the paper. Under the influence of Marx, who took part in the editorial work from the summer of 1844, the *Vorwärts* began to follow a communist line and strongly criticised the reactionary regime in Prussia. In January 1845 at the request of the Prussian Government the Guizot Cabinet expelled Marx and a few other members of the staff, and as a result the paper ceased to appear. p. 19
 - ⁵ Engels refers to *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie* (*A Critique of Politics and Political Economy*), a work which Marx planned to write but never finished. The extant part of the manuscript was first published in full by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in: Marx/Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abteilung I, Bd. 3, Berlin, 1932. p. 19
 - ⁶ In December 1844, Engels' article "Beschreibung der in neuerer Zeit entstandenen und noch bestehenden kommunistischen Ansiedlungen" ("Description of Communist Settlements Which Have Recently Come Into Being and Are Still in Existence") was published in *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845*. On the basis of material published in *The New Moral World*, *The Northern Star* and *The Morning Chronicle* Engels describes various settlements in the United States practising community of goods and also the colony at Harmony in Hampshire (England) founded by Robert Owen. p. 19
 - ⁷ The differences between Marx and Engels, and the bourgeois radical Ruge, began in 1844, during the time of the publication of the *Deutsch-*

Französische Jahrbücher, which was edited by Marx and Ruge. Ruge's negative attitude towards communism as a revolutionary world outlook and the fundamental divergence of the views of Marx and those of the Young Hegelian Ruge, a supporter of philosophical idealism, lay at the bottom of these differences. The final break between Marx and Ruge occurred in March 1844 p. 20

- ⁸ *Societies for the advancement of the workers* were set up in a number of Prussian towns in 1844-45 on the initiative of the liberal bourgeoisie, which was frightened by the rising of the Silesian weavers in the summer of 1844, with the intention of diverting the German workers from the fight for their class interests. But although the bourgeoisie and the ruling circles did their utmost to represent these societies as being purely philanthropical, these organisations stimulated the growth of political activity among the urban popular masses and drew the attention of broad social strata in Germany to the social question.

Meetings called to set up such societies and to discuss the statutes were extensively used by revolutionary democratic intellectuals to popularise and disseminate progressive ideas and to counter the influence of the clergy and liberal bourgeoisie. The meetings and the societies themselves thus became an arena for the struggle of contradictory social and class interests which reflected the revival of political life in Germany on the eve of the bourgeois revolution. In the spring of 1845, frightened by what it considered the undesirable direction in which the activities of these societies developed, the Prussian government hastened to cut them short by refusing to confirm their statutes and prohibiting further meetings. p. 20

- ⁹ Engels has in mind a work on the social history of England which he planned to write and for which he had collected the material during his stay in that country (November 1842-August 1844). Originally Engels intended to devote a chapter of this book to the conditions of the English workers; but having realised the special role played by the proletariat in bourgeois society he decided to describe the position of the English working class in a separate book—*The Condition of the Working-Class in England*—which he wrote from September 1844 to March 1845 after his return to Germany.

In the spring and summer of 1845 Engels continued to work on the social history of England, but for a number of reasons abandoned this project at the end of 1847. p. 21

- ¹⁰ Engels did not write a pamphlet on List, but in one of his speeches delivered in Elberfeld on February 15, 1845, Engels criticises the views of the German advocates of protectionism, and above all those of List. p. 21

- ¹¹ *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe* (*Rhine Gazette on Problems of Politics, Trade and Industry*)—a daily newspaper which was published in Cologne from January 1, 1842 to March 31, 1843. It was founded by representatives of the Rhineland bourgeoisie who were opposed to Prussian absolutism. In April 1842 Marx became a collaborator of the paper and from October of the same year was one of its editors. A number of Engels' articles were also published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. During Marx's editorship the paper became more and more distinctly revolutionary-democratic in character. The government imposed a specially strict censorship on the paper and subsequently closed it down. p. 22

- ¹² See Note 5. p. 22

- ¹³ This refers to the Communist Correspondence Committee formed by Marx and Engels in Brussels at the beginning of 1846, which was to serve as a pattern for the establishment of socialist groups in Germany, France,

- Britain and other countries. The aim of the Correspondence Committees was to achieve ideological and organisational unity of Socialists and progressive workers in various countries and to fight against trends within the working-class movement alien to the proletariat; according to Marx and Engels the committees were to prepare the soil for the creation of an international proletarian party. When Marx and Engels made arrangements for the organisation of Correspondence Committees in London, Paris and several parts of Germany they tried to enlist prominent Socialists and Communists in various European countries to participate in the committees. p. 24
- ¹⁴ A Correspondence Committee was set up in London, in which leaders of the Left wing of the Chartists took part and also members of the London German Workers' Educational Association headed by Schapper. p. 24
- ¹⁵ In his reply to Marx dated May 17, 1846, Proudhon refused to collaborate declaring that he was against revolutionary methods of struggle and against communism. See *Correspondance de P. J. Proudhon*, t. II, Paris, 1875, pp. 198-202. p. 24
- ¹⁶ *Droit d'aubaine* (the right of escheat)—a feudal custom widespread in France and other countries during the Middle Ages, according to which the property of a domiciled alien who died without heirs passed to the crown. p. 26
- ¹⁷ *The Communist Correspondence Committee*, set up by the founders of Marxism in Brussels early in 1846 (see Note 13) in addition to Marx and Engels, consisted of Wilhelm Wolff and the Belgian Socialist Philippe Gigot. Engels, who on the instruction of the Committee went to Paris in the middle of August 1846, kept the Committee regularly informed of his activities through letters sent to Marx. The present letter is the third in this series. p. 26
- ¹⁸ *Straubingers*—travelling journeymen in Germany. Marx and Engels applied this term to German artisans who were still largely swayed by backward guild notions and prejudices and cherished the reactionary petty-bourgeois illusion that it was possible to return from capitalist large-scale industry to petty handicraft production. p. 26
- ¹⁹ Engels refers to the second circular against Kriege, which was written by Marx. So far the document has not been found. p. 28
- ²⁰ This is a reference to the "Manifesto Against Kriege" written by Marx and Engels, which was sent by the Brussels Correspondence Committee to all Communist correspondence Committees. It exposed the views of the "true Socialist" Hermann Kriege, the editor of the New York paper *Der Volkstribun*, who substituted sentimental preaching of love, justice, etc., for the class struggle of the proletariat. p. 28
- ²¹ *Fraternal Democrats*—an international democratic organisation founded in London in 1845 by representatives of the Left wing of the Chartist movement (Harney and Jones) and revolutionary emigrants (members of the League of the Just and others) for the purpose of establishing close ties between democratic movements of various countries. Marx and Engels maintained permanent contacts with the Fraternal Democrats and tried to educate its members, and especially its proletarian nucleus that joined the Communist League in 1847. in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and scientific communism. They criticised theoretically immature views held by members of the society and exerted a beneficial ideological influence on the Chartists. After the defeat of the Chartists in 1848 the activity of the society declined and in 1853 it finally disintegrated. Engels' letter to Harney mentioned here could not be found. p. 29

- ²² On November 1, 1846, Annenkov wrote to Marx concerning Proudhon's book: "I admit that the actual plan of the work seems to be a *jeu d'esprit*, designed to give a glimpse of German philosophy, rather than something grown naturally out of the subject and the requirements of its logical development." p. 29
- ²³ This refers to the Second Congress of the *Communist League* held in London from November 29 to December 8, 1847. Marx and Engels took part in its work, and, in debates that lasted for several days, defended the principles of scientific communism, which were unanimously approved by the Congress. On the instruction of the Congress Marx and Engels wrote the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which was published in February 1848. p. 40
- ²⁴ Marx's letter was published in *L'Alba* on June 29, 1848, with the following introductory note by the editors: "We publish the following letter received from Cologne to show what feelings towards Italy the noble-minded Germans entertain; they ardently wish to establish fraternal relations between the Italian and German peoples whom the European despots have tried to set against each other."
L'Alba (The Dawn)—Italian democratic paper published in Florence from 1847 to 1849. p. 41
- ²⁵ The reference is to the German National Assembly (the Frankfurt Parliament)—which met at Frankfurt on the Main on May 18, 1848, with the aim of drafting a constitution for the whole of Germany. Because of the cowardice and tendency towards appeasement of its Liberal majority, and the wavering and inconsistency of its petty-bourgeois Left wing, the Assembly not only failed to become the instrument for a real unification of Germany, but was reduced to a mere debating club devoid of any real power and diverting the masses from the revolutionary struggle. The Assembly was dissolved in the summer of 1849. p. 42
- ²⁶ Engels is referring to the campaign for an Imperial constitution. The constitution passed by the Frankfurt National Assembly on March 28, 1849, was rejected by a number of German states including Prussia. Under the slogan of defence of the constitution insurrections broke out in Saxony, Rhenish Prussia, Baden and the Palatinate in May 1849. But the National Assembly did not support the insurgents, and in July 1849 the movement was finally crushed. p. 43
- ²⁷ This refers to the last battle fought by the Baden revolutionary army against the Prussian troops, which took place near Rastatt on June 29-30, 1849. The remnants of the Badenese army, besieged in the fortress of Rastatt, capitulated on July 23. p. 43
- ²⁸ After the defeat of the rising in Baden and the Palatinate, the corps in which Engels fought crossed the Swiss border on July 12, 1849. p. 43
- ²⁹ Engels refers to the first "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League", which was written by Marx and Engels in March 1850. It was confiscated by the Prussian police and published in the bourgeois press in connection with the arrest of Central Committee members of the Communist League and the preparation of the Communist trial at Cologne. p. 50
- ³⁰ Reference is to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (General Newspaper)—German conservative daily paper founded in 1798; published in Augsburg from 1810 to 1882. p. 50
- ³¹ This refers to the Address of the Central Committee in Cologne to the Communist League dated December 1, 1850 ("Die Zentralbehörde an den

Bund"), which was drawn up by supporters of Marx and Engels, mainly by Bürgers. The document, which fell into the hands of the police during the arrest of members of the Communist League, was in June 1851 published in the *Dresdner Journal und Anzeiger* (Dresden Journal and Advertiser) and the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Cologne Newspaper). p. 50

³² *Kreuzzeitung* (Cross Newspaper)—a name given to the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (New Prussian Newspaper) because the sign of the cross was used in its heading. The paper which had appeared in Berlin since June 1848, was the organ of the counter-revolutionary court camarilla and the Prussian junkers. p. 51

³³ *Le Père Duchesne*—a newspaper published by Hébert in Paris from 1790 to 1794; it expressed the sentiments of the urban semi-proletarian masses during the French bourgeois revolution. p. 51

³⁴ See Note 29. p. 51

³⁵ After the fall of the Roman republic in July 1849 many deputies of the Constituent Assembly emigrated to Britain, where they formed a provisional Italian National Committee, in which Mazzini and his followers were included. The Committee was empowered by those who had elected it to raise loans in the interest of Italy's liberation and to deal with all questions relating to Italian citizens. p. 54

³⁶ This is probably a slip of the pen, for it seems that Marx is referring to the *Voix du Proscrit*. p. 54

³⁷ Marx here has in mind the policy of the Austrian Government designed to suppress the Polish national liberation movement by exploiting the class and national antagonisms between the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia and the Polish nobility.

During the revolutionary events of 1848 the Austrian Government abolished statute-labour and a few other feudal services of the peasants in Galicia, in an effort to win the support of the Galician peasantry in the fight against the Polish national liberation movement. But the reform was quite inadequate since it left untouched the lands of the landowners and placed the terrific burden of redemption payments on the shoulders of the peasants, which it took them several decades to pay off. p. 54

³⁸ This letter of Engels was written on the occasion of the Bonapartist coup d'état of *December 2, 1851*, which led to the establishment in France of the counter-revolutionary Second Empire headed by Napoleon III. Some of the ideas contained in the letter were developed by Marx in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in particular the ironical comparison of the coup of *December 2, 1851* with that of *November 9, 1799* (the 18th Brumaire according to the republican calendar) as a result of which the military dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte was set up. p. 55

³⁹ The words are from Changarnier's speech delivered in the French National Assembly on June 3, 1851, in reply to a speech made by Louis Bonaparte in Dijon on June 1, 1851, which contained concealed threats against the Assembly. p. 55

⁴⁰ Engels ironically quotes from a speech of Wilhelm Jordan, a Left-wing deputy in the Frankfurt National Assembly, delivered at a meeting of the Assembly in August 1848. p. 56

⁴¹ The members of the Communist League in Cologne who had been arrested and put on trial. p. 57

⁴² *New-York Daily Tribune*—an American newspaper published from 1841 to 1924. Until the middle fifties it was the organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs and later the organ of the Republican Party. From

August 1851 to March 1862 Marx and Engels contributed to the paper. Subsequently the trend of the paper veered increasingly to the Right.
p. 58

- ⁴³ This refers to Proudhon's introduction, entitled "A la Bourgeoisie" ("To the Bourgeoisie"), to his work *Idée générale de la révolution au XIX siècle* (*The General Idea of the Revolution in the 19th Century*).
p. 58

- ⁴⁴ Engels is referring to the uprisings of the workers in Paris on April 1 (12th Germinal according to the republican calendar) and May 20-23, 1795 (Prairial 1-4) against the reactionary regime of the Thermidorians set up in 1794, and the proletarian risings in Lyons in 1831 and 1834 after the July revolution in France in 1830.
p. 59

- ⁴⁵ *Krapülinski*—hero of Heine's poem "Zwei Ritter" (Two Knights), a Polish nobleman who squandered his fortune; the name Krapülinski is derived from the French word *crapule*—intemperance, gluttony, and also loafer, riff-raff.

Engels applies the name here to Louis Bonaparte.
p. 61

- ⁴⁶ In the course of his work on the concluding part of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx apparently changed his plan, for it consists not of six but of seven chapters, the last of which Marx despatched to New York on March 25, 1852.
p. 62

- ⁴⁷ Weydemeyer's article against Heinzen was published in the *New-Yorker Democrat* of January 29, 1852. Ernest Jones' letter to Weydemeyer dated March 3, 1852, which is mentioned by Marx, was intended for publication in *Die Revolution*. It deals with the position of the various classes of British society and describes the development of the class struggle in Britain. From Weydemeyer's letter to Marx of May 24, 1853, it appears that Jones' letter was published in the democratic press of the U.S.A. at the end of 1852 or the beginning of 1853.
p. 62

- ⁴⁸ Extracts from Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* appeared in *The Democratic Review*, which was published by Harney. Harney's comment on this work quoted in the letter is from his review of Louis Blanc's book *Historic Pages from the French Revolution of February 1848*, printed in the May 1850 issue of *The Democratic Review*.
p. 63

- ⁴⁹ Marx is referring to his and Engels' polemics against Heinzen, whose attacks against communism were printed in 1847 in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (Brussels German Newspaper). In the articles "Die Kommunisten und Karl Heinzen" by Engels and "Die moralisierende Kritik und die kritisierende Moral" by Marx published in the same paper, the founders of scientific communism exposed the limitations and inconsistency of the democratism of the petty-bourgeois radicals, and in particular their failure to grasp the necessity for a centralised united Germany.
p. 64

- ⁵⁰ Engels means English bourgeois radicals of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association set up in 1849. Its aims were electoral reforms (the so-called Small Charter) and taxation reforms. While the political activity of the English working class was stagnating after the unsuccessful Chartist demonstration of April 10, 1848, the bourgeois radicals hoped to split the Chartist movement and to bring the workers under their influence by opposing their own programme to the Chartist demands. But the agitation of the bourgeois radicals, headed by Cobden and Bright and supported by reformist elements among the Chartists led by O'Connor, did not achieve its purpose. Most of the Chartists remained true to the People's Charter during the fifties. The National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association disintegrated in 1855.
p. 65

- ⁵¹ Marx refers to the committee for the organisation of a so-called "German-American revolutionary loan" launched in 1851-52 by the leaders of the petty-bourgeois emigration Kinkel, Willich and so on. The attempt to place the loan in America in order to obtain money for the immediate organisation of a revolution in Germany failed. Marx and Engels ridiculed this hazardous scheme in their writings and regarded it as a vain and harmful attempt to bring about a revolution artificially while the revolutionary movement was in a state of stagnation. p. 66
- ⁵² At the session of the Cologne court of Assizes of October 23, 1852, Stieber submitted a spurious minute-book purporting to contain the minutes of the meetings of a new Central Committee in London, which Marx was alleged to have set up after the defendants were arrested in Cologne. Contrary to the expectations of those who organised the trial, the presentation of an obviously faked document as evidence merely strengthened the hand of the defence and gave it an additional opportunity to expose the fraudulent nature of the charges. p. 67
- ⁵³ In February 1846, when Polish patriots attempted an insurrection in the Polish territories aimed at the national liberation of Poland, a peasant uprising broke out in Galicia. By exploiting the hatred of the oppressed Ukrainian peasants for the Polish nobility, the Austrian authorities in a number of cases succeeded in turning the rebellious peasants against the Polish insurgents. After the defeat of the Polish insurrection in Cracow, the Galician peasant movement was brutally suppressed. p. 70
- ⁵⁴ The reference is to the Whig government headed by Russel which resigned in February 1852; the Tory Cabinet formed by Derby, which replaced it and remained in power until December 1852; and finally Aberdeen's coalition government consisting of Whigs and Peelites. p. 70
- ⁵⁵ The early 1850s brought again an intensification of the struggle between Prussia and Austria for hegemony in Germany. Austria in particular, which was supported by tsarist Russia, sought to balk Prussia's endeavours to re-establish the *Zollverein* (Customs Union). After Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état in France in December 1851, the danger of a new European war arose because the Bonapartists demanded the re-establishment of the frontiers of the First Empire. It was this which caused Austria to become more tractable during the negotiations with Prussia on trade questions. p. 71
- ⁵⁶ A reference to the rising in Milan on February 6, 1853, begun by the followers of the Italian revolutionary Mazzini with the support of Hungarian revolutionary emigrants. The aim of the insurgents, who were mostly Italian patriotic workers, was the overthrow of Austrian rule in Italy. But the rising, which was organised along conspiratorial lines and without any regard for the real situation, was speedily defeated. p. 71
- ⁵⁷ The ideas that Engels expressed in this letter were used by Marx in his article "The British Rule in India" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 345-51). p. 76
- ⁵⁸ Central Asia and parts of Turkestan were called *Tatary* in the 19th century. p. 76
- ⁵⁹ Marx refers to H. C. Carey, *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: why it exists and how it may be extinguished*, Philadelphia, 1853. Passages from Marx's article "Elections—Financial Clouds—the Duchess of Sutherland and Slavery" are quoted on pp. 203-204 of Carey's book. Carey's views were criticised by Marx in a number of letters (see for instance pp. 67-70, 225-228 of this volume) as well as in *Capital* and *The Theories of Surplus-Value*. p. 78

- ⁶⁰ This is an excerpt (partly in Marx's own words) of a House of Commons Committee report published in 1812. The source Marx used was apparently I. Campbell, *Modern India: a Sketch of the System of Civil Government. To which is prefixed, some account of the natives and native institutions*, London, 1852. p. 80
- ⁶¹ *The Code of Manu*—an ancient Hindu collection of laws and rules. The compilation of the code was ascribed to Manu (in Sanskrit—"man"), the mythical primogenitor of the human race. The material contained in this collection, which was accumulated in the course of many centuries, received its final form at the beginning of our era. The Code of Manu reflects the specific features that characterise the development of Indian slave-owning society, in which many vestiges of the primordial system have been preserved. p. 80
- ⁶² *Federal Diet*—the central organ of the German Confederation that was set up in 1815. It met at Frankfurt on the Main and consisted of representatives of the German states. The German governments used the Federal Diet as a means for carrying through their reactionary policy. It existed until 1866. p. 82
- ⁶³ Members of the municipal councils in Provence were called consuls in the Middle Ages. p. 82
- ⁶⁴ Apparently Marx is referring to the Central Commission of Inquiry in Mainz set up by decision of the Conference of German States held at Karlsbad in 1819. Its purpose was the investigation of "demagogical intrigues", that is, the fight against the oppositional movement in the German states. p. 83
- ⁶⁵ *The Guelphs*—a party existing in Italy between the 12th and 15th centuries, which sided with the Pope in the fight waged by the papacy against the German emperors. p. 83
- ⁶⁶ *The Chartist People's Paper*, edited by Ernest Jones, was published in London from 1852 to 1858. From October 1852 until December 1856 Marx and Engels contributed to the paper and also helped with the editorial work. Marx and Engels ceased to collaborate in the *People's Paper* and for a time broke off relations with Jones when he began to associate with bourgeois radicals. p. 85
- ⁶⁷ Marx is alluding to Willich and Schapper, the two former members of the Communist League's Central Committee who headed a sectarian and adventurist faction in the Communist League. In September 1850 a split occurred as a result of acute ideological differences regarding the tactics to be followed during the period of reaction that was setting in. The dissenting minority, i.e., the Willich-Schapper faction, was supported by several members of the London section of the Communist League and the majority of the London German Workers' Educational Association. Because most of the members of the Association supported the Willich-Schapper faction, Marx and Engels, who had participated in the work of the Association in 1847 and 1849-50, resigned from the organisation on September 17, 1850 and only at the end of the fifties re-established relations with it.
In the fifties the office of the Educational Association was in Windmill Street, Soho. p. 85
- ⁶⁸ This is a reference to the German republican democrats who, during the French bourgeois revolution of 1789-94, founded the so-called Club of the Friends of Freedom and Equality after the French revolutionary army had occupied the fortress of Mainz in October 1792. The Mainz Clubbists advocated the abolition of the feudal system and the establishment of

a republic; they moreover demanded that the territory on the left bank of the Rhine should separate from Germany and join revolutionary France. Since their views found no favour among the propertied classes the Clubbists turned to the urban masses and the German peasantry. But the peasants in the province did not support them either, for, although the principal feudal services were abolished during the French occupation, the tax burden remained and a number of new contributions were introduced. The lack of success of the Mainz Clubbists—whose activity was brought to an end when the Prussian army took Mayence in July 1793—was to a considerable extent due to the inactivity of the peasants.

p. 86

⁶⁹ In the middle of May 1856 Engels with his wife Mary Burns made a tour of Ireland. p. 86

⁷⁰ Engels is referring to the forcible eviction of Irish tenants which the English landlords carried out on a mass scale during the 1840-60s. p. 87

⁷¹ *The Encumbered Estates Court* was set up in 1849 to speed up and simplify the sale of encumbered estates at low prices. In 1858 it was replaced by the Landed Estates Court. p. 88

⁷² Rich citizens who formed a special, privileged group of the population and whose duty it was to serve in the cavalry were called *equites* in the early stages of Ancient Roman history. Members of the trading and money-lending strata of Roman slave-holders who belonged to the Equestrian Order, subsequently adopted this name. p. 88

⁷³ The reference is to the so-called conflict of Neuchâtel which arose between Prussia and Switzerland in the autumn of 1856. The tiny principality of Neuchâtel, which comprised also the earldom of Valangin, was from 1707 to 1806 a Prussian dependency. In 1806, during the Napoleonic wars, it became part of France. In accordance with the decision of the Congress of Vienna, Neuchâtel joined Switzerland as the 21st canton in 1815, at the same time remaining a vassal of Prussia. The bourgeois revolution which took place in Neuchâtel on February 19, 1848, abolished Prussian rule and proclaimed it a republic. But an agreement between Britain, France and Russia signed on May 24, 1852 reaffirmed the Prussian king's title to the principality. When a royalist uprising broke out in Neuchâtel in September 1856 the Swiss Government arrested the insurgents. The Prussian king demanded their release in reply Switzerland called upon the king to renounce his title to Neuchâtel. The conflict continued until the spring of 1857, when it was finally settled at a conference of European states on the Neuchâtel question, convened on March 5, 1857, on the initiative of the French Government. p. 89

⁷⁴ The thoughts which Marx expressed in this letter have been further developed in his article "The Divine Right of the Hohenzollerns" (first published in the *People's Paper* No. 241, December 13, 1856). p. 90

⁷⁵ As early as April 1857 Ernest Jones announced that the Chartist leaders intended to call a conference which was to be attended not only by representatives of the Chartists but also by bourgeois radicals. Jones hoped that the agitation he was conducting in 1857 for an alliance with the bourgeois radicals, the purpose of which was to be a joint fight for electoral reforms, would revive the Chartist movement. But in working out a common platform with the bourgeois radicals Jones made important political concessions and dropped several of the demands contained in the People's Charter. Jones' deviation from the revolutionary course caused dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the Chartists, many of whom were

- opposed to their leader's readiness to compromise. After having been postponed several times, a joint conference of Chartists and bourgeois radicals took place in London on February 8, 1858. Since Marx and Engels regarded Jones' agreement with the bourgeois radicals as a manifestation of his political vacillation and leaning towards reformism they broke off their relations with him. Only several years later, when Jones acted again in a revolutionary proletarian spirit, did they resume their relations. p. 92
- ⁷⁶ The letter of John Frost, which Marx summarises, is addressed to Verdy, the secretary of the Chartist organisation in Nottingham. It was published in the *People's Paper* of November 14, 1857. p. 92
- ⁷⁷ Marx is referring to *Reynolds's Newspaper*, a weekly radical paper published in London since 1850. p. 93
- ⁷⁸ The work on political economy which Lassalle was planning to write was published in Berlin in 1864 under the title: *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit* (*Mr. Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, the Economic Julian, or Capital and Labour*). p. 95
- ⁷⁹ Marx is referring to his economic manuscripts of 1857-58. They are the result of his economic studies, which he began in the early fifties as a preparation for the big economic work he planned to write. In it he intended to analyse the whole complex of problems related to the capitalist mode of production, and at the same time to give a critique of bourgeois political economy. Marx's works *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*) and *Das Kapital* (*Capital*) are the outcome of his continued research, in the course of which he altered his original plan several times. The manuscripts of 1857-58, which are in a way a rough draft of the two works, were for the first time published in German in 1939 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. under the title *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf)—Outline of a Critique of Political Economy (First Draft)*. p. 96
- ⁸⁰ Marx has in view the following works of the authors he lists here: James Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy, being an Essay on the Science of Domestic Policy in Free Nations*, London, 1767, the edition of this book which Marx used was published in Dublin in 1770; Thomas Attwood, *The Currency Question, the Gemini Letters*, London, 1844; David Urquhart, *Familiar Words*, London, 1855; John Gray, *The Social System. A Treatise on the Principle of Exchange*, Edinburgh, 1831 and *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money*, Edinburgh, 1848; John Francis Bray, *Labours Wrongs and Labours Remedy*, Leeds, 1839. p. 98
- ⁸¹ Marx is alluding to the following works: Frédéric Bastiat, *Harmonies économiques (Economic Harmonies)*, Paris, 1850 and H. C. Carey, *Essay on the Rate of Wages with an Examination of the Causes of the Differences in the Condition of the Labouring Population Throughout the World*, Philadelphia, 1835. p. 100
- ⁸² Apparently Engels refers to the Chartist meeting held in Manchester on October 4, 1858, at which Jones spoke. (On Jones' alliance with the bourgeois radicals see Note 75.) p. 102
- ⁸³ By analogy with the Assembly of Notables convened in France in 1787, Marx refers to the Petersburg meeting of noblemen representing various

provinces, which the tsar promised to call to discuss the draft law on the peasant reform, as the Assembly of "Notables".

This meeting took place only in 1859. p. 103

⁸⁴ See Note 75. p. 105

⁸⁵ From a paragraph in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Section C. Theorien über Zirkulationsmittel und Geld—Theories of the Medium of Circulation and of Money) it is apparent that Marx is referring to the issue of the *Spectator* of October 19, 1711. p. 106

⁸⁶ The reference is to the war which at that time threatened to break out between France and the kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) on the one hand, and Austria on the other. p. 107

⁸⁷ After the execution of Orsini who had made an attempt on Louis Napoleon's life (on January 14, 1858), the Italian Carbonari swore to kill Napoleon. Further details regarding this and other problems touched upon in the letter can be found in the following articles: "The Money Panic in Europe" by Marx and Engels, originally published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, February 1, 1859; "Louis Napoleon's Position" by Marx (*ibid.*, February 18, 1859); "The French Army" by Engels (*ibid.*, February 24, 1859). p. 107

⁸⁸ Marx alludes to Louis Bonaparte's attempts to carry out a Bonapartist putsch in Strassburg, on October 30, 1836, and at Boulogne on August 6, 1840, and to the coup d'état in Paris of December 2, 1851, which led to the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship in France. p. 108

⁸⁹ This refers to an article over the signature of the French journalist, L. Bonface, published in the newspaper *Le Constitutionnel*, on January 30, 1851, in which it was stated that in case of war, France would be able to send abroad an army of 500,000 men. In the article "The French Army" written on January 31, for the *New-York Daily Tribune* Engels shows that France would have available only 200,000 men for military operations in Italy.

Engels' article contains a reference to information from Paris according to which the statement given by *Le Constitutionnel* and the figures on which it was based, come from Louis Napoleon. p. 108

⁹⁰ This refers to the Polish uprising against tsarist rule which began in November 1830. The leadership of the rising was mainly in the hands of the Polish nobility. Since the noblemen refused to comply with the demands of the peasants to abolish serfdom they were unable to gain the support of the peasant masses. This led to the defeat of the rising, which was cruelly put down by the tsarist government. p. 110

⁹¹ *Bundschuh* (kind of shoe worn by peasants in the Middle Ages), *Armer Konrad* (*Poor Konrad*)—names of secret peasants' confederations, whose activities prepared the ground in Germany for the Peasant War of 1525. p. 113

⁹² This refers to a review in the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung* (Nos. 95-96 of November 26, 1859) of Engels' pamphlet *Po und Rhein* which was published anonymously. The reviewer agreed in particular with Engels' opinion that the theory that Germany had to control Northern Italy in order to ensure its own security, was untenable. p. 114

⁹³ *John Brown*, the fighter for the emancipation of the Negroes in the U.S.A., attempted to unleash a slave revolt in the slave-owning states on October 16, 1859. With a small group of associates he seized the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, but he did not succeed in starting a large-scale uprising. Most of the 22 men, including five Negroes, who

- took part in this attempt were killed when they offered fierce resistance to the government troops. Brown and five of his comrades were executed. John Brown's revolt, which was an indication of the growing revolutionary crisis in the U.S.A., led to the intensification of the Negroes' fight against slavery and helped to rally the forces of the abolitionists in the country. p. 114
- ⁹⁴ The reference is to the attempt made by the Negroes of the town of Bolivar in Missouri to start a revolt in December 1859. Marx read about it in No. 5830 of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, of December 30, 1859. p. 114
- ⁹⁵ Marx is referring to the final stages of the civil war in Rome waged between the supporters of Caesar and those of Pompey in the first century B. C. Caesar's campaign in Epirus against Pompey ended with the utter defeat of Pompey's army at Pharsalus on June 6, 48 B. C. p. 116
- ⁹⁶ This refers to a work on the unification of Germany which Becker was writing at that time. It was published in 1862 entitled *Wie und Wann? Ein ernstes Wort über die Fragen und Aufgaben der Zeit* (*How and When? Serious Remarks About the Problems and Tasks of Our Time*). p. 117
- ⁹⁷ *The National Union* was set up on September 15-16, 1859, at a conference held in Frankfurt on the Main of bourgeois liberals from the German states. Its purpose was the unification of all German states except Austria under Prussian hegemony. After the Austro-Prussian war and the creation of the North German Confederation on November 11, 1867, it disbanded itself. p. 117
- ⁹⁸ Confederates was the name given to the army of the southern slave states during the Civil War in North America (1861-65), because, after seceding from the Union early in 1861, the 11 Southern States formed the Confederate States of America. p. 117
- ⁹⁹ The Southerners surrendered New Orleans on April 29, 1862, after the forts covering the approaches to the town from the side of the Mississippi had fallen. p. 118
- ¹⁰⁰ After the first part of his big economic work had been published in 1859 under the title *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*) Marx intended to publish the second part, the most important and largest chapter of which was to be on capital. But in the further course of the work, continued by Marx from 1861 to 1863, the chapter grew into an extensive manuscript, which filled 23 notebooks amounting to approximately 200 sheets in all. Marx then went over the material again using it as the basis for the first three volumes of *Capital*. The part of the manuscript of 1861-63 that was not revised by the author has been published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the title *Theories of Surplus-Value* (Volume IV of *Capital*). p. 119
- ¹⁰¹ Marx is here referring to Volume I of *Capital* as he planned it at first (see Note 100). Subsequently Marx changed his original intention and elaborated his theory of ground rent in Part VI of Volume III of *Capital*. p. 120
- ¹⁰² Marx alludes to the sinking fund established by the government of the younger Pitt in 1786 with the aim of raising money to repay the growing national debt of Great Britain. Among the financial measures introduced to create the fund were the increase in old indirect taxes and the imposition of new ones. p. 125

- ¹⁰³ Marx is referring to Engels' essay *Umriss zu einer Kritik der National-ökonomie*, originally published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. (The first English translation of the essay was published as an appendix to Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Moscow, 1959.)
For details on the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* see Note 3. p. 126
- ¹⁰⁴ Engels is referring to the election campaign in the Northern States in preparation for the Congress elections that were to take place on November 4, 1862, and for the simultaneous election of the Governor of New York. Because of dissatisfaction with the inefficient conduct of military operations by the Republicans, the inhabitants of the North-Western States voted for the Democrats. However Republicans were elected in most of the Northern States. p. 126
- ¹⁰⁵ The only higher military educational establishment in the U.S.A. in the middle of the 19th century was the Military Academy at West Point near New York, founded in 1802. The training system employed there, which kept the students in complete isolation from the outside world, promoted the growth of a caste spirit among them. McClellan too was a graduate of West Point. p. 127
- ¹⁰⁶ Lincoln's proclamation abolished slavery in the rebellious States as from January 1, 1863. p. 127
- ¹⁰⁷ *Spinning-jenny*—a spinning-machine invented by James Hargreaves between 1764 and 1767. It was called jenny in honour of his daughter. p. 128
- ¹⁰⁸ Marx refers to Lassalle's pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*. Zurich, 1864. (*Open Reply to the Central Committee to Convene a General Congress of German Workers at Leipzig*).
On February 10, 1863, the Leipzig Central Committee asked Lassalle to state his views on the problems facing the labour movement. Lassalle sent them his *Open Reply*, and suggested that it should be made the official manifesto of the movement. p. 130
- ¹⁰⁹ On March 26, 1863, a workers' meeting organised by the London Trades Council was held in St. James' Hall to express the solidarity of the British working class with the North-American States in their fight against slavery. The meeting was chaired by Bright, who was opposed to British armed intervention in the American Civil War on behalf of the Southern States. p. 131
- ¹¹⁰ Engels refers to the elections to the French Legislative Assembly which took place from May 31 to June 1, 1863, and the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Prussian Landtag held on May 5, 1862. p. 132
- ¹¹¹ *Quesnay's Table*—a scheme illustrating the production and circulation of the aggregate capital of a country, which was printed in Quesnay's *Analyse du Tableau économique*. Marx gave a detailed analysis of the *Tableau économique* in the *Theories of Surplus-Value* and in the chapter entitled "From the Critical History" which he wrote for Engels' *Anti-Dühring*. p. 133
- ¹¹² *The London Trades Council* was first elected at a delegate conference in May 1860 at which London trade unions were represented. Since it headed the bulk of the Trade Unions in London with a membership of many thousands, the Council exerted a considerable influence on the British labour movement. The leaders of the big trade unions—such as Cremer, and later Applegarth, who represented the carpenters, and Odger, the

leader of the shoemakers—played an important part in the London Trades Council.

The Trades' Unionist Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association was founded in September 1864. Its President was Odger, secretary Hartwell, and treasurer Trimlett. All three became members of the General Council of the First International. p. 137

¹¹³ Marx refers to the *Associazione di Mutuo Progresso* (Association for Mutual Progress) set up at the end of June 1864 by Italian workers living in London. The Association, which was strongly influenced by Mazzini, affiliated to the International in January 1865. p. 137

¹¹⁴ *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*—a trade union weekly published in London from 1861 to 1876 under the names: *The Bee-Hive*, *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, *The Penny Bee-Hive*. From 1864 to April 1870 it was the organ of the First International. p. 139

¹¹⁵ This refers to the national liberation uprising in the Polish territories of tsarist Russia which began in January 1863. p. 140

¹¹⁶ *The Carlist War*—civil war in Spain waged from 1833 to 1840. It was started by the Carlists, a reactionary, clerical and absolutist grouping, who supported the Spanish pretender Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII, against Isabella, Ferdinand's daughter.

The Carlist War in fact became a struggle between the feudal Catholic trend and the bourgeois liberal. p. 140

¹¹⁷ Engels is alluding to the armed struggle of counter-revolutionary forces headed by the former King of Naples Francis II, against the Italian monarchy that had been set up in March 1861. The military actions of the Neapolitan counter-revolutionaries consisted of bandit type raids. p. 140

¹¹⁸ The reference is to the military operations which the army of the Northern States conducted with the aim of conquering Richmond—capital of Virginia and of the Confederate States—one of the principal cities of the Southerners. The siege of Richmond began during a general advance of all the military forces of the Northern States in May 1864. The resistance of the Confederate troops in Richmond lasted till April 1865, when the town was captured by General Grant's army. p. 141

¹¹⁹ This refers to the role played by Etienne Cabet, the outstanding utopian Communist, in the political movement of the French proletariat during the 1830s and 1840s. In his papers *Le Populaire* and *Le Populaire de 1841* Cabet not only advocated his utopian schemes but also criticised the July monarchy and helped to disseminate democratic ideas. His books, articles and leaflets too are severely critical of capitalism. Thus Cabet's work, despite his utopian views, greatly contributed to the political education of the French proletariat. p. 146

¹²⁰ Marx is referring to the speech which Proudhon delivered at the session of the French National Assembly on July 31, 1848. In it he declared that the massacre of the workers who had taken part in the Paris insurrection of June 23-26, 1848, was an act of arbitrary brutality. p. 146

¹²¹ P. J. Proudhon, *Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d'exister? Actes du futur congrès. (Have the Treaties of 1815 ceased to exist? Acts of a Future Congress)*, Paris, 1863. In this work Proudhon came out against a revision of the decisions which the Congress of Vienna had taken in 1815 with regard to Poland, and also against the European democratic forces giving support to the Polish national liberation movement; he thus approved of the oppressive policy pursued by the Russian tsarist government. p. 147

- ¹²² *Progressives*—members of the Prussian bourgeois Progressive Party (Fortschrittspartei) which came into being in June 1861. The Party stood for Germany's unification under Prussian supremacy, the convocation of an all-German parliament and the creation of a strong liberal government responsible to the chamber of deputies. Its fear of the working class and hatred of the socialist movement caused the Progressive Party to accept the ascendancy of the Prussian junkers and a semi-absolute monarchy in Germany. p. 148
- ¹²³ Marx refers to a preliminary meeting of advocates of electoral reform called for February 6, 1865, by a group of bourgeois radicals. p. 149
- ¹²⁴ The reference is to a speech which Bright delivered in the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on January 19, 1865. A report of it appeared in the *Times*, No. 25087 of January 20, 1865. p. 149
- ¹²⁵ The deputation elected at the meeting of the General Council of the International on January 31 comprised besides Eccarius and Le Lubez, Carter, Odger, Whitlock, Cremer, Wheeler and Dell. p. 150
- ¹²⁶ Marx is referring to the General Association of German Workers, a political organisation of German workers set up on May 23, 1863 at a conference of workers' societies in Leipzig. From the outset it was dominated by Lassalle and his followers, who tried to lead the workers along the reformist road. The aims of the Association were very restricted and amounted to the fight for universal suffrage and to peaceful parliamentary activity.
At the Gotha Congress held in May 1875 the General Association of German Workers was united with the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the so-called Eisenachers), which had been formed in 1869, and was led by Bebel and Liebknecht. The name of the united party was Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. p. 150
- ¹²⁷ *Der Social-Demokrat*—the organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers published in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; Schweitzer was its editor from 1864 to 1867. A number of articles and statements by Marx and Engels were published in the paper. p. 150
- ¹²⁸ In his reply of February 5, 1865, Engels agreed to Marx's proposal to send a joint statement to the editors of the *Social-Demokrat*, and suggested that a passage should be included pointing out "the baseness of exclusively attacking the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat in a predominantly agricultural country like Prussia, while not mentioning at all the cruel exploitation of the rural proletariat by the big feudal aristocracy". p. 151
- ¹²⁹ Marx sent the text of the statement on February 6, 1865, to Engels requesting him to sign it if he approved of it. In the same letter he wrote that having received the latest issue of the *Social-Demokrat* "I consider it better to send the few lines given below first instead of the statement I had originally in mind". The final break with the paper occurred within a short time (see Marx's letter of February 18, and the Statement addressed to the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat* dated February 23, 1865, pp. 153-56, of this volume). p. 152
- ¹³⁰ An allusion to Joseph Bonaparte, nicknamed Plon-Plon, a cousin of Napoleon III, whose residence was the Palais Royal in Paris. Joseph Bonaparte headed a Bonapartist group that tried to divert the popular masses from their fight against the existing regime by large-scale demagogical manoeuvres and a sham opposition to the policy of Napoleon III. p. 152

- ¹³¹ *L'Association*—French journal, organ of the co-operative workers' associations, which were under the influence of bourgeois republicans. The journal was published in Paris and Brussels from 1864 to 1866. p. 152
- ¹³² Liebknecht gave notice that he would leave the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*. p. 154
- ¹³³ Marx refers to the third article in Schweitzer's series on the Government of Bismarck, published in the *Social-Demokrat* No. 23, of February 17, 1865, that is after Marx had called upon Schweitzer to end his flirtations with Bismarck. In these articles Schweitzer openly supported Bismarck's policy regarding the unification of Germany with "blood and iron". p. 154
- ¹³⁴ *Gesindeordnung* (Rules governing servants)—rules and regulations of a feudal nature which severely restricted the rights of servants and agricultural labourers and sanctioned their arbitrary treatment by the big landowners. p. 155
- ¹³⁵ When Prince William of Prussia became Regent in October 1858 he dismissed the Ministry of Manteuffel and asked the moderate liberals to form a government. This policy was hailed as the "new era" in the bourgeois press. In fact William's measures were aimed exclusively at strengthening the position of the Prussian monarchy and of the junkers. The bourgeoisie, whose hopes had been disappointed, refused to vote in Parliament for military reforms proposed by the government. The ensuing constitutional conflict and Bismarck's appointment as prime minister in September 1862 marked the end of the "new era". p. 155
- ¹³⁶ The statement was written by Marx and sent to Engels together with the letter dated February 18, 1865 (see pp. 164-66 of this volume). Engels approved it and returned the statement to Marx with his signature; on February 23, it was sent by Marx to the editorial board of the *Social-Demokrat*.
A few days later the statement was published in a number of German papers, which compelled Schweitzer to print it in the *Social-Demokrat*, too, where it appeared on March 3, 1865, introduced by a few lines from the editors to the effect that Liebknecht had also notified the paper that he could no longer collaborate. Similar statements renouncing their collaboration with the paper were soon made by Georg Herwegh, Wilhelm Rüstow and Johann Philipp Becker. p. 156
- ¹³⁷ The reference is to Marx's article "Der Kommunismus des *Rheinischen Beobachters*" (The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*) published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*.
Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung was founded by German political emigrants in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848. From September 1847 onwards Marx and Engels were regular contributors of the paper and under their direction it became the organ of the Communist League, the revolutionary party of the proletariat which was coming into being.
Rheinischer Beobachter—a conservative daily paper, published in Cologne since 1844; it ceased publication after the March revolution of 1848 in Germany. p. 156
- ¹³⁸ *Nordstern* (Northern Star)—German daily newspaper, published in Hamburg from 1860 to 1866; from 1863 it was Lassalleian in trend. p. 157
- ¹³⁹ See Note 97. p. 157
- ¹⁴⁰ See Note 135. p. 158

- ¹⁴¹ *Marquis Posa* (Spanish grandee) and Philipp II (King of Spain, 1555-98)—characters in Schiller's drama *Don Carlos*. Marx here calls William I (King of Prussia) Philipp II of the Uckermark (a district in Prussia). p. 158
- ¹⁴² See Note 32. p. 158
- ¹⁴³ See Note 126. p. 158
- ¹⁴⁴ See Note 134. p. 159
- ¹⁴⁵ See Note 133. p. 159
- ¹⁴⁶ F. A. Lange's book *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft* (*The Labour Question: Its Importance for the Present and the Future*). p. 160
- ¹⁴⁷ The co-operative societies set up in Germany in the 1860s by Schulze-Delitzsch, one of the leaders of the Progressive Party. By his agitation for co-operative societies and savings banks Schulze-Delitzsch sought to divert the German workers from the political struggle and to bring the workers' movement under the influence of the bourgeoisie. p. 162
- ¹⁴⁸ *The Reform League* was created by decision of a meeting of advocates of electoral reform held at St. Martin's Hall on February 23, 1865, which had been called on the initiative of the General Council of the International. The League became the political centre which led the mass movement of workers for a second electoral reform. Members of the General Council, mainly leaders of the British Trade Unions, were elected to the principal bodies of the Reform League, i.e., its Council and Executive Committee.
- As opposed to the demand advanced by the bourgeoisie to extend the franchise only to householders, the Reform League, on Marx's insistence, called for universal manhood suffrage. This Chartist slogan, which was revived by the International, found a warm response among the English working class and helped the Reform League to secure the support of the trade unions, that had up to then shown no interest in politics. The League had branches in all the big industrial towns of Britain and in the countryside. That the League was nevertheless unable to carry through the policy outlined by the General Council of the International was due to the vacillation of the bourgeois radicals in the leading bodies of the League who were frightened by the mass movement, and to the readiness of opportunist trade union leaders to compromise. The British bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the movement and introduced a limited reform in 1867 which extended the franchise only to the petty bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the working class, still leaving the bulk of the population without political rights. p. 163
- ¹⁴⁹ To refute Weston's propositions Marx read a paper at two meetings of the General Council, on June 20 and 27, 1865. The paper was first published in 1893, and is now known by the title *Wages, Price and Profit*. p. 164
- ¹⁵⁰ See Note 97. p. 166
- ¹⁵¹ *Kölnische Zeitung*—German daily newspaper published in Cologne since 1802; it was the organ of the big Rhenish bourgeoisie and the National Liberal Party; in the 1870s it was regarded as Bismarck's mouthpiece. p. 166
- ¹⁵² Marx is referring to the *Allgemeine Militär-Zeitung*—a German newspaper on military problems published in Darmstadt and Leipzig from 1826

- to 1902 by the Society of German Officers and Military Officials. Engels contributed several articles to the paper between 1860 and 1864. p. 167
- ¹⁵³ The Austro-Prussian War was discussed at the General Council's meetings of June 19 and 26, and July 17, 1866.
The following resolution, proposed by Bobczynski and Carter, was, after being amended, passed unanimously by the General Council: "That the General Council of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between governments and advise working men to be neutral, and to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in working out their social and political emancipation." (*The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866, Minutes*, Moscow, 1964, p. 213.) p. 167
- ¹⁵⁴ In connection with the resignation of the Liberal government and as a protest against the formation of a Conservative government spontaneous mass meetings were held in Trafalgar Square on June 27 and July 2, 1866. The demand for universal franchise was again put forward at these meetings, for the Reform League, under the influence of the bourgeois radicals, had turned down the demand. p. 168
- ¹⁵⁵ The reference is to Jacob Snider, the American inventor of a breech loading needle-gun with a rifled barrel. p. 168
- ¹⁵⁶ "Old Bess" or "Brown Bess"—name given in the British army in the 18th and early 19th centuries to the old flintlock musket, a smooth-bore muzzle-loader. p. 169
- ¹⁵⁷ The *Little-Germany scheme*—a plan to unite Germany, with the exception of Austria, under Prussian supremacy. p. 169
- ¹⁵⁸ Engels alludes to the negotiations which were going on between the Austrian ruling circles and the moderate Hungarian opposition, consisting of the bourgeoisie and landowners, concerning a reform of the political structure of the Habsburg empire. The talks ended in the spring of 1867 with the Austro-Hungarian Agreement to transform the Austrian empire into the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. p. 169
- ¹⁵⁹ The *Geneva Congress* of the First International, which was held from September 3 to 8, 1866, ended with a decisive defeat of the Proudhonists. The Rules of the International, drawn up by Marx, were approved by Congress, and the other decisions adopted by the Congress were based on the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" written by Marx. p. 171
- ¹⁶⁰ According to Marx's original intention Volume II was to comprise the whole of the material that now forms volumes II and III of *Capital*. p. 174
- ¹⁶¹ Engels is alluding to Gottfried Ermen, one of the partners in the Manchester firm of "Ermen and Engels". p. 174
- ¹⁶² In Hegel's terminology *nodal points* are definite points where as a result of a gradual quantitative change a qualitative change takes place suddenly, a qualitative leap. p. 175
- ¹⁶³ Owing to the pressure of the workers' mass movement, in which the General Council of the First International had played an active part, the Second Reform Bill was passed in Britain in 1867. The Bill lowered the property qualification in the counties extending the franchise to leaseholders whose rent was not less than £ 12 per annum, in the boroughs it gave the vote to all householders who had lived at least a year in the

- same place and whose rent amounted to no less than £10 a year. As a result, a section of skilled workers received the franchise, and the number of electors in Britain was doubled. p. 176
- 164 A Royal Commission to investigate the activities of the Trade Unions was set up in February 1867. The purpose of the investigation was to place the Unions outside the law, or at least to restrict their activities. The Unions' reply was to hold meetings throughout the country and to call a national conference. The Royal Commission was unable to incriminate the Trade Unions in any way. p. 177
- 165 A new investigation of the labour conditions carried out in 1867 led to the bill of August 15, 1867, which limited the working day for women and children under 18 to ten and a half hours not only in the big factories but also in small enterprises of certain industrial branches and in domestic industry. p. 177
- 166 Marx wrote an appendix to Chapter I of *Capital*, Volume I, which was printed at the end of the book in the first edition. In subsequent editions of Volume I a slightly altered version of it was incorporated in the body of the text (see *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, pp. 47-70) and in accordance with this the passage in the Preface to the First German Edition mentioning the Appendix was omitted. p. 177
- 167 Marx is referring to the third chapter of Volume I of *Capital* as it appeared in the first edition. Subsequently he subdivided the material further and the corresponding chapters in the later editions are Chapters V-IX (or in the English editions Chapters VII-XI). p. 177
- 168 In the first edition of *Capital* Vol. I Marx mentions in a footnote that Wurtz first developed the molecular theory. On the basis of a further study of this question Marx omitted the note on Wurtz in the second edition (published in 1872), and in the third edition of Volume I (published in 1883 after Marx's death) Engels gives a more accurate evaluation of the part played by Laurent and Gerhardt (see Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1972, p. 292, Note 2). p. 178
- 169 Marx refers here to the last section in Chapter V of *Capital*, Volume I, as printed in the first edition, which corresponds to Chapter XVII in the second and the following German editions (Chapter XIX of the English edition). p. 179
- 170 See Note 166. p. 180
- 171 The Brussels Congress of the First International was held in September 1868. Thanks to the thorough preparatory work carried out by Marx and his associates the decisions of the Brussels Congress greatly reduced the influence of the Proudhonists in the International Working Men's Association. p. 181
- 172 Marx is alluding to the fact that the Lausanne Congress of the First International held in 1867 re-elected Marx and most of the other former Council members to the new General Council. p. 181
- 173 The reference is to the Inaugural Congress of the *League of Peace and Freedom*, which took place in Switzerland in September 1867. p. 182
- 174 *The Workers' Association in Berlin* was set up in January 1863 with the active participation of Schulze-Delitzsch and remained under the influence of the Progressive Party. It advocated trade unionism and bourgeois co-operative societies.
After the creation of the International Working Men's Association the foremost members of the Workers' Association gravitated towards the International. p. 182

- 175 On September 18, 1867, an armed attack was made on a prison van in Manchester to free Kelley and Deasy, two Fenian leaders, who had been arrested after the defeat of the rising in March 1867 organised by the Fenians. Kelley and Deasy escaped but five men were arrested at the place where the attack had occurred and accused of killing a policeman during the fight. They were tried in Manchester from November 1 to 23 and sentenced to death. Later one of them was pardoned, in the case of another the death penalty was commuted to imprisonment for life, the others were executed in Manchester on November 23, 1867. p. 182
- 176 The reference is to the "Memorial of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" on the Fenian prisoners drawn up by Marx and adopted by the General Council. Its aim was to prevent the execution of the Fenians on whom the court had pronounced the death penalty for organising the escape of two men who had taken part in the insurrection. p. 183
- 177 The pressure of the broad masses of the Irish people compelled the British Parliament in 1782 to pass an act which repealed the right of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland and granted this right to the Irish Parliament. This act was once more confirmed in 1783. But after the suppression of the Irish national liberation rising of 1798 the British Government in fact annulled these concessions to Ireland and forced upon it union with England. The Act of Union which came into force on January 1, 1801, destroyed the last remnants of Irish autonomy and abolished the Irish Parliament. p. 184
- 178 A reference to the criticism of Roscher's vulgar economic views which Marx gives in the first volume of *Capital* (see Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1972, pp. 95, 157, 199, 209, 220, 251, 343, 576 *ror*). p. 186
- 179 *Leges Barbarum*—the Common Law of various Germanic tribes compiled during the fifth to ninth centuries. p. 189
- 180 Marx has in mind the coming British parliamentary elections. They were held in November 1868 on the basis of the Reform Bill of 1867 which extended franchise to the top strata of the working class in addition to the propertied classes. p. 190
- 181 Marx applies here the term productive capital to industrial capital as distinct from merchant's or trading capital. Later Marx elaborated in detail the function of productive capital in the first part of Volume II of *Capital* (see Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1971, pp. 25-155). p. 194
- 182 See Note 128. p. 198
- 183 This refers to the Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Association held from September 5 to 7, 1868, and the Lassallean General Congress of German Workers which took place in Berlin on September 26, 1868. p. 199
- 184 The General Congress of German Workers convened by Schweitzer and Fritzsche, which was held in Berlin on September 26, 1868.
The Congress set up several Trade Unions organised on the sectarian Lassallean pattern, which jointly formed a general union headed by Schweitzer. This organisation was completely subordinate to the General Association of German Workers. p. 200
- 185 See Note 112. p. 202

- ¹⁸⁶ *The Liberal Union*—a coalition of bourgeois republicans, Orleanists and a section of the Legitimists which was formed during the elections to the Legislative Assembly in 1863, on the basis of their common opposition to the Empire. The attempt to set up a Liberal Union once more, made during the election campaign of 1869, failed, because of differences between the parties that had formed the coalition of 1863. In 1869 the moderate bourgeois republicans (Favre, Simon, and others) advocated union with the monarchists and supported Dufort, the Orleanist candidate, who was nevertheless defeated. p. 205
- ¹⁸⁷ A letter of February 27, 1869, sent by the Central Bureau of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the General Council of the First International. This was the second approach of the Alliance to the General Council, in which it declared its readiness to dissolve its international organisation provided the General Council approved its programme and admitted the individual sections of the Alliance into the International Working Men's Association.
Further on Marx is quoting from the Rules of the Association. p. 206
- ¹⁸⁸ On the insistence of the General Council, Article 2 in the programme of the Alliance was changed in April 1869 to read: "It aims above all at the complete and final abolition of classes and the political, economic and social equality of men and women." p. 207
- ¹⁸⁹ That is the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*—a weekly paper published by Wilhelm Liebknecht in Leipzig from 1868 to 1869. p. 208
- ¹⁹⁰ The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht's speech "Über die politische Stellung der Sozial-Demokratie" ("On the Political Position of Social-Democracy") which he delivered at a meeting of the Democratic Working Men's Association in Berlin on May 31, 1869.
The second part of Liebknecht's speech was published on August 7, 1869, in the supplement to No. 32 of *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. p. 208
- ¹⁹¹ *Pale*—name of the mediaeval English colony in Ireland founded as a result of conquests made by the Anglo-Norman feudals in south-east Ireland in the twelfth century. The colony, round which the conquerors built a defence of pales (hence the name), served the English as a basis for continuous warfare against the parts of Ireland that had not yet been subjugated until the conquest of the whole country was completed in the early seventeenth century. p. 209
- ¹⁹² The resolution of the Basle Congress of the First International (September 6-11, 1869) reads: "Society has the right to abolish private property in land and to convert it into public property" and "this transformation is a necessity". p. 210
- ¹⁹³ The term *the antiquated manner of 1789* is used by Marx to describe the handing over of the confiscated feudal land to the peasants (parcellation) during the French Revolution. Marx and Engels considered that this method was not appropriate for a proletarian party since it creates a petty-bourgeois peasantry and condemns the peasants to a lengthy process of gradual impoverishment and ruin. p. 210
- ¹⁹⁴ *The Land and Labour League*—was founded in London with the participation of the General Council in October 1869. The Executive Committee of the League included more than ten members of the Council. The League's programme drawn up by Eccarius in accordance with suggestions made by Marx, and edited by him demanded nationalisation of the land and shortening of the working day in addition to Chartist demands such as universal suffrage.

The influence of the bourgeois elements in the League had grown considerably by the autumn of 1870 and it gradually lost contact with the International. p. 210

- ¹⁸⁵ This refers to a great demonstration in defence of the Fenians which took place in London on October 24, 1869. p. 210
- ¹⁸⁶ During the summer and autumn of 1869 a widespread movement for the amnesty of the imprisoned Fenians developed in Ireland; petitions addressed to the British Government demanding the release of the Irish revolutionaries were passed at numerous meetings. Gladstone, the head of the government, rejected the demands of the Irish. He gave his reply in letters to O'Shea and Butt, prominent members of the amnesty movement; the letters were published in the *Times* of October 23 and 27, 1869. A demonstration was held in London on October 24, 1869, at which Marx was present, as a protest against the government's refusal to amnesty the Fenian prisoners.
- In accordance with Marx's proposal the General Council decided on November 9, 1869, to discuss the British Government's attitude to the Irish prisoners and the relation of the English working class to this question.
- On November 30, the General Council unanimously carried the draft resolutions proposed by Marx with an amendment which Odger introduced, namely to omit the word "deliberately" in the first paragraph. p. 211
- ¹⁸⁷ This is a reference to Gladstone's speech in Newcastle on October 7, 1862, in which he greeted J. Davis as President of the secessionist Confederate States of America. The speech was printed in the *Times* of October 9, 1862. p. 211
- ¹⁸⁸ In December 1868 the Tory Government headed by Disraeli was superseded by Gladstone's Liberal Ministry. Gladstone's promise to solve the Irish problem was one of the demagogical slogans of the Liberals which paved the way for their success at the parliamentary elections. p. 211
- ¹⁸⁹ Marx describes the meeting of the General Council which took place on November 23, 1869, when the discussion on the British Government's policy towards the Irish political prisoners was continued. p. 215
- ²⁰⁰ The resolution on the Irish question proposed by Marx was unanimously adopted by the General Council on November 30, 1869. p. 215
- ²⁰¹ The resolution was published in many periodicals, see for instance *Reynolds's Newspaper* of November 21, 1869, where it appeared under the heading: "The British Government and the Irish Political Prisoners." p. 216
- ²⁰² In the fifties and early sixties Marx wrote a series of articles under the common title *Lord Palmerston*—chiefly for the *People's Paper* and the *New-York Daily Tribune*—in which he sharply criticised Palmerston's policy. p. 216
- ²⁰³ See Note 177. p. 216
- ²⁰⁴ During the English bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century a rising took place in Ireland which led to the almost complete secession of the greater part of the island. The rising was put down in a fierce war lasting from 1649 to 1652. The "pacification" of Ireland was carried through with exceptional cruelty and ended with the wholesale expropriation of the land, which was handed over to new English landlords; this strengthened the landowning and bourgeois elements in England and prepared the ground for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. p. 217

- ²⁰⁵ The Dublin newspaper *Irishman* did not mention at all the debate and the resolutions of the General Council on Ireland. On December 4, 1869, Marx wrote to Engels "one has to fight not only against the prejudices here, but also against the folly and wretchedness of the Irish spokesmen in Dublin". Marx continued that, according to the editor of the *Irishman*, "the Irish question must be regarded as something quite exceptional, and dealt with behind closed doors, in particular the fact that *English* workers are in sympathy with the Irish must be *passed over in silence*. What a silly ass! Especially with regard to the International which has sections all over Europe and in the United States". p. 217
- ²⁰⁶ *United Irishmen*—a clandestine revolutionary organisation, which came into being under the influence of the French Revolution. Its aim was the establishment of an independent Irish Republic. The Irish revolt of 1798 was organised by the United Irishmen. p. 219
- ²⁰⁷ See Note 177. p. 221
- ²⁰⁸ The plebiscite referred to was held by Napoleon III in May 1870 with the aim of consolidating the empire and foiling the republican agitation in the country. The government resorted to various demagogical devices during the plebiscite and exerted strong pressure on the voters. p. 224
- ²⁰⁹ *Society of December 10*—a Bonapartist society set up in 1849 and consisting primarily of declassed elements, political adventurers, army officers, and such like. The name was chosen in honour of the patron of the Society Louis Bonaparte, who was elected President of the French Republic on December 10, 1848. Although officially the Society was disbanded in November 1850, its members continued to conduct propaganda for Bonaparte and took an active part in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851. p. 224
- ²¹⁰ "Going off to Syria" ("Partant pour la Syrie")—a French song written at the beginning of the 19th century, which became a sort of Bonapartist anthem during the Second Empire. p. 226
- ²¹¹ *Der Volksstaat*—the central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (the Eisenachers). It was published in Leipzig under Liebknecht's editorship from 1869 to 1876. p. 227
- ²¹² Engels is referring to workers engaged in reconstruction work, such as the project carried through by Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine Department, in Paris in the 1850s and 1860s. The purpose of the replanning of the city was not only the improvement of the aristocratic quarters and the widening of the streets to facilitate the movement of troops and artillery in the case of a popular rising, but also the extension of the Bonapartist influence among the section of the proletariat that received temporary employment as a result of the rebuilding programme. p. 227
- ²¹³ In a letter to Marx dated August 13, 1870, Liebknecht had written that Engels was showing "patriotic sentiments". p. 229
- ²¹⁴ *Chassepot rifle*—a breech-loader, called after its inventor. p. 229
- ²¹⁵ Members of the Brunswick Committee had asked Marx to elucidate for them the position of the German working class with regard to the Franco-Prussian War. Marx took this opportunity to express his views, especially since the editors of the *Volksstaat* (including Liebknecht), though regarding matters on the whole from an internationalist point of view, had in the beginning given a one-sided evaluation of the war and had to a certain extent ignored the necessity of bringing about the unification of Germany. The text of the letter was worked out by Marx and Engels jointly and sent to Germany over Marx's signature.

- Only part of the letter has been preserved, namely those passages that were incorporated in the *Manifesto on the War* issued as a leaflet on September 5, 1870, by the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. p. 229
- ²¹⁶ On July 21, 1870, during the division on war credits in the North-German Reichstag, Bebel and Liebknecht abstained, declaring that to vote for the credits would signify a vote of confidence in the Prussian Government, which was conducting a dynastic war; to vote against the credits might be regarded as an approval of Bonaparte's treacherous policy. The General Council of the First International fully approved the stand taken by Bebel and Liebknecht. p. 230
- ²¹⁷ Marx quotes a passage from the "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" written by him. p. 230
- ²¹⁸ See Note 215. p. 231
- ²¹⁹ *Treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on July 7 and 9, 1807, between Napoleonic France, and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition, which had been defeated in the war.
The peace terms imposed on Prussia were extremely severe and deprived her of a considerable part of her territory. The Treaty, therefore, caused great dissatisfaction among the German population, and thus prepared the soil for the liberation movement against Napoleon's rule. p. 231
- ²²⁰ *The National-Liberal Party*—the party of the German, and especially the Prussian, bourgeoisie, came into being in the autumn of 1866 following the split of the Progressive Party. The principal aim of the National-Liberals was the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership.
The German People's Party formed in 1865 consisted of petty-bourgeois democrats and to some extent of bourgeois democrats, mainly from the South German states. The People's Party, as distinct from the National-Liberals, was opposed to the hegemony of Prussia in Germany and advocated the creation of a "Greater Germany" which was to include both Prussia and Austria. It favoured the establishment of a federal German state and was against the creation of a united, centralised democratic republic. p. 232
- ²²¹ *The rising in Lyons* began on September 4, 1870, after the news of the defeat at Sedan. Bakunin, who had arrived in Lyons on September 15, tried to seize the leadership of the movement and to carry into effect his anarchist programme. The attempt of the Anarchists to stage a coup on September 28 completely failed. p. 235
- ²²² *Committees of defence* were set up in many French cities at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War, their main task was the organisation of the food supply for the army. p. 235
- ²²³ *Landsturm-Ordnung*—ordinance on the landsturm of April 21, 1813, which was drawn up by Gneisenau, was designed to draw the whole population into the fight against the enemy and called upon the men to use all and every means to harass the intruder. Engels describes the ordinance in his article "Prussian Franks-Tireurs" first published in *The Pall-Mall Gazette* of December 9, 1870. p. 237
- ²²⁴ *The Loire Army*, which was formed on November 15, 1870, and placed under the command of General d'Aurelle de Paladines, fought in the Orleans district. Although it consisted of heterogeneous elements and most of its units were insufficiently trained, the army with the support of

the local population was able to inflict several defeats on the Prussian troops. p. 237

- ²²⁵ *Moniteur*—abbreviated title of a semi-official Prussian newspaper, which was controlled by Bismarck and published in Versailles from October 15, 1870 to March 5, 1871. p. 239
- ²²⁶ See Note 211. p. 239
- ²²⁷ *The London Treaty on the Neutrality of Luxemburg*, which was concluded on May 11, 1867 between Austria, Belgium, France, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Prussia and Russia, declared that Luxemburg was to remain in perpetuity a neutral state, and that its neutrality was to be guaranteed by the signatory powers.
Bismarck, who considered that the attitude of Luxemburg towards France was too friendly, declared on December 9, 1870 that the Prussian Government no longer considered itself bound to respect Luxemburg's neutrality; but owing to British pressure he had to withdraw his threat on December 19. p. 240
- ²²⁸ *Golos*—a Russian political and literary daily paper which expressed the opinion of the liberal bourgeoisie; it was published in St. Petersburg from 1863 to 1884. p. 240
- ²²⁹ The reference is to the *Convention on Armistice and the Capitulation of Paris* signed by Bismarck and Favre on January 28, 1871. By signing this document the French bourgeoisie betrayed the national interests of France in order to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country. p. 242
- ²³⁰ Part of the Government of National Defence, which was formed in Paris on September 4, 1870, was sent to Tours to organise the resistance against the German invasion and to maintain relations with foreign countries. This part, headed by Gambetta from October 9, 1870, moved to Bordeaux on December 6, 1870. p. 242
- ²³¹ Engels had in mind the *Anales de la Sociedad Tipografica Bonaerense*, an Argentine workers' paper published in 1871-1872. p. 245
- ²³² The reference is to the *National Labor Union* formed in the U.S.A. at the National Labor Congress which was held in Baltimore in August 1866. Soon after it came into being the Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. The National Labor Union, which existed until 1872, played an important part in the creation of an independent labour movement in America, it fought for solidarity between Negro and white workers, for an eight-hour working day, and for equal rights for women-workers. p. 246
- ²³³ Marx refers to the attempt made by the royalists to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch in Paris on March 22, 1871. Its aim was the restoration of the bourgeois regime overthrown by the proletarian revolution of March 18, 1871. The counter-revolutionary conspirators opened fire upon the National Guards on the Place Vendôme, but after the first volley they were put to flight by the Guardsmen. p. 246
- ²³⁴ On June 13, 1849, the petty-bourgeois party of the Montagne organised a peaceful demonstration in Paris as a protest against the infringements of the French constitution by the president and the majority of the Legislative Assembly. The demonstration was easily dispersed by troops thus confirming the complete bankruptcy of the petty-bourgeois democrats in France. p. 248

- ²³⁵ The final peace treaty concluding the Franco-Prussian War was signed in Frankfurt on May 10, 1871. Presumably a slip of the pen occurred in the date given by Marx. p. 249
- ²³⁶ Marx is referring to the internal loan which the government of Thiers intended to raise. Thiers and other members of the government were to receive over 300 million francs as a commission. p. 249
- ²³⁷ *Comtism or Positivism*—a philosophic trend founded by Auguste Comte. The Positivists were opposed to revolutionary action of any kind and denied that the class interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were irreconcilable. Their ideal was class collaboration, and they sought to prove “scientifically” that capitalism was the best form of organisation for human society. p. 250
- ²³⁸ When the official peace treaty between Germany and France was signed in Frankfurt on May 10, 1871, Bismarck and Favre concluded a secret verbal agreement on joint action against the Commune. The agreement provided for troops from Versailles to pass through the German lines, and for the stopping of food supplies to Paris; the German High Command moreover was to present the Commune with an ultimatum demanding the dismantlement of the defences that formed the rampart of Paris. The Versailles troops broke into Paris on May 21, 1871. p. 251
- ²³⁹ The reference is to the bill of indictment against a group of Paris Communards who were tried by the second military court. The indictment misrepresented the revolutionary actions of the Commune and sought to turn the trial of the Communards into an ordinary criminal case dealing with common “incendiaries”, “thieves” and “murderers”. p. 251
- ²⁴⁰ The reference is to the Convention on Armistice and the Capitulation of Paris. See Note 229. p. 252
- ²⁴¹ In the 1860s the Proudhonists were called Mutualists since according to their plan the liberation of the working people was to be achieved through the organisation of mutual aid, i.e., by means of co-operative societies, associations for mutual aid, etc. p. 253
- ²⁴² The resolutions of the London Conference of the First International, held in September 1871, which Marx lists, are concerned with the strengthening and centralisation of the International; they emphasise the leading role of the General Council, the necessity of creating an independent political party of the proletariat and the inseparable ties which link the political and economic struggle; and deal with the question of abolishing the Bakuninist faction, the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. p. 254
- ²⁴³ The letter was an answer to the publication of the declaration of Turin workers in *Il Proletario Italiano* of November 23, 1871, which repeated the attacks of the Bakuninists against the General Council of the International.
Il Proletario Italiano—an Italian paper published twice a week in Turin in 1871; its editor was Carlo Terzaghi who turned out to be a secret police agent. The paper defended the Bakuninists against the General Council and the decisions of the London Conference of 1871. From 1872 to 1874 it was published under the title *Il Proletario*. p. 255
- ²⁴⁴ *La Révolution Sociale*—a daily paper which came out in Geneva from October 1871 to January 1872, from November 1871 it was the official organ of the Bakuninist Jura Federation. p. 256
- ²⁴⁵ A Congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation held in Sonvillier on November 12, 1871, adopted the “Circular to all Federations of the International

- Working Men's Association", which was directed against the General Council and the London Conference of 1871. The Circular opposed anarchist dogmas to the decisions of the London Conference, made slanderous attacks on the General Council and called upon all federations to demand the immediate convocation of a congress to revise the Rules of the International and to censure the actions of the General Council. p. 256
- ²⁴⁶ This refers to Bakunin's attempt to have his muddled socialist programme accepted at the Congress of the bourgeois pacifist League of Peace and Freedom, held in Berne in September 1868. The programme was rejected by the majority of the League. p. 257
- ²⁴⁷ *The French Section of 1871* was formed by a group of French émigrés in London in September 1871. Its leadership established close contacts with the Bakuninists in Switzerland, and, acting in agreement with them, attacked the organisational principles of the International. p. 259
- ²⁴⁸ See Note 245. p. 260
- ²⁴⁹ Engels is referring to *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale* (*Sham Splits in the International*). p. 260
- ²⁵⁰ *Federazione Operaia* (Workers' Federation)—which was set up in Turin in the autumn of 1871, was under the influence of the followers of Mazzini. The proletarian members left the Federation in January 1872 and formed a new society, called the *Liberation of the Proletariat*, which became a section of the International. Up to February 1872 the society was headed by Terzaghi, a secret police agent. p. 261
- ²⁵¹ See Note 244. p. 261
- ²⁵² The excerpts are from the circular *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale* (*Sham Splits in the International*) which was written by Marx and Engels from the middle of January to the beginning of March 1872. It was not yet published when the letter was sent. p. 262
- ²⁵³ The reference is to the report made by Sacaze on February 5, 1872, in the name of the commission that examined Dufaure's draft law. According to this law, which was passed by the reactionary National Assembly of France on March 14, 1872, membership of the International was punishable by imprisonment. p. 263
- ²⁵⁴ Marx is referring to a group of former Communards, which included Malon, Lefrançais, Austine and others, who had emigrated to Switzerland and there joined up with the Bakuninists. p. 263
- ²⁵⁵ This refers to the Jura Federation, which comprised several small sections in the Swiss Jura, and was in fact a Bakuninist centre. p. 263
- ²⁵⁶ On February 20, 1872, the General Council decided to hold a mass meeting in London on March 18 to mark the first anniversary of the Paris Commune. Marx was appointed as one of the speakers. But the public meeting could not take place because at the last moment the owner refused to let the Council use the hall for this purpose. Members of the International and former Communards assembled in the cramped room of the Society of Communards, nevertheless, to celebrate the anniversary of the first proletarian revolution. Three resolutions (which had been prepared by Marx) were proposed by the Communards Theisz and Camélinat and a member of the General Council Milner and passed by the meeting. p. 263
- ²⁵⁷ Hepner, who was accused of "having worked for the International" and having attended the Hague Congress, was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment at the end of 1872, and in the spring of 1873 he was deported from Leipzig. p. 265

- ²⁵⁸ The reference is to the Eisenach Congress of 1869, where the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany was formed. p. 266
- ²⁵⁹ During 1872 and 1873 Liebknecht and Hepner had asked Marx many times to write a critique of Lassalle's views either as a pamphlet or a series of articles for the *Volksstaat*. p. 268
- ²⁶⁰ On August 14, 1874, Sorge informed Engels that he had resigned from the General Council; his resignation became officially effective on September 25, 1874. p. 270
- ²⁶¹ Engels is referring to the draft programme which was subsequently adopted at the Gotha Congress held from May 22 to 27, 1875. At this Congress the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was formed by the merging of the two German workers' parties, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) and the General Association of German Workers (the Lassalleans). p. 272
- ²⁶² The so-called Eisenach programme was adopted at a Congress of Social-Democrats from Germany, Austria and Switzerland held in Eisenach on August 7-9, 1869. The Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which was formed at this Congress, became known as the Eisenachers. Its programme on the whole corresponded to the principles advanced by the First International. p. 272
- ²⁶³ See Note 220. p. 273
- ²⁶⁴ Engels refers to the following articles of the Gotha Programme:
 "The German Workers' Party demands as the free basis of the state:
 "1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of twenty-one, for all elections, national and local. 2. Direct legislation by the people including the right to initiate and to reject bills. 3. Universal military training. The standing army to be replaced by a People's Militia. Decisions regarding war and peace are to be taken by a representative assembly of the people. 4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, association and assembly. 5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice without fees.
 "The German Workers' Party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:
 "1. Universal and equal public education to be provided by the state. Universal compulsory education. Free instruction. 2. Freedom of scientific thought. Freedom of conscience." p. 273
- ²⁶⁵ *The League of Peace and Freedom*—a bourgeois pacifist organisation formed by petty-bourgeois republicans and liberals in Switzerland in 1867. Bakunin took part in the work of the League in 1867 and 1868. At first the League attempted to use the workers' movement to achieve its aims. Its assertion that it was possible to prevent wars by creating "The United States of Europe" spread false illusions among the masses and diverted the proletariat from the class struggle. p. 273
- ²⁶⁶ With this letter Marx sent his "Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei" ("Marginal Notes to the Programme of the German Workers' Party"). The Letter and the Notes were first published by Engels in 1891 in the periodical *Neue Zeit* and are known by the title *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1973, pp. 13-30). p. 278
- ²⁶⁷ See Note 220. p. 278

- 268 The Gotha Unity Congress took place on May 22-27, 1875, the Congress of the Lassalleans earlier in May, the Congress of the Eisenachers was held in Hamburg on June 8. p. 279
- 269 The French translation of Volume I of *Capital* was edited by Marx and published in separate parts in Paris during the years 1872-1875. p. 279
- 270 The reference is to the second edition of Marx's pamphlet *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln (Exposures of the Cologne Communist Trial)*, which was published in Leipzig in 1875 by the publishing house of the newspaper *Volksstaat*, the central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. p. 279
- 271 Engels alludes to the elections that were to take place in January 1877. The German Socialist Workers' Party received approximately half a million votes in these elections and twelve of its candidates were elected to the Reichstag. p. 279
- 272 The programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted at the Gotha Unity Congress in May 1875. p. 279
- 273 In 321 B. C. when a Roman army was defeated by the Samnites in the Caudine Forks it was compelled to pass under the yoke, which was considered one of the greatest humiliations that could be imposed. p. 280
- 274 See Note 220. p. 280
- 275 The reference is to the Executive of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. p. 280
- 276 Bracke had informed Engels in a letter written between June 28 and July 7, 1875, that the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party had decided to remove two anti-Lassallean works—W. Bracke, *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag (Lassalle's Proposal)* Braunschweig, 1873, and B. Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's (History of Ferdinand Lassalle's Agitation Among the Workers)*, Braunschweig, 1874, which had both been printed in Bracke's publishing house—from its list of party literature. After Bracke's vigorous protests the decision was reversed. p. 280
- 277 An article entitled "Karl Marx über Streiks und Arbeiterkoalitionen" ("Karl Marx on Strikes and Combinations of Workers") was printed in the newspaper *Volksstaat* Nos. 103, 104 and 106 of September 8, 10 and 15, 1875. It contained, in addition to introductory and concluding passages by the author of the article, a German translation of Chapter Two, § V "Strikes and Combinations of Workers", from Marx's book *The Poverty of Philosophy*.
Engels, who edited the first German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, published in 1885, added the following note to the passage he quotes in the letter: "That is, the Socialists of that time: the Fourierists in France, the Owenites in England" (see Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, 1973, p. 148). p. 281
- 278 Engels is referring to the article "Socialism and the Struggle for Existence" by Lavrov published in the journal *Vperyod* No. 17, September 15, 1875. p. 283
- 279 Marx is alluding to the intervention of Napoleon III in the Mexican civil war between the republican government and monarchist insurgents. The expedition to Mexico (1862-67), which Napoleon III hoped would enable him to bring the country under French influence, proved a complete failure. p. 290

- ²⁸⁰ This refers to the conflict between French monarchist circles and the republican majority in the chamber of deputies. p. 290
- ²⁸¹ *Die Zukunft*—a journal published in Berlin from October 1877 to November 1878 by a group of German Social-Democrats, it followed a social-reformist line. p. 290
- ²⁸² Marx is referring to the Gotha Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in 1877, at which Dühring's supporters attempted to obtain approval for their proposal that the publication of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* in *Vorwärts* be discontinued. p. 291
- ²⁸³ Marx's letter to the editorial board of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* was written soon after the publication in the above-mentioned journal in October 1877 of an article by N. K. Mikhailovsky, an ideologist of Russian Narodism. Entitled "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky", it contained a false interpretation of *Capital*. But he never sent the letter and it was found by Engels after Marx's death among his papers. Engels sent a copy of the letter on March 6, 1884 to Vera Zasulich in Geneva (see p. 348-49 of this volume). p. 291
- ²⁸⁴ Marx is referring to the debates on the supplementary credits demanded by the government to finance British intervention in the Russo-Turkish War. The leaders of the Liberal Party, having previously opposed the credits and any action against Russia, did not take part in the final voting, which gave the Conservative Government a comfortable majority. p. 295
- ²⁸⁵ This refers to the world economic crises of 1857 and 1866, which seriously affected the British economy. p. 296
- ²⁸⁶ Marx is referring to the Bank Act of 1844, which laid down that, except for the fiduciary issue limited to £14 million, notes issued by the Bank of England had to be covered by gold. But the government was several times forced by financial crises to suspend the Act and permit the Bank to increase the fiduciary issue. p. 297
- ²⁸⁷ Bernstein had asked Engels whether he could recommend someone able to write a series of articles on the British labour movement for the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (published in Zurich). He presumably hoped that Engels would offer to contribute the articles himself and did not like to ask outright. p. 300
- ²⁸⁸ *Freiheit*—German weekly paper which followed an anarchist line. It was founded by Most in London in 1879, in 1882 the paper was published in Belgium and from 1882 to 1910 in the U.S.A. p. 301
- ²⁸⁹ Engels is alluding to the speech which Liebknecht made in the Reichstag on March 17, 1879, when a minor state of siege was imposed on Berlin and environs. In the course of the speech Liebknecht said that the Socialist Workers' Party would keep within the limits of the Anti-Socialist Law (for details of this law see Note 294) since it intended to attain its aim by reforms, adding that a "violent" revolution was an absurdity. The speech reflected the uncertainty with which some of the German Social-Democratic leaders approached tactical questions in the first months following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law. p. 301
- ²⁹⁰ The reference is to the *London German Workers' Educational Association* founded in February 1840 by Schapper, Moll and other members of the League of the Just.
When the First International was formed the Association became its German section and one of its leaders was Lessner. p. 301

- 281 The letter, which was sent to Bebel, was intended for the whole leadership of the German Socialist Workers' Party. Not only its content but also statements made by Marx and Engels make it clear that they regarded it as a party document. For instance, in a letter to Sorge, dated September 19, 1897, Marx called it a circular "for *private circulation* among the German party leaders". p. 302
- 282 The article was written by Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm and published in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* under the title "Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland". p. 302
- 283 This is an allusion to the barricade fights which took place in Berlin on March 18 and marked the beginning of the German revolution of 1848. p. 303
- 284 *The Anti-Socialist Law* (Exceptional Law against the Socialists) was introduced by Bismarck and approved by the majority in the Reichstag on October 21, 1878. The Law banned all organisations of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany and all working-class mass organisations as well as the socialist and workers' press. But during the period the Anti-Socialist Law was in force the party, with the help of Marx and Engels, was able to overcome opportunist and leftist trends within its ranks, and succeeded in strengthening and extending its influence among the masses by combining underground work with a wide use of the legal opportunities. The growing workers' movement compelled the government to repeal the Exceptional Law on October 1, 1890. p. 304
- 285 The crash of 1873 ended the period of reckless financial speculation and stock-jobbing that followed the Franco-German War of 1870-71. p. 305
- 286 The reference is to the Anti-Socialist Law. See Note 294. p. 305
- 287 See Note 281. p. 306
- 288 *Die Neue Gesellschaft*—a reformist journal published in Zurich from 1877 to 1880. p. 306
- 289 The reference is to *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the central organ of the German Socialist Workers' Party, founded in Zurich in September 1879.
After the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law in 1890 the paper ceased to appear and the *Vorwärts* again became the central organ of the party. p. 308
- 300 *Vorwärts*—the central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, published in Leipzig from October 1876. The paper was closed down in October 1878 following the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law. p. 308
- 301 Marx is referring to the speech made by Kayser, a Social-Democratic member of the Reichstag, in defence of the protective tariffs bill tabled by the government in 1879. Marx and Engels sharply criticised Kayser for defending a bill that was designed to protect the interests of the big industrialists and landowners at the expense of the masses of the population and also condemned the leading Social-Democrats who sided with Kayser. p. 308
- 302 Engels refers to the "Rechenschaftsbericht der sozialdemokratischen Mitglieder des deutschen Reichstages" ("The Report of the Social-Democratic Members of the German Reichstag"), published in *Der Sozialdemokrat* of October 12, 19 and 26, 1879. p. 309

- ³⁰³ The allusion is to the attempts on the life of William I by Max Hödel on May 11, and the anarchist Nobiling on June 2, 1878, which provided Bismarck with a convenient opportunity for introducing the Anti-Socialist Law. p. 309
- ³⁰⁴ *L'Egalité*—French weekly paper founded by Jules Guesde in 1877, from 1880 to 1883 it was the organ of the French Workers' Party. p. 312
- ³⁰⁵ *La Revue socialiste*—a monthly journal founded by Benoît Malon, published in Lyons in 1880, and in Paris from 1885 to 1914. At first the journal advocated republican and socialist views, later it became the organ of the syndicalist and co-operative movements: in the 1880s Marx and Engels contributed to the journal. p. 312
- ³⁰⁶ Marx refers to the "Workers' Questionnaire" which he drew up in the first half of April and which was published without mentioning the author in the *Revue socialiste* on April 20, 1880, and also as a separate leaflet, which was distributed throughout France. p. 312
- ³⁰⁷ The reference is to the programme of the French Workers' Party, which Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue together with Marx and Engels drew up in May 1880. p. 312
- ³⁰⁸ *Katheder-Socialists*—representatives of a trend in bourgeois economics and sociology which arose towards the end of the 19th century. They were in the main German professors who under the guise of socialism advocated bourgeois reformism from their university chairs (*Katheder* in German). p. 315
- ³⁰⁹ In his letter of January 6, 1881, Domela-Nieuwenhuis informed Marx that at the coming Zurich Congress the Dutch party intended to raise the following question: what legislative measures intended to safeguard the victory of socialism ought to be introduced in the first instance by the Socialists after they have gained control. p. 317
- ³¹⁰ On behalf of her comrades Vera Zasulich wrote to Marx asking him to elaborate his views on Russia's future development and in particular on the prospects of the Russian village community. p. 319
- ³¹¹ The meeting, which took place in London under the chairmanship of the Russian Narodnik Leo Hartmann, was attended by representatives of Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian Socialists. A revolutionary Slavonic club was formed at the meeting. p. 321
- ³¹² An allusion to the fact that, after being sentenced to death by the Executive Committee of the secret society Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) Emperor Alexander II was killed in St. Petersburg on March 1, 1881. p. 321
- ³¹³ The reference is to the Anti-Socialist Law of 1878, which in the spring of 1880 was extended for another five years. p. 321
- ³¹⁴ *Napoleon the Little*—nickname of Louis Bonaparte (Napoleon III) coined by Victor Hugo during a speech in the French Legislative Assembly in 1851; the name became widely known after the publication of Hugo's pamphlet *Napoléon le Petit* in 1852. p. 322
- ³¹⁵ *Anti-renters*—a term applied to tenants in New York State in the 1830s and 1840s who refused to pay rent to the big landowners demanding that they should sell them their farms outright. The tenants offered armed resistance to tax-collectors who attempted to enforce rent payment. The movement, which reached its peak in the decade 1836 to 1845, ended in a compromise in 1846 when the landowners began to sell their estates to the tenants. p. 323

- 316 *The Democratic Federation* founded by H. M. Hyndman in June 1881 was in August 1884 reorganised and called the Social-Democratic Federation. p. 325
- 317 See Note 299. p. 327
- 318 *L'Egalité*—see Note 304. *Prolétaire*—organ of the Possibilists (French opportunists). p. 328
- 319 *The Labour Standard*—the weekly paper of the London Trades Council published from 1881 to 1885. p. 329
- 320 The French Workers' Party split into two factions at the St. Etienne Congress on September 25, 1882. The minority led by Guesde and Lafargue walked out and held its own congress at Roanne. The opportunist majority headed by Malon and Brousse formed a separate party, the so-called Possibilists. The party acquired this name because its leaders, who were opposed to revolutionary struggle, declared that they were only trying to achieve what was possible. p. 331
- 321 The reference is to the speech of Grillenberger, the Social-Democratic member of the Reichstag, and several articles printed in the *Sozialdemokrat* which dealt with the debate in the Reichstag on the proposed renewal of the Anti-Socialist Law. p. 336
- 322 Engels is alluding to the annexation of the Kingdom of Hanover, the electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the grand duchy of Nassau and the free city Frankfort on the Main by Prussia after its victory in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. p. 336
- 323 See Note 303. p. 337
- 324 See Note 294. p. 337
- 325 *P. van Patten*, the Secretary of the Central Labour Union in New York, informed Engels that during a meeting in honour of Marx, Joseph Most and his friends asserted that close relations had existed between Marx and Most, that Most had popularised *Capital* in Germany and that the propaganda he conducted was approved by Marx. Van Patten continues: "We have a very high opinion of the capacities and the activity of Karl Marx, but we cannot believe that he was in sympathy with the anarchistic and disorganising methods of Most and I should like to hear your opinion as to the attitude of Karl Marx on the question of anarchism versus social-democracy." p. 340
- 326 See Note 288. p. 341
- 327 *The Manifesto* was published as a pamphlet in 1883 under the title *Socialism Made Plain, Being the Social and Political Manifesto of the Democratic Federation*. p. 343
- 328 In the Preface to the German edition of 1872 to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels refer to the practical experience gained in the Paris Commune and quote the following passage from *The Civil War in France* by Marx, "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes". p. 345
- 329 Engels is referring to the second illegal edition of Bebel's book *Die Frau und der Sozialismus (Woman and Socialism)* which was published by Schabelitz of Zurich and printed in Dietz's printing works at Stuttgart. The book came out in 1883 under the title *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft (Woman in the Past, Present and Future)*. p. 345

- ³³⁰ See Note 299. p. 346
- ³³¹ The American economist Henry George came to England in 1882 and 1884 to conduct a propaganda campaign for his land nationalisation. For an evaluation of his theory see Marx's letter to Sorge of June 20, 1881 (pp. 322-23 of this volume). p. 346
- ³³² On behalf of the Russian revolutionary émigrés in Switzerland Vera Zasulich wrote to Engels on March 2, 1884, asking for permission to translate into Russian and publish Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy: Answer to the Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon*. She also enquired whether Engels would agree to send her the text of his preface to the first German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*, which was then in preparation, and whether he would be good enough to look through the proofs of the Russian edition and comment on them. The Russian edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy* was published in Geneva in 1886. p. 348
- ³³³ See p. 150 of this volume. p. 348
- ³³⁴ Following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by members of the secret society Narodnaya Volya on March 1, 1881, Alexander III became emperor. Frightened by the revolutionary movement and possible new terrorist acts of Narodnaya Volya Alexander III retired to Gatchina. p. 349
- ³³⁵ The letter to the editorial board of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* written by Marx in 1877 (see p. 150 of this volume) was first published in *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli* (Herald of People's Will), Geneva, 1886, No. 5. p. 349
- ³³⁶ Engels' work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was translated by Vera Zasulich into Russian and published in Geneva in 1884. p. 349
- ³³⁷ Engels refers to two leading articles of the *Sozialdemokrat*, the first, which was written by Eduard Bernstein, was published on May 13, 1884, under the title "Zum Gedenktage der Märzämpfe" ("On the Anniversary of the March Fights"); the second published on March 20, 1884, was entitled "Zur Naturgeschichte der Volkspartei" ("A Natural History of the People's Party"). p. 350
- ³³⁸ *Die Neue Zeit*—the theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Until October 1917 it was edited by Karl Kautsky, then by Heinrich Cunow. p. 351
- ³³⁹ See Note 329. p. 351
- ³⁴⁰ The *Liberal Party* (*Freisinnige Partei*) came into being in March 1884 as a result of the fusion of the Progressive Party (*Fortschrittspartei*) and the Left wing of the National-Liberal Party. It represented the interests of the middle and lower middle class and opposed the policy of the Bismarck government. p. 352
- ³⁴¹ The *Centre*—the party of the Roman Catholics in Germany, formed in 1870-71 by the amalgamation of the Catholic parties in the Parliament; the name is derived from the fact that the seats of the deputies were situated in the centre of the chamber. As a rule the party followed a middle course in the Reichstag manoeuvring between the parties supporting the government and the Left-wing opposition. Under the banner of Catholicism the party united diverse social strata—Roman Catholic priests, landowners, bourgeois and a section of the peasants—chiefly in the Western and South-Western states of Germany, where it fanned separatist and anti-Prussian sentiments. p. 352

- ³⁴² Engels is alluding to the fact that on May 10, 1884, a large group of Liberal deputies and approximately half the Centre Party in the Reichstag voted for the renewal of the Anti-Socialist Law despite their usual opposition to Bismarck's government, thus showing their fear of the growing working-class and Social-Democratic movement. p. 352
- ³⁴³ The reference is to *Sotsialisticheskoye Znaniye* published in 1884 by the clandestine Society of Translators and Publishers in Moscow. The first issue contained Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, and several chapters of his *Condition of the Working-Class in England*. p. 354
- ³⁴⁴ Karl August Schramm, the German economist, had sent an article entitled "Karl Kautsky und Rodbertus" to the *Neue Zeit*, which was edited by Kautsky. In this article Schramm strongly attacked Kautsky's article "Das 'Kapital' von Rodbertus" published in an earlier issue of the *Neue Zeit*. After writing a reply to Schramm's criticism Kautsky sent it together with Schramm's article to Engels and asked for his comments on both. "Karl Kautsky und Rodbertus" and Kautsky's reply were printed in *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 11, 1884. p. 357
- ³⁴⁵ The reference is to the indemnity of 5,000 million francs imposed on France by the peace treaty signed after the Franco-German War of 1870-71. The French indemnity payments were made from 1871 to 1873. p. 359
- ³⁴⁶ Engels refers to the National Assembly that met in Frankfort on the Main in 1848 and 1849. p. 359
- ³⁴⁷ The party of the *National*—in the 1840s a group of bourgeois republicans headed by Armand Marrast who centred round the French daily paper *Le National* (published from 1830 to 1851). They represented the industrial bourgeoisie and a section of the liberal intelligentsia connected with them. p. 359
- ³⁴⁸ *Gertrude Guillaume-Schak*, a German Socialist, who was writing an article on female labour asked Engels whether it was true that the programme of the French Workers' Party, which demanded equal pay for equal work, was drawn up by him and Marx. p. 363
- ³⁴⁹ The term *Workers' Party (Parti ouvrier)* of the Roanne trend is applied by Engels to the section of the French Workers' Party headed by Guesde and Lafargue that dissociated itself from the Possibilists in 1882 and held a separate congress in Roanne. p. 363
- ³⁵⁰ *Severny Vestnik* (Northern Herald)—a liberal magazine containing articles on literature, science and politics, published in St. Petersburg from 1885 to 1898. p. 365
- ³⁵¹ See Note 308. p. 370
- ³⁵² Engels refers to the acquittal of Guesde, Lafargue and Susini by the Assize Court jury on September 24, 1886, when they appealed against the verdict of the previous sitting of the court which had imposed sentences of from four to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs for alleged incitement to pillage. The charge was based on speeches they had made at a meeting held at Chateau d'Eau on June 3, 1886.
In his letter to Engels of September 30, 1886, Paul Lafargue wrote that the acquittal showed to a certain extent that the bourgeoisie was ready for some of the socialist theories. p. 372
- ³⁵³ This refers to the big success scored by Henry George in the New York municipal elections of 1886, when supported by the labour movement he received 67,000 votes. p. 373

- ³⁵⁴ *The order of the Knights of Labor*, which was founded by American workers in Philadelphia in 1869, was a secret society up to 1878. The Order consisted mainly of unskilled workers, including many Negroes, and had as its aim the creation of co-operative societies and the organisation of mutual aid. But the leadership of the Order was in fact against the participation of the workers in the political struggle and advocated class collaboration. In 1886 it opposed a nation-wide strike and forbade its members to take part in it, the rank and file however disregarded these injunctions. Owing to the opportunist policy pursued by the leaders the influence of the organisation decreased and it disintegrated towards the end of the 1890s. p. 373
- ³⁵⁵ The *Social-Democratic Federation* which was created in August 1884 on the basis of the Democratic Federation (see Note 316), comprised various heterogeneous socialist elements. It was led by a group of reformists headed by Hyndman. In contradistinction to the course followed by Hyndman, the revolutionary Marxists in the Federation (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Tom Mann and others) fought for the establishment of close links with the mass organisations of the labour movement. In the autumn of 1884 the Left-wing members broke away and formed a separate organisation—the Socialist League. p. 375
- ³⁵⁶ The *Socialist League* was formed in December 1884 by a group of Socialists who had left the Social-Democratic Federation (see Note 355). Among them were the Avelings, E. Belfort Bax and W. Morris. In the beginning the League played an active part in the labour movement but soon an anarchist clique began to dominate the organisation and many of the foundation members, including the Avelings, left. In 1889 it fell to pieces. p. 375
- ³⁵⁷ In her letter of December 10, 1886, Mrs. Kelley-Wischnewetzky, who translated *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* into English, asked Engels to write a preface for the American edition. For, as she pointed out, many changes had taken place in the U.S.A. since February 1886, when Engels wrote the Appendix to this edition. In particular she suggested that the theories of Henry George should be criticised in the new preface. The American edition came out in 1887 under the title *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. p. 376
- ³⁵⁸ Henry George advocated land nationalisation to be brought about by means of a tax equal to the entire rent of land. p. 376
- ³⁵⁹ See Note 354. p. 376
- ³⁶⁰ Engels refers to the rising started by the Society of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the Left wing of the Republican Party, which took place in Paris, June 5 and 6, 1832. p. 380
- ³⁶¹ See Note 355. p. 382
- ³⁶² See Note 320. p. 382
- ³⁶³ See Note 245. p. 382
- ³⁶⁴ Engels is referring to a resolution which was passed at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in St. Gall in 1887, instructing the Party Executive to convene an international congress in 1888. p. 383
- ³⁶⁵ The French Republic concluded a separate peace treaty with Prussia which was signed in Basle on April 5, 1795. p. 384

- 366 *Directory*—the body of five men that held executive power in France, according to the constitution adopted after the fall of the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins, from 1795 till the Bonapartist coup in 1799. It suppressed the democratic forces and defended the interests of the big bourgeoisie. p. 384
- 367 *The Socialist Labour Party of North America* came into being at the Unity Congress at Philadelphia in 1876, as a result of the merging of the American Sections of the First International, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and other socialist organisations in the U.S.A. Most of the members of the party had emigrated to the United States comparatively recently, chiefly from Germany, and had little contact with the native American workers. The party declared that its aim was the fight for socialism, it did not however become a truly revolutionary Marxist mass party, because its sectarian leadership failed to realise the necessity of working in the mass organisations of the American proletariat. p. 385
- 368 Engels is alluding to the expulsion of two Left-wing members (one of whom was Trier) of the Executive Committee of the Danish Socialist Party from the party, because the two were opposed to the Socialist Party forming a bloc with Venstre, the Danish radical-bourgeois party. p. 386
- 369 See Note 112. p. 389
- 370 See Note 356. p. 390
- 371 The reference is to the Social-Democratic Federation. See Note 355. p. 390
- 372 *The Thirty Years' War* (1618-48) was the first war involving almost all European states; in it the political conflicts took on the shape of a struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism. In the course of the war Germany, which was the principal battleground, was ravaged, its economy destroyed and a considerable part of its population killed. The Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the war, gave certain parts of the German Empire to France and Sweden and confirmed the political fragmentation of Central Europe. p. 391
- 373 See Note 294. p. 394
- 374 Engels refers to the Second International Congress, which was to be held in Brussels in August 1891. p. 404
- 375 This refers to an abortion scandal in which the radical Mayor of Toulon, Fouroux, and his mistress, Mme de Jonquières, were involved and as a result of which he was removed from office and sentenced. We have not had access to the *Socialiste* containing the article. p. 405
- 376 The reference is to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx, first published in the *Neue Zeit* (which was then edited by Kautsky) at the beginning of 1891. Despite the opposition of the opportunist German Social-Democratic leaders Engels decided to have it published at that time because a new programme was to be adopted at the coming Erfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party. p. 405
- 377 The first two of the newspapers mentioned are Social-Democratic papers, the third a bourgeois paper. p. 405
- 378 When Engels sent Kautsky the text of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* for publication, he informed Kautsky that, if the *Critique* was not printed in the *Neue Zeit*, he (Engels) would publish it in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*. p. 405

- 379 Lassalle, who was a lawyer, successfully carried through legal proceedings lasting from 1845 to 1854 on behalf of the Countess von Hatzfeldt against her husband. p. 406
- 380 On February 13, 1891, *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, printed a leading article, expressing the views of the party leadership on the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. The article denounced Marx's evaluation of Lassalle and declared that the party could take credit for having adopted the programme despite Marx's criticism. p. 407
- 381 Engels refers to the draft programme of the German Social-Democratic Party which was to be adopted at the Erfurt Congress in October 1891. p. 408
- 382 Engels refers to the crushing defeat which Napoleon inflicted on the Prussian armies at Jena and Auerstedt on October 14, 1806. p. 410
- 383 See Note 354. p. 411
- 384 Engels refers to a translation by de Leon and Vogt which was published by the Socialist Workers' Party of America. p. 411
- 385 See Note 220. p. 417
- 386 *Fabians*—members of the reformist Fabian Society founded in 1884. In 1900 the society joined the Labour Party. p. 422
- 387 The limited company formed in France in 1879 to build a canal across the Panama isthmus failed in 1888, ruining numerous small shareholders and causing many bankruptcies. The public was scandalised when, in the course of the ensuing legal proceedings, it became known that a large number of journalists, members of Parliament and leading French politicians were involved in the underhand dealings and financial speculations and that many of them had accepted bribes. p. 427
- 388 *Baare*, the managing director of large steel mills in Bochum, was tried for concealing the company's profits, tax-evasion and the delivery of unserviceable rails. p. 427
- 389 The owner of L. Löwe & Co., a small arms factory, supplied sub-standard quality arms to the state and bribed high-ranking government officials to have them accepted. p. 427
- 390 In 1892 and 1893 it became known that investigations into the affairs of the Banca Romana had revealed serious malpractices; e. g., while the bank had the right to issue bank-notes to the value of 70 million francs it had issued 133 million francs. It had moreover handed out large sums of money to deputies, senators and other persons connected with the government. p. 427
- 391 The *Independent Labour Party*—a reformist organisation which was formed at a conference at Bradford in January 1893, was headed by Keir Hardie. p. 428
- 392 See Note 355. p. 428
- 393 See Note 386. p. 428
- 394 See Note 387. p. 429
- 395 Engels refers to the municipal elections held on the 1st and 8th of May 1892, when the Socialists received 160,000 votes and captured 27 municipalities. p. 430

- ³⁹⁶ At the House of Commons session on February 20, 1893, a First Reading was given to two Bills dealing with modifications of the electoral law. The Government proposed in these Bills that as far as possible inequalities hindering the free expression of the elector's views should be abolished. Among other things it contemplated the abolition of all property qualifications; the introduction of returning officers, nominated and paid by municipal councils, to be responsible for drawing up the electoral register; and the establishment of a single register of voters for all elections (parliamentary, municipal, etc.). p. 431
- ³⁹⁷ *Ferroul* represented the National Council of the French Workers' Party at the Brussels Conference. p. 432
- ³⁹⁸ The *Social-Democrat*—a Bulgarian political and literary quarterly, published in Sevlievo in 1892 and 1893. p. 432
- ³⁹⁹ *Crimean War* (1853-56) was waged by Russia on the one hand, and Britain, France, Turkey and Sardinia on the other. The war, in which Russia was defeated, "demonstrated the rottenness and impotence of feudal Russia" (see Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, Moscow, 1963, p. 121) and led to a revolutionary situation in 1859-61 which compelled the tsarist government to introduce bourgeois reforms in the 1860s and 1870s. p. 437
- ⁴⁰⁰ The quotation is taken from Marx's Preface to the first German edition of *Capital* Vol. I (see Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 9). p. 444
- ⁴⁰¹ *La Réforme*—French daily paper, the organ of petty-bourgeois democrats-republicans and petty-bourgeois Socialists, published in Paris from 1843 to 1850. p. 446
- ⁴⁰² This refers to the Provisional Government of the French Republic formed on February 24, 1848, in which the moderate bourgeois republicans held a majority of seats. p. 446
- ⁴⁰³ The reference is to Sombart's article "Zur Kritik des ökonomischen Systems von Karl Marx" ("A Contribution to the Criticism of the Economic System of Karl Marx") published in the *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*. In it Sombart reviews the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, which was edited by Engels. Following the publication of this volume in 1894, a series of articles appeared in the reactionary bourgeois press designed to throw doubt on the principal theses of Marxist political economy. Sombart's article too misinterprets certain aspects of the economic theory and method of Marx. p. 454
- ⁴⁰⁴ Engels himself dealt with the subject in "Ergänzung und Nachtrag zum III. Buche des 'Kapital' I. Wertgesetz und Profitrate" ("Supplement to *Capital* Volume Three, I. Law of Value and Rate of Profit"), which he wrote in the spring of 1895. (See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1959, pp. 868-83.) p. 456
- ⁴⁰⁵ When Engels' "*Introduction to the Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*" by Marx was published in the *Vorwärts* the leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party distorted Engels' arguments and gave them an opportunist turn by omitting important passages on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. p. 461
- ⁴⁰⁶ Kautsky did not want Engels to take part in guiding the work on "A History of Socialism" but, eager to make use of Engels' erudition, he asked Engels to send him material for the chapter dealing with the history of the First International. p. 462

INDEXES

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NAME INDEX

A

- **Adler, Victor* (1852-1918)—one of the founders and leaders of Austrian Social-Democracy, in 1889-95 corresponded with Engels, delegate to international socialist workers' congresses in 1889, 1891 and 1893; later a leader of opportunist wing of Austrian Social-Democratic Party and Second International—383, 404, 460
- Aeschylus* (525-456 B.C.)—outstanding playwright of Ancient Greece, author of classical tragedies—368
- Albert (Martin, Alexandre)* (1815-1895)—French worker, socialist, leader of various secret revolutionary societies during July monarchy; in 1848 member of Provisional Government—423
- Alexander II* (1818-1881)—Russian Emperor (1855-1881)—114, 289
- Allemane, Jean* (1843-1935)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, member of Paris Commune, after its suppression was sentenced to penal servitude, amnestied in 1880; a Possibilist in eighties; in 1890 headed Workers' Social-Revolutionary Party of a semi-anarchist syndicalist trend which broke from Possibilists; later withdrew from active political life—431
- Anne* (1665-1714)—Queen of England (1702-1714)—185
- **Annenkov, Pavel Vasilyevich* (1812-1887)—Russian liberal landlord, man of letters; in forties knew Marx personally—29
- Appian* (c. A.D. 90-170)—eminent historian of Ancient Rome—115
- Applegarth, Robert* (1833-1925)—one of leaders of British Trades Unions, member of General Council of First International—215
- Archbishop of Trier*—see Richard
- Aristophanes* (c. 446-385 B.C.)—famous playwright of Ancient Greece, author of political comedies—368
- Attwood, Thomas* (1783-1856)—English banker, economist and political figure—98, 106
- Auer, Ignaz* (1846-1907)—German Social-Democrat, a leader of Social-Democratic Party, was repeatedly elected deputy to Reichstag, later a reformist—268, 310
- Augustus Octavianus* (63 B.C.-14 A.D.)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)—442
- Aurung-Zebe* (1618-1707)—Padi-Shah (1658-1707) of Great Mogul dynasty in India—75
- Aveling, Edward* (1851-1898)—English socialist, writer and publicist; husband of Marx's daughter Eleanor. From 1884 member of Social Democratic Federation; subsequently one of founders of Socialist League; in late eighties and early nineties one of organisers of a mass movement of unskilled workers; one of translators into English of Marx's *Capital* of Vol. I and Engels' *Socialism*:

* The names of the correspondents of Marx and Engels are starred.—Ed.

- Utopian and Scientific*—411, 422, 423, 426, 428
Aveling, Eleanor—see, Marx, Eleanor
Avenel, Georges d' (1828-1876)—French historian and publicist—383, 384

B

- Badinguet*—nickname of Napoleon III
Bahr, Hermann (1863-1934)—Austrian writer and critic—391
Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)—Russian revolutionary and publicist, participated in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, one of ideologists of anarchism; an avowed enemy of Marxism; in First International; at Hague Congress (1872) expelled from First International for splitting activities—20, 69, 93, 206, 235, 254, 257-263, 266, 270, 276, 278, 332, 333, 341, 383
Balan, Hermann Ludwig (1812-1874)—German diplomat, Ambassador at Brussels (1865-74)—240
Balthasar, Sler—participated in Peasant War in Germany in 1525, friend and advisor of Franz von Sickingen; portrayed by Lassalle in his drama *Franz von Sickingen*—109, 111
Balzac, Honoré de (1799-1850)—great French realist writer—380, 381
Banner, Robert—English worker, member of Fabian Society—423
Barrot, Odilon (1791-1873)—French bourgeois political figure, prior to February 1848 leader of liberal dynastic opposition; from December 1848 to October 1849 headed ministry which was supported by counter-revolutionary bloc of monarchist groups—55, 115
Barth, Paul (1858-1922)—German sociologist, opponent of Marxism—392, 393, 401, 402, 414, 434, 435
Barthélémy, Emmanuel (c. 1820-1855)—French worker, Blanquist, member of secret revolutionary societies during July monarchy and June insurrection of 1848 in Paris, emigrated to England—57
Bastiat, Frédéric (1801-1850)—French vulgar economist, preached harmony of class interests in bourgeois society—100, 147, 195
Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, prominent among Young Hegelians, bourgeois radical, author of a number of works on history of Christianity—18, 208
Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)—German publicist, Young Hegelian, brother of Bruno Bauer—18
Bax, Ernest Belfort (1854-1926)—English socialist, historian and philosopher, a founder of Social-Democratic Federation, and of Socialist League (1884), later one of leaders of British Socialist Party—326, 385
Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant (1818-1893)—American general, during Civil War in U.S.A. was commander of Confederate forces in Virginia (1861-beginning of 1862) and Mississippi (1862), then in Charleston (September 1862-April 1864)—118
**Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—a prominent leader of German Social-Democracy and international working-class movement, friend and associate of Marx and Engels, turner, member of First International. In 1869 he and Wilhelm Liebknecht founded German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); was repeatedly elected deputy to Reichstag. At the turn of the century waged struggle against reformism and revisionism; but towards the end of his political activity made a number of mistakes of centrist character—208, 230, 239, 244, 246, 252, 265, 278, 279, 281, 302, 308-310, 333, 343, 345, 353, 358, 364, 370, 403, 406, 417, 418, 422, 424, 429, 430
Becker, Bernhard (1826-1882)—German publicist, Chairman of General Association of German Workers (1864-65) after Lassalle's death; later joined the Eisenachers—150, 159, 165, 257, 279, 280
Becker, Hermann Heinrich (Red Becker) (1820-1885)—German lawyer and publicist, after 1850 member of Communist League, one of

- defendants at Cologne Communist Trial (1852), sentenced to five years' imprisonment; in sixties Progressist, later National-Liberal—150
- **Becker, Johann Philipp* (1809-1886)—prominent figure in German and international working-class movement; brushmaker; in thirties-forties took part in democratic movement in Germany and Switzerland, was active in 1848-49 Revolution; after defeat of Baden-Palatinate insurrection fled from Germany. In sixties one of outstanding figures in First International, attended all its congresses, editor of *Vorbote*; friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—117, 165, 199, 301, 328
- Beckerath, Hermann* (1801-1870)—German banker, one of the leaders of Rhine bourgeoisie, member of Frankfort National Assembly, belonged to Right Centre; Minister of Finance in imperial government (August-September 1848)—51
- **Beesly, Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—English historian and political figure, bourgeois radical, positivist, professor at London University; known for his defence of First International and Paris Commune in the English press in 1870-71—235, 236, 250, 454
- Beghelli, Giuseppe* (1847-1877)—Italian journalist, bourgeois democrat, participated in Garibaldi's campaigns, editor of a number of republican newspapers—261
- Behr*—Berlin publisher—282
- Benedix, Roderich* (1811-1873)—German playwright—269
- Berkeley, George* (1685-1753)—English philosopher, prominent representative of subjective idealism, bishop, critic of mercantilism, representative of nominalistic theory of money—106
- Berlichingen, Götz von* (1480-1562)—German knight, attempted to utilise Peasant War (1525) for selfish purposes, betrayed peasants at the critical moment; one of central characters in Goethe's drama *Götz von Berlichingen*, and Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen*—109
- Bermbach, Adolph* (1821-1875)—Cologne lawyer, member of Frankfort National Assembly and of Communist League; witness for defence at Cologne Communist Trial (1852), later Liberal—52
- Bernays, Karl Ludwig* (1815-1879)—German radical publicist, in 1844 member of editorial board of *Vorwärts!* (newspaper of German emigrants in Paris) in which Marx directly participated; after 1848-49 Revolution emigrated to U.S.A.—18
- Bernier, François* (1625-1688)—French physician, traveller and writer—75-77
- **Bernstein, Eduard* (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of newspaper *Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90), attended international socialist workers congresses in 1889 and 1893; after Engels' death in late nineties began openly to advocate revision of Marxism from reformist stand—300, 320, 324, 327, 330, 331, 336-338, 342, 345, 350, 356, 402, 462, 463
- Berryer, Pierre-Antoine* (1790-1868)—French lawyer and political figure, at the time of Second Republic member of Constituent and Legislative assemblies, Legitimist—56
- Beta, Heinrich (Bettziech)*—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat—114
- Bigot, Leon* (1826-1872)—French lawyer and publicist, Left Republican; after suppression of Paris Commune defended Communards at Versailles Court—252
- Bismarck, Otto Eduard* (1815-1898)—statesman and diplomat of Prussia and Germany, representative of Prussian Junkerdom, Minister-President of Prussia (1862-72 and 1873-90), Chancellor of North-German Union (1867-71) and of German Empire (1871-90), forcibly unified Germany under supremacy of Prussia, sworn enemy of working-class movement; introduced Anti-Socialist Law (1878)—132, 140, 150, 151, 154, 155, 157-159, 166, 169, 170, 208, 209, 226, 228, 234, 235, 239, 240,

- 242, 243, 249, 251, 252, 259, 261, 277, 282, 289, 290, 301, 308, 324, 327, 349, 351, 352, 362, 387, 406, 407, 412, 435
- Blanc, Louis* (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian, member of Provisional Government and Chairman of Luxemburg Committee (1848); advocated conciliation with bourgeoisie; in August 1848 emigrated to England, a leader of petty-bourgeois émigrés in London—57, 58, 61, 63, 67, 72, 446
- Blank, Karl Emil* (1817-1893)—German merchant, Engels' brother-in-law—17, 42
- Blanqui, Louis Auguste* (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian Communist; organised a number of secret societies and plots; took active part in revolutions of 1830 and 1848, was repeatedly imprisoned—206, 242, 362, 431
- Bleichröder, Gerson von* (1822-1893)—German financier, head of a big banking firm in Berlin; Bismarck's personal banker, his unofficial financial counsellor and mediator in various speculative machinations—349
- Blind, Karl* (1826-1907)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; in fifties and early sixties one of leaders of German petty-bourgeois émigrés in London, subsequently National-Liberal—157
- **Bloch, Joseph* (1871-1936)—German Social-Democrat, in 1897-1933 editor and publisher of *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, chief organ of German opportunists—394
- **Blos, Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—German petty-bourgeois historian and publicist, representative of Right wing of German Social-Democratic Party; in 1872-74 an editor of Social-Democratic newspaper *Der Volksstaat*—287, 291
- Bolte, Friedrich*—leader of American working-class movement, German cigar-maker; Secretary of Federal Council of North American Sections of International (1872); member of General Council (1872-74)—253
- Bonald, Louis Gabriel Ambroise, Vicomte de* (1754-1840)—French statesman and publicist, monarchist; one of ideologists of aristocratic and clerical reaction during Restoration—424
- Bonaparte, Joseph Charles Paul, Prince Napoleon* (1822-1891)—cousin of Napoleon III, during Second Republic (1848-52) member of Constituent and Legislative assemblies; known under nicknames Plon-Plon and Red Prince—107, 151, 171
- Bonaparte, Louis*—see Napoleon III—168
- Bonhorst, Leonhard* (b. 1840)—German Social-Democrat, technician; member of Brunswick Committee of Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers)—209, 210, 227
- Bonnier, Charles* (b. 1863)—French socialist writer—403
- Boon, Martin James*—English leader of labour movement, mechanic, member of General Council of First International (1869-72), Secretary of Land- and Labour League—210
- **Borgius W.*—441
- Borkheim, Sigismund Ludwig* (1825-1885)—German publicist, democrat; participated in Baden-Palatinate insurrection in 1849; after its defeat emigrated abroad, lived in Switzerland, France, and from 1851 in England; friend of Marx and Engels—204
- **Bracke, Wilhelm* (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat, a founder (1869) and leader of Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); close associate of Marx and Engels, fought against Lassalleanism; opposed, though not consistently enough, opportunist elements in Social-Democratic Party—227, 274, 278-280, 302
- Brass, August* (1818-1876)—German journalist, took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland; after sixties supporter of Bismarck, publisher of *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*—233
- Bray, John Francis* (1809-1895)—English economist, utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen, de-

- veloped "labour-money" theory—98, 356
- Breckinridge, John Cable* (1821-1875)—American statesman, belonged to Democratic Party, one of leaders of slave-owners' revolt in the South, Vice-President (1857-61), during Civil War General of Confederate Army, War Minister of Southern Confederation (1865)—124
- Bright, John* (1811-1889)—English political figure, a leader of Free Traders and founder of Anti-Corn-Law League, from early sixties leader of Left-wing of Liberal Party, held a number of ministerial posts in Liberal Cabinets—92, 131, 137, 140, 149, 295, 370
- Brissot, Jacques-Pierre* (1754-1793)—prominent figure during French Revolution, first member of Jacobin Club, then leader and theoretician of Girondist Party—143
- Broadhurst, Henry* (1840-1911)—English political figure, one of trade union leaders, reformist, Secretary of Parliamentary Committee of Trades Union Congress (1875-90); Liberal Member of Parliament, Deputy Home Secretary (1886)—382, 389
- Brousse, Paul* (1854-1912)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, participated in Paris Commune, after its suppression lived in emigration; joined anarchists. On his return to France at the beginning of eighties joined Workers' Party, where he vehemently opposed the Marxist trend; an ideologist and leader of Possibilists—324, 331, 332, 334, 382, 404, 431
- Brown, John* (1800-1859)—American farmer, a prominent figure of revolutionary wing of abolitionist movement; took active part in armed struggle against slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); in 1859 attempted to organise a revolt of Negro slaves in Virginia; was tried and then executed—114
- Brown, Willard*—American journalist, socialist—322
- Buchez, Philippe* (1796-1865)—French politician and historian, bourgeois republican; one of the ideologists of Christian socialism—200, 201, 274
- Büchner, Ludwig* (1824-1899)—German physiologist and philosopher, representative of vulgar materialism—225, 283
- Bürgers, Heinrich* (1820-1878)—German radical publicist, after 1850 member of Central Committee of Communist League; at Cologne Communist Trial (1852) was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, in sixties-seventies Progressist—50, 125
- Burgess, Joseph* (pseudonym *Autolycus*) (b. 1853)—English socialist, in 1891-94 published *The Workman's Times*; one of the founders of Independent Workers' Party (1893)—439
- Bürkli, Karl* (1823-1901)—Swiss socialist, Fourierist, member of First International—329
- Burns*, see Rosher, Mary Ellen
- Burns, John Elliot* (1858-1943)—English politician and statesman; in eighties a leader of trade unions, took part in many strikes, including big London dockers' strike in 1889; was member of English Social-Democratic Federation, but soon withdrew from it. In 1892 was elected to Parliament, where he opposed workers' interests and advocated collaboration with capitalists—386, 388, 449
- Burns, Lydia (Lizzy)* (1827-1878)—Irish worker, took part in national liberation movement in Ireland, Frederick Engels' second wife—104, 179, 181, 210, 288
- Burt, Thomas* (1837-1922)—English trade unionist, miner, Secretary of Northumberland Miners' Union, Member of Parliament (1874-1918), pursued Liberal Party's policy—295
- Byr (Bayer, Karl-Robert)* (1835-1902)—German writer—283

C

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French publicist, prominent representative of utopian communism, author of *Voyage to Icaria*—67, 146, 281

- Caesar, Gaius Julius* (c. 100-44 B. C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer—115, 116, 129, 190, 442
- Calvin, Jean* (1509-1564)—prominent figure in Reformation; founder of Calvinism, a trend of Protestantism expressing the interests of bourgeoisie during the primitive accumulation of capital—434
- Camphausen, Ludolph* (1803-1890)—German banker, a leader of Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister-President (March-June 1848)—42
- Canrobert, François Certain de* (1809-1895)—French general, Marshal (from 1856); Bonapartist, commander-in-chief of French troops during Crimean War (September 1854-May 1855), later corps commander in the Crimea—108
- Cardanus, Girolamo* (1501-1576)—Italian mathematician, philosopher and physician—129
- Carey, Henry Charles* (1793-1879)—American vulgar economist; author of reactionary theory of harmony of class interests in capitalist society—63, 78, 79, 100, 186, 187, 212-215
- Carnot, Lazare Nicolas* (1753-1823)—French mathematician and physicist, political and military figure, bourgeois republican; during French Revolution joined Jacobins; one of organisers of France's defence against coalition of European governments—57
- Castille, Hippolyte* (1820-1886)—French publicist and novelist; republican (1848); took part in June insurrection; after December 1851 coup d'état renegade, supporter of empire—205
- Castlereagh*—see Stewart, Robert, Lord Castlereagh—106
- Caussidière, Marc* (1808-1861)—French petty-bourgeois democrat; participant in insurrection of 1834 in Lyons; an organiser of secret revolutionary societies in the period of July monarchy; after February Revolution (1848) prefect of Paris police; member of Constituent Assembly; in June 1848 emigrated to England—57
- Cavaignac, Louis Eugène* (1802-1857)—French general and political figure, bourgeois republican; in thirties-forties took part in the conquest of Algeria, in 1848 Governor-General of Algeria; War Minister of France (May-June 1848); responsible for bloody suppression of June insurrection of Paris workers; from June to December 1848 was vested with dictatorial powers—55, 241
- Cavallotti, Felice* (1842-1898)—Italian politician and publicist; leader of bourgeois radicals; member of Parliament from 1873—444
- Cavendish, Spencer Compton, Marquis Hartington* (1833-1908)—a prominent figure in British Liberal Party—295
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de* (1547-1616)—great realistic writer of Spain, author of *Don Quixote*—368
- Champion, Henry Hyde* (1859-1928)—English socialist, publisher and publicist, member of Social-Democratic Federation; entered into clandestine deals with Conservatives; in nineties emigrated to Australia, where he took active part in working-class movement—386
- Changarnier, Nicolas Anne* (1793-1877)—French general and bourgeois politician, monarchist, at the time of Second Republic was deputy of Constituent and National assemblies; in June 1848 commander of Paris garrison and of National Guard, took part in suppressing demonstration of June 13, 1849; after coup d'état of December 2, 1851 was arrested and deported; returned to France in 1859—55, 56
- Charles II* (1630-1685)—King of England (1660-1685)—105
- Charles V* (1500-1558)—Emperor of Holy Roman Empire (1519-1556) and Spanish King (1516-1556); under the name of Charles I portrayed by Lassalle in his drama *Franz von Sickingen*—111
- Cherbuliez, Antoine-Elisée* (1797-1869)—Swiss economist, follower of Sismondi; his theory was a mix-

- ture of Sismondi's and Ricardo's views—322
- Chernyshev, Alexander Ivanovich* (1786-1857)—Russian general and statesman; took part in campaigns against Napoleonic France; War Minister (1828-52)—118
- Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat and utopian socialist; scientist, novelist, literary critic; one of outstanding forerunners of Russian Social-Democracy—241, 292, 354
- Clausewitz, Karl* (1780-1831)—Russian general and outstanding bourgeois military theoretician—69
- Clemenceau, Georges* (1841-1929)—French politician and publicist; leader of Radical Party (from eighties), Chairman of Council of Ministers (1906-09 and 1917-20), pursued imperialist policy—353, 375
- Cloots, Anacharsis* (1755-1794)—a leader of French Revolution; was close to Left Jacobins—383, 384
- Cluseret, Gustave-Paul* (1823-1900)—French political figure; member of First International; was close to Bakuninists; participant of revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870), member of Paris Commune, emigrated after its defeat—235, 269
- **Cluss, Adolf* (c. 1820-after 1889)—German engineer, member of Communist League; in 1848 emigrated to U.S.A.; in fifties corresponded with Marx and Engels; contributed to several German, English and American workers' and democratic newspapers; collaborated with Weydemeyer in popularising Marxism in U.S.A.—67, 68
- Cobden, Richard* (1804-1865)—English manufacturer, political figure, a leader of Free Traders—45, 140, 149
- Colins, Jean Guillaume Caesar* (1783-1859)—French petty-bourgeois economist; Belgian by origin—322, 323
- Colomb, Friedrich August* (1775-1854)—Prussian officer, later general; took part in campaigns against Napoleonic France—118
- Comte, Auguste* (1798-1857)—French philosopher and sociologist; founder of positivism—169, 250, 453
- Cœurderoy, Jean Charles* (1825-1862)—French publicist, petty-bourgeois revolutionary, republican; was close to anarchism; participated in 1848-49 Revolution in France; emigrated abroad after its defeat—67
- Crassus, Marcus, Licinius* (c. 115-53 B.C.)—Roman statesman and general; in 71 B.C. put down Spartacus' revolt; twice held the post of consul—116
- Cremer, William Randall* (1838-1908)—a leader of English Trade Unions, secretary of General Council of First International (1864-66); in 1867 retired from General Council; later Liberal—137, 138, 149, 182
- Cromwell, Oliver* (1599-1658)—leader of bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified nobility in the period of bourgeois revolution of 17th century; from 1653 Lord-Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland—184, 209, 217, 219, 442
- **Cuno, Friedrich Theodor* (1846-1934)—leader of German and international working-class movement; socialist; active member of First International; in 1872 emigrated to U.S.A.; later one of the founders of American workers' organisation "Knights of Labor"—257
- Curran, John Philpot* (1750-1817)—Irish lawyer, known for his speech in defence of Irish insurgents (1798)—219
- Cuvier, Georges* (1769-1832)—famous French naturalist, known for his works in the field of comparative anatomy, paleontology and classification of animals, author of anti-scientific theory of cataclysms—189

D

- Dana, Charles Anderson* (1819-1897)—American progressive journalist, one of editors of *New-York Daily Tribune* and *New American Encyclopaedia*—58

- Daniels, Roland* (1819-1855)—German physician, member of Communist League; one of its leaders; defendant at Cologne Communist Trial (1852), acquitted by jury; died of tuberculosis which he developed while in prison; friend of Marx and Engels—52
- **Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich* (pseudonym *Nikolai-on*) (1844-1918)—Russian economist and writer; an ideologist of Narodism in the eighties-nineties; translated into Russian volumes I, II and III of Marx's *Capital* (Vol. I together with N. A. Lopatin)—296, 316, 365, 366, 367, 411, 420, 437
- Dante, Alighieri* (1265-1321)—great Italian poet—368
- Danton, Georges-Jacques* (1759-1794)—a prominent figure in French Revolution; leader of Jacobins' Right wing—57, 383, 384
- Darwin, Charles Robert* (1809-1882)—great English naturalist; father of scientific evolutionary biology—115, 120, 161, 190, 225, 283, 284, 288, 347
- Davies, John* (1569-1626)—English statesman, poet; author of a number of works on Irish history; Attorney-General for Ireland (1609-19); advocate of colonisation of Ireland by England—218, 219
- Davis, Jefferson* (1808-1889)—American statesman, belonged to Democratic Party; an organiser of slave-owners' revolt in the South, President of Southern Confederacy (1861-65)—127
- Davis, William* (d. 1820)—English bookseller and publisher—218
- Deak, Ferenc* (1803-1876)—Hungarian statesman; representative of liberal circles of Hungarian aristocracy; advocated compromise with Austrian monarchy—235
- Deleschluze, Louis Charles* (1809-1871)—French political figure and journalist; petty-bourgeois revolutionary; took part in 1830 and 1848 revolutions; member of National Assembly (1871); member of Paris Commune; killed on barricades in May 1871—205
- Demuth, Hélène* (Lenchen, Nim) (1823-1890)—maid at Marx's house and close friend of the family; after Marx's death lived at Engels' house—340, 350
- Descartes, René* (1596-1650)—prominent French dualist philosopher, mathematician and naturalist—393
- D'Ester, Karl Ludwig Johann* (1811-1859)—German socialist and Democrat, member of Cologne branch of Communist League; played prominent role in Baden-Palatinate insurrection (1849)—19, 22
- Déville, Gabriel* (b. 1854)—French socialist, active leader of French Workers' Party; publicist, author of a popular exposition of Marx's *Capital*, Volume I, and also of several books on philosophy, economy and history—349
- Dietz, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm* (1843-1922)—German Social-Democrat; founder of Social-Democratic publishing house; from 1881 member of Reichstag—406, 407
- Dietzgen, Joseph* (1828-1888)—German worker, Social-Democrat, philosopher, who independently arrived at main premises of dialectical materialism—197, 203, 204
- Disraeli, Benjamin* (from 1871 Earl of Beaconsfield) (1804-1881)—English statesman and writer; a Tory Leader; in late 19th century leader of Conservative Party, Chancellor of Exchequer (Finance Minister) (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68); Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80)—63, 301
- Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1836-1861)—Russian revolutionary democrat, prominent literary critic and materialist philosopher; an outstanding forerunner of Russian Social-Democracy—354
- Domela-Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand* (1822-1891)—founder of Dutch Social-Democratic Party, later anarchist—317
- Dronke, Ernst* (1822-1891)—German publicist, at first "true socialist", later member of Communist League and an editor of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; after 1848-49 Revolution emigrated to Geneva, and then to England; at the time of Communist League's split

- (1850) supported Marx and Engels; later withdrew from political life—44
- Dufaure, Jules-Armand Stanislas* (1798-1881)—French statesman, in forties held a number of ministerial posts; a hangman of Paris Commune; in seventies Minister of Justice, Chairman of Council of Ministers—263
- Dühring, Eugen Karl* (1833-1921)—German philosopher and economist; representative of reactionary petty-bourgeois socialism; his philosophical views, an eclectic mixture of positivism, metaphysical materialism and idealism, supported by some German Social-Democrats, were criticised by Engels in his book "Anti-Dühring". *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*—186, 187, 225, 286, 287, 290, 355, 396, 443
- Duncker, Franz* (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher—105 107, 175, 176
- Dunoyer, Charles* (1786-1862)—French vulgar economist and politician—146
- Dupin, André-Marie Jean Jacques* (1783-1865)—French lawyer and statesman, Orleanist, member of Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and President of Legislative Assembly (1849-51); later Bonapartist—55
- E**
- Eccarius, Johann Georg* (1818-1889)—German worker, publicist, prominent figure in German and international working-class movement, émigré in London; member of League of the Just and later of Communist League; a leader of German Workers Educational Society in London; member of General Council of First International; subsequently took part in British trades union movement—137, 138, 150, 163, 198, 199, 210, 215, 382
- Eichhoff, Wilhelm* (1833-1895)—German socialist; in late fifties exposed Stieber as a police spy, and was prosecuted for doing so; in 1860 emigrated to England; one of first historians of First International—203, 379
- Einhorn, Eduard (Ignaz)* (1825-1875)—Hungarian economist and publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in Revolution of 1848-49 in Hungary, later an émigré—151
- Eisermann*—German joiner; in forties follower of Karl Grün—26, 27
- Elector of Hesse*—see Ludwig III
- Elgin, James Bruce, Earl* (1811-1863)—English diplomat; in 1857-58 and 1860-61 was sent to China with extraordinary powers; Viceroy of India (1862-63)—104
- Elizabeth* (1533-1603)—Queen of England (1558-1603)—184
- Emmanuel*—see Victor-Emmanuel II
- Engel, Johann Jakob* (1741-1802)—German writer, critic and philosopher, follower of 18th century Enlighteners; tutor of Frederick William III, future King of Prussia—70
- Engels, Frederick* (1820-1895)—24, 62, 68, 157-159, 225, 278, 291, 308, 312, 322
- Epicurus* (c. 341-270 B.C.)—materialist philosopher of Ancient Greece—340
- Ernest-Augustus* (1771-1851)—King of Hanover (1837-1851)—50, 52
- **Ernst, Paul* (1866-1933)—German publicist, critic and playwright; in late eighties joined Social-Democratic Party; a leader of the "Young"; expelled from Social-Democratic Party in 1891—390
- Estrup, Jacob* (1825-1913)—Danish conservative statesman—387
- Ewerbeck, August Hermann* (1816-1860)—German physician and man of letters; headed Paris branches of League of the Just; member of Communist League from which he withdrew in 1850—17, 20
- F**
- Falloux, Frédéric-Alfred* (1811-1886)—French politician and writer, Legitimist and Clerical, at the time of Second Republic was dep-

- uty of Constituent and Legislative assemblies; Minister of Education and Religious Cults (1848-49); instigated suppression of June 1848 insurrection in Paris—204
- Faucher, Julius* (1820-1878)—German publicist, vulgar economist, Young Hegelian, advocate of Free Trade—159, 195, 196
- Favre, Jules* (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; in late fifties became a leader of bourgeois-republican opposition; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1870-71); hangman of Paris Commune and an inspirer of struggle against International—205, 233, 241, 242, 251, 252, 259
- Fechner, Gustav Theodor* (1801-1887)—German physicist and idealist philosopher, one of founders of psychophysics—225
- Feuerbach, Ludwig* (1804-1872)—great materialist philosopher of pre-Marxian period—142, 203, 204, 396, 401, 443
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb* (1762-1814)—German subjective idealist philosopher, representative of German idealism of late 18th and early 19th century—434
- Fischer, Richard* (1855-1926)—German Social-Democrat; Secretary of German Social-Democratic Party (1890-93)—403, 407
- Flerovsky (Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich)*—Russian economist and sociologist; representative of Narodnik utopian socialism; author of *Condition of the Working Class in Russia* (1869)—216, 220, 241
- Flocon, Ferdinand* (1800-1866)—French politician and publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat; an editor of newspaper *Réforme*; member of Provisional Government in 1848—57, 446
- Fontana, Giuseppe*—took part in 1848 revolution in Italy; afterwards emigrated; a leader of Association of Mutual Progress, London organisation of Italian workers under Mazzini's influence; member of General Council of First International (1864-65); corresponding secretary for Italy (1865)—138, 139
- Forster, Charles*—English theologian and traveller; author of several books on biblical history—73
- Forster, William Eduard* (1818-1886)—English politician and manufacturer, Liberal, Member of Parliament—295, 330
- Fourier, François Marie Charles* (1772-1837)—great French utopian socialist—29, 142, 168, 172, 351, 352
- Fox, Charles James* (1749-1806)—English statesman; Whig leader; Foreign Secretary (1782, 1783, 1806)—183, 184
- Fox, Peter (Peter Fox Andrée)* (d. 1869)—English journalist; took active part in democratic and labour movement of Britain; positivist; member of General Council of First International (1864-69)—168, 193
- Fränckel, Leo* (1844-1896)—prominent figure in Hungarian and international working-class movement; member of General Council of First International (1871-72); a founder of Workers' Party of Hungary (1880); associate of Marx and Engels—249
- Franklin, Benjamin* (1706-1790)—prominent American statesman and diplomat, bourgeois democrat; took part in American War of Independence; great scholar, physicist and economist—105, 106
- Frederick I Barbarossa* (c. 1123-1190)—King of Germany from 1152, Holy Roman Emperor (1155-1190)—82
- Frederick II* (1194-1250)—King of Sicily, Holy Roman Emperor (1212-1250)—82, 336
- Frederick II* (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-1786)—90, 336
- Frederick William* (1620-1688)—Elector of Brandenburg (1640-1688)—435
- Frederick William III* (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840)—237
- Frederick William IV* (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-1861)—71
- Freiligrath, Ferdinand* (1810-1876)—German poet; member of Communist League; in fifties withdrew from revolutionary struggle—68, 93

- Friedrich-Karl* (1828-1885)—Prince of Prussia, German general, field marshal from October 1870—141
- Frost, John* (1784-1877)—English petty-bourgeois radical, Chartist—92
- Fullarton, John* (1780-1849)—English bourgeois economist, in his writings analysed problems of money circulation and credit; opponent of quantitative theory of money—106
- G**
- Gambetta, Léon Michel* (1838-1882)—French statesman; bourgeois republican; member of Government of National Defence (1870-71); organiser of military resistance to Prussia in provinces; Chairman of Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82)—239, 243
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; leader of national liberation movement in Italy; in fifties-sixties stood at the head of struggle of Italian people for their national emancipation and unification; in 1860 headed revolutionary campaign in South Italy; took part in wars against Austria (1848-49, 1859, 1866)—115, 137, 166
- Geib, August* (1842-1879)—German Social-Democrat; member of Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); from 1872 Party treasurer; member of Reichstag from 1874—278
- Geiser, Bruno* (1846-1898)—German Social-Democrat; editor of journal *Die Neue Welt*; a leader of Party's opportunist wing—352
- Georg II* (1683-1760)—King of England (1727-1760)—185
- George V* (1819-1878)—King of Hanover (1851-1866)—170
- George, Henry* (1839-1897)—American publicist, bourgeois economist, advocated bourgeois nationalisation of land as means to solve all social contradictions in capitalist society—322, 323, 346, 373, 374, 376, 377
- Gerhardt, Charles-Frédéric* (1816-1856)—outstanding French chemist—178
- Gibbon, Edward* (1737-1794)—English historian, author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in which he advocated anti-clerical views—73
- Gigot, Philippe* (1820-1860)—took part in working-class and democratic movement in Belgium, member of Communist League; in forties was close to Marx and Engels—24, 25
- Girardin, Emile de* (1806-1881)—French publicist and political figure; was extremely unprincipled in politics; prior to 1848 Revolution was in opposition to Guizot Government; during revolution became bourgeois republican, member of Legislative Assembly (1850-51); later Bonapartist—107, 182
- Gladstone, William Ewart* (1809-1898)—English politician and statesman; leader of Liberal Party; minister in a number of cabinets; Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880, 1885, 1886, 1892-94); often resorted to social demagogy and half-hearted reforms (electoral reform of 1884 and other reforms) designed to give the Liberals the support of petty-bourgeois strata of population and upper crust of working class—190, 211, 215, 216, 223, 255, 295, 363, 373, 449
- Gneisenau, August Wilhelm* (1760-1831)—Prussian general and politician; played outstanding role in liberation struggle of German people against Napoleonic domination—237
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang* (1749-1832)—great German writer and thinker—109
- Gögg, Amand* (1820-1897)—German journalist; petty-bourgeois democrat; in 1849 member of Baden Provisional Government; left Germany after defeat of revolution; in seventies joined German Social-Democracy—209, 274
- Golovin, Ivan Gavrilovich* (1816-1886)—Russian liberal landowner; emigrant in England; publi-

- cist; in forties-fifties was close to Herzen and Bakunin—69
- Goschen, George Joachim, Viscount* (1831-1907)—English political figure of German origin; member of Parliament from 1863; was repeatedly member of Government; author of a number of works dealing with economic problems—295
- Gould, Jay* (1836-1892)—American millionaire, railway tycoon and financier—316, 317, 398
- Grant, Ulysses Simpson* (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; belonged to Republican Party; took part in Civil War in U.S.A. (1861-65); from March 1864 commander of Union Army; War Minister (1867-68), U.S. President (1869-77)—141
- Grattan, Henry* (1746-1820) Irish statesman; well-known Parliamentary orator—219
- Gray, John* (1798-1850)—English economist; utopian socialist; follower of Robert Owen; one of authors of "labour-money" theory—98, 106
- Grillenberger, Karl* (1848-1897)—German Social-Democrat; from 1881 member of Reichstag; in nineties belonged to opportunist wing of German Social-Democratic Party—336
- Grimm, Jakob* (1785-1863)—outstanding German philologist and historian on culture; author of several works on history of German language, law, mythology and literature—91, 183
- Grousset, Pascal* (1844-1909)—French publicist and political figure; Blanquist; member of Central Committee of National Guard and Paris Commune—251
- Grove, William Robert* (1811-1896)—English physicist and lawyer—162
- Grün, Karl* (1817-1887)—German petty-bourgeois publicist; in mid-forties one of chief representatives of "true socialism"; during 1848-49 Revolution petty-bourgeois democrat; member of Prussian National Diet—26-28, 144
- Guelph the Blind*—see George V
- Guerrier*—French socialist, in forties of 19th century was close to Marx and Engels—20
- Guesde, Jules* (1845-1922)—well-known leader of French and international working-class and socialist movement; a founder of French Workers' Party (1879) and populariser of Marxism in France; for many years was leader of revolutionary wing of French socialist movement; fought opportunism; during First World War—social-chauvinist—312, 324, 334, 405
- Guibert of Nogent* (1053-1124)—French historian and theologian of Middle Ages; exponent of feudal aristocracy's views—83
- Guillaume-Schak, Gertrude*—German anarchist—363
- Guizot, François Pierre-Guillaume* (1787-1874)—French bourgeois historian and statesman; from 1840 up to February Revolution of 1848 framed France's domestic and foreign policy, expressed interests of big financial bourgeoisie—63, 322, 442
- Gulich, Gustav* (1791-1847)—German economist and historian; author of a number of works on history of national economy—443
- Gumpert, Eduard* (d. 1893)—German physician in Manchester; friend of Marx and Engels—229

H

- Haller, Karl Ludwig* (1768-1854)—Swiss lawyer and historian, apologist of serfdom and absolutism—424
- Habsburgs*—Austrian dynasty (1273-1918)—171
- Harcourt, William Vernon* (1827-1904)—English statesman; Liberal; Member of Parliament; from 1873 held a number of responsible governmental posts; leader of Liberal Party (1894-98)—295
- Hardie, James Keir* (1856-1915)—leader of English labour movement, reformist; founder and leader of Workers' Party of Scotland (1888) and Independent Workers' Party (1893); leader of Labour Party—183, 449, 450

- **Harkness, Margaret* (pseudonym John Law)—English writer; member of Social-Democratic Federation—379
- Harney, George Julian* (1817-1897)—prominent figure in English labour movement; one of Left-wing leaders of Chartist movement; founder of Society of Fraternal Democrats; editor of *The Northern Star*, *Red Republican* (weekly) and other Chartist periodicals—29, 45, 62, 63, 65, 215, 430
- Harris, George*—a leading figure in the English labour movement; member of General Council of First International (1869-72); follower of the Chartist O'Brien—218
- Harrison, Frederic* (1831-1923)—English publicist, follower of Auguste Comte—454
- Hartington*—see Cavendish, Spencer Compton
- Hasenclever, Wilhelm* (1837-1889)—German poet, Lassallean—272, 277
- Hasselmann, Wilhelm* (b. 1844)—a leader of Lassallean General Association of German Workers; in 1871-75 editor of *Neuer Social-Demokrat*; in 1880 expelled from German Social-Democratic Party for anarchist views—272, 277
- Hatzfeldt, Sophie von* (1805-1881)—friend and follower of Lassalle—150, 157, 158, 406
- Haupt, Hermann Wilhelm* (b.c. 1831)—German clerk; member of Communist League; one of the defendants at Cologne Communist Trial; betrayed members of Central Committee and was released by police before trial; fled to Brazil—52
- Haussmann, Georges Eugène* (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of Seine Department (1853-70); supervised reconstruction of Paris—227
- Haxthausen, August* (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer, author of a book on survivals of communal system in land relations in Russia, reactionary feudalism—103, 248, 292
- Hébert, Jacques-René* (1757-1794)—took part in French Revolution, leader of Jacobins' Left wing—384
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich* (1770-1831)—outstanding representative of classical German philosophy, objective idealist, exponent of idealist dialectics in its most comprehensive form—31, 65, 69, 93-95, 101, 120, 142, 144, 161, 169, 175, 176, 177, 187, 190, 204, 225, 264, 268, 362, 366, 368, 393, 401, 414, 415, 424, 434, 448, 453, 457
- Heine, Heinrich* (1797-1856)—great German revolutionary poet—232
- Heinrich VII* (1269-1313)—German Emperor (1308-1313)—82
- Heinzen, Carl* (1809-1880)—German radical publicist; petty-bourgeois democrat; opposed Marx and Engels; emigrant in Switzerland, and later in England; in autumn of 1850 emigrated to U.S.A.—62-64, 72
- Held, Adolf* (1844-1880)—German bourgeois vulgar economist; professor at Bonn university—225
- Hellwald, Friedrich* (1842-1892)—Austrian ethnographer, geographer and historian—283
- Helmholtz, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand* (1821-1894)—outstanding German physicist and physiologist; inconsistent materialist; had leanings towards neo-Kantian agnosticism—287
- Helvétius, Claude-Adrien* (1715-1771)—French materialist philosopher, atheist; one of ideologists of French revolutionary bourgeoisie of 18th century—146
- Hennessy, John* (1834-1891)—Irish political figure, Conservative, Member of Parliament, in his speeches in Parliament advocated introduction of several minor reforms in Ireland—184
- Henning, Leopold* (1791-1866)—German Hegelian philosopher; in posthumous edition of Hegel's *Works*, edited *Science of Logic* and the first part of *Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences* (Logic)—414
- Hepner, Adolf* (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat; an editor of newspaper *Volksstaat*; delegate to Hague Congress of International

- (1872); later emigrated to U.S.A.—239, 265, 287
- Heraclitus* (c. 540-480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher, one of founders of dialectics, spontaneous materialist—94-95
- Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich* (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, publicist and writer; from 1852 lived in England, where he organised "Free Russian Printing Shop" and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (*Polar Star*), and the newspaper *Kolokol* (*The Bell*)—69, 292
- Hess, Moses* (1812-1875)—German petty-bourgeois publicist, in mid-forties one of main representatives of "true socialism", in sixties—Lassallean; attended Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of International—18, 19, 150-152, 155
- Hilditch, Richard*—English economist, of middle 19th century, advocated nationalisation of land—322
- Hins, Eugène* (1839-1923)—an organiser of Belgian Sections of First International; member of Belgian Federal Council; Proudhonist, later Bakuninist—259
- Hirsch, Karl* (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat; journalist; he and Wilhelm Liebknecht edited *Demokratische Wochenblatt* in Leipzig; after August Bebel's and Wilhelm Liebknecht's arrest edited Social-Democratic newspaper *Der Volksstaat*; while Anti-Socialist Law was in force lived in France, Belgium, England, popularised ideas of scientific socialism—308
- Hobbes, Thomas* (1588-1679)—prominent English philosopher; representative of mechanistic materialism; Hobbes' social and political views were extremely anti-democratic—120, 284, 401
- Höchberg, Karl* (1853-1885)—German social-reformist; son of a wealthy merchant; in 1876 joined Social-Democratic Party; founded and financed a number of reformist newspapers and journals—290, 302, 308, 310
- Hofmann, August Wilhelm* (1818-1892)—well-known German chemist—175-177
- Hohenzollerns*—dynasty of Brandenburg electors (1415-1701); Prussian kings (1701-1918) and German emperors (1871-1918)—90, 132, 159, 236, 239, 289
- Hood, John Bell* (1831-1879)—American general, took part in Civil War on the side of Southern slave-owning states—141
- Horner, Leonard* (1785-1864)—English geologist and public figure; factory inspector (1833-59), advocated workers' interests—114
- **Hübert, Adolph*—French emigrant in London; member of First International—251
- Hume, David* (1711-1776)—English subjective idealist and agnostic philosopher, bourgeois historian and economist, opponent of mercantilism; one of first representatives of quantitative theory of money—106
- Hutten, Ulrich von* (1488-1523)—German humanitarian poet; supporter of Reformation; one of ideologists of German knighthood, a leader of knights during their revolt in 1522-23; portrayed by Lassalle in his drama *Franz von Sickingen*—109-112
- Huxley, Thomas Henry* (1825-1895)—well-known English naturalist, biologist; friend and follower of Darwin, active propagandist of his teaching; inconsistent materialist in philosophy—128, 453
- Hyndman, Henry Mayers* (1842-1921)—English socialist; founder (1881) and leader of Democratic Federation reorganised in 1884 into Social-Democratic Federation; pursued opportunist and sectarian policy in labour movement; later one of leaders of British Socialist Party, from which he was expelled in 1916 for supporting imperialist war—313, 325, 330, 343, 375, 382, 385, 449, 450

I

Ibsen, Henrik (1828-1906)—outstanding Norwegian dramatist—392

Imandt, Peter—German teacher, democrat, took part in 1848-49 Revolution, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland, then to London; member of Communist League, adherent of Marx and Engels—124

J

Jacobi, Abraham (1830-1919)—German physician, member of Communist League, one of defendants at Cologne Communist Trial (1852), was acquitted by the jury but remained in prison on the charge of insulting his "majesty"; in 1853 fled to England, then to U.S.A. where he carried on Marxist propaganda in the press—53, 414

Johann (1782-1859)—Austrian archduke, Vicegerent of Germany (June 1848-December 1849)—153

Jollymeyer—see Schorlemmer

Jomini, Henri (1779-1869)—general of French and later of Russian army, military theoretician; author of several works on strategy and history of war; Swiss by origin—69

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—outstanding leader of English labour movement, proletarian poet and publicist; a leader of Left-wing Chartism, and one of editors of *The Northern Star*, editor of *Notes to the People* and *People's Paper*; friend of Marx and Engels—62, 65, 66, 92, 93, 102, 105, 149, 150, 163

Jones, Richard (1790-1855)—English bourgeois economist—64

Joss, Fritz (d.c. 1517)—prominent organiser of peasant secret societies and plots in South Germany in early 16th century; portrayed by Lassalle in his drama *Franz von Sickingen*—111

Jung, Georg (1814-1886)—German publicist, Young Hegelian, one of publishers of *Rheinische Zeitung*; petty-bourgeois democrat; in 1848 deputy to Prussian National Assembly, adherent of the Left wing—20

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in international and

Swiss working-class movement; member of General Council of First International; prior to Hague Congress (1872) supported Marx's line in International, in the autumn of 1872 joined reformist wing of British Federal Council and after 1877 withdrew from working-class movement—382

Junge, Adolf Friedrich—German worker, a member of League of the Just; in 1847 member of Communist League—28

r

K

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—father of classical German philosophy, idealist; ideologist of German bourgeoisie—143, 144, 287, 401, 434, 456-457

Kaufmann, Illarion Ignatyevich (1848-1916)—Russian bourgeois economist, professor at St. Petersburg University; author of books on money circulation and credit—300

**Kautsky, Karl* (1854-1938)—German Social-Democrat, publicist, editor of *Neue Zeit* (1883-1917); joined Marxists in eighties; wrote a number of works on Marxist theory, which, in spite of his mistakes, played a positive role in popularising Marxism; later opportunist and ideologist of Centrism in German Social-Democracy and Second International—282, 315, 330, 347, 351, 355, 357, 367, 405, 408, 409, 422, 423, 461, 462

Kautsky, Louise—(b. 1860-died after 1937)—Austrian socialist; first wife of Karl Kautsky, secretary to Engels (from 1890)—385, 405, 462

**Kautsky, Minna* (1837-1912)—German writer, author of novels on social themes; mother of Karl Kautsky—367, 368

Kayser, Max (1853-1888)—German Social-Democrat, member of Reichstag (from 1878), belonged to Right-wing Social-Democratic group—309, 336

**Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence* (1859-1932)—American socialist, later bourgeois reformist; translated Engels' book *Condition of the*

- Working-Class in England* into English—371, 376, 378
- Kinkel, Gottfried* (1815-1882)—German poet and publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in Baden-Palatinate insurrection (1849); was sentenced to life imprisonment by Prussian court; in 1850 escaped from prison and emigrated to England; one of leaders of petty-bourgeois emigrants in London; waged struggle against Marx and Engels—43, 66, 72
- Klings, Karl*—German metalworker, member of Communist League and later of General Association of German Workers; in 1865 emigrated to America, where he was active member of Chicago Section of First International—150
- Köppen, Karl Friedrich* (1808-1863)—German radical publicist and historian, Young Hegelian—384
- Kosciuszko, Thadeusz* (1746-1817)—prominent Polish leader of national liberation movement in nineties of 18th century; in 1776-83 took part in the struggle for independence of North American colonies; leader of Polish uprising in 1794—66, 89
- Krapülinski*—nickname of Napoleon III
- Kriege, Hermann* (1820-1850)—German journalist, representative of "true socialism"; in late forties headed German group of "true socialists" in New York—28
- **Kugelmann, Ludwig* (1830-1902)—German physician, took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; member of First International; from 1862 to 1874 corresponded with Marx and kept him informed of the situation in Germany; friend of Marx and Engels—156, 165, 171, 173, 190, 195, 205, 208, 216, 225, 226, 228, 236, 241, 247, 248, 251
- L**
- Labriola, Antonio* (1843-1904)—Italian literary man and philosopher; in eighties and nineties of 19th century was close to Marxism; later retired from political life—459
- **Lafargue, Paul* (1842-1911)—prominent leader in French and international working-class movement; outstanding propagandist of Marxism and publicist; member of General Council of First International; one of founders of French Workers' Party (1879); disciple and close associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Marx's daughter Laura—167, 176, 206, 247, 250, 262, 312, 322, 324, 325, 334, 372, 403, 430, 447, 450, 459, 461
- **Lange, Friedrich Albert* (1828-1875)—German philosopher, neo-Kantian, enemy of materialism and socialism—160, 225
- Lankester, Ray* (1847-1929)—English biologist—340
- **Lassalle, Ferdinand* (1825-1864)—German petty-bourgeois socialist, one of founders of General Association of German Workers (1863). This Association had a positive significance for the working-class movement, but Lassalle, who was elected president of this Association, led it along an opportunist road; Lassalle's theoretical and political views were severely criticised by Marx and Engels—94, 107, 109, 110, 115, 123, 124, 130, 150-153, 156-160, 166, 182, 198, 200-203, 208, 210, 253, 254, 260, 265, 266, 268, 273-275, 277-280, 282, 290, 302, 333, 404, 406, 407, 410
- Laurent, Auguste* (1807-1853)—French chemist, he and Gerhardt specified the concept of molecule and atom—178
- Lavergne-Peguilhen, Moritz von*—German historian and economist; a representative of reactionary romantic school of history—424, 425
- **Lavrov, Pyotr Lavrovich* (1823-1900)—Russian sociologist and publicist, one of Narodnik ideologists; after 1870 lived in emigration; member of First International, took part in Paris Commune; in 1873-77 editor of journal *Vperyod* (*Forward*), which was published in Zurich and London; from early seventies corresponded with Marx and Engels—283-285
- Leblanc, Albert Felix* (b. 1844)—participant in French working-class movement; joined Baküni-

- nists; engineer; member of Paris Section of International and of Paris Commune; after its defeat emigrated to England; Bonapartist—261
- Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste* (1807-1876)—French publicist and political figure, a leader of petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of newspaper *Rèforme*; in 1848 member of Provisional Government; deputy of Constituent and Legislative assemblies, where he headed the Mountain Party; after dispersion of June 13, 1849 demonstration, which was organised by the deputies of the Mountain Party, emigrated to England; a leader of petty-bourgeois emigrants in London—57, 66, 67, 205, 446
- Lee, Robert Edward* (1807-1870)—American general, in American Civil War was in command of Confederate Army in Virginia (1862-65); Commander-in-Chief of Confederate Army (February-April 1865)—141
- Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm* (1646-1716)—German mathematician, idealist philosopher—414, 456
- Le Lubez, Victor* (b. Oct. 1834)—French emigrant in London, attended the meeting which took place in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864; member of General Council of First International (1864-65); in 1866 was expelled from General Council for slander and intrigue—137-139, 150
- Lenchen*—see Demuth, Hélène
- Leroux, Pierre* (1797-1871)—French petty-bourgeois publicist, utopian socialist, one of representatives of Christian socialism—378
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim* (1729-1781)—great German writer, critic and philosopher, one of 18th-century Enlighteners—94, 225, 433
- **Lessner, Friedrich* (1825-1910)—German tailor; prominent figure in German and international working-class movement; member of Communist League; took part in 1848-49 Revolution; member of General Council of First International; active supporter of Marx's policy in International; subsequently one of founders of Independent Labour Party of Great Britain; friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—198
- Levy, Gustave*—German socialist from Rhine Province, later one of active leaders of General Association of German Workers; in 1856 was delegated by Düsseldorf workers to Marx who lived in London—84, 86
- Liebig, Justus von* (1803-1873)—outstanding German scientist, a founder of agricultural chemistry—283
- **Liebknecht, Wilhelm* (1826-1900)—prominent figure in German and international working-class movement; took part in 1848-49 Revolution, member of Communist League; one of founders' and leaders of German Social-Democratic Party; friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—67, 150, 151, 153, 154, 158, 170, 197, 208, 227-230, 239, 244, 246, 247, 265, 268, 276-278, 280, 282, 287, 295, 301, 302, 334, 343, 373, 404-407, 461
- Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-1865)—prominent American statesman, one of leaders of the Republican Party, U.S. President (1861-65); stood at head of Northern States in their struggle against the slave-owning South, assassinated by slave-owners' agent in April 1865—125, 127
- Linguet, Simon Nicolas Henri* (1736-1794)—French lawyer, publicist, historian and economist, opposed physiocrats; subjected bourgeois liberties and property to profound criticism—148
- List, Friedrich* (1789-1846)—German vulgar economist, advocate of extreme protectionism—21
- Lizzy*—see Burns, Lydia
- Locke, John* (1632-1704)—outstanding English dualist philosopher, sensualist; bourgeois economist—106, 401
- Longuet, Charles* (1833-1903)—leader of French working-class movement, Proudhonist, subsequently possibilist, journalist; member of General Council of First International and of Paris Commune; Marx's son-in-law—167

- Longuet*—see Marx, Jenny (Longuet)
- Lopatin, Hermann Alexandrovich* (1845-1918)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik; member of General Council of First International; one of translators into Russian of Marx's *Capital*, Volume I; friend of Marx and Engels—367
- Loria, Achille* (1857-1926)—Italian reactionary sociologist and economist, falsifier of Marxism—459
- Louis XIV* (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715)—105, 299
- Louis XV* (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-1774)—299
- Louis Philippe* (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of France (1830-48)—299
- Louise*—see Kautsky, Louise
- Lowe, Robert* (1811-1892)—English statesman and publicist, Whig, then Liberal, Member of Parliament—295
- Löwe, Wilhelm* (known under the name Löwe von Calbe, as he was elected to Frankfort National Assembly from Prussian district Calbe) (1814-86)—German political figure; petty-bourgeois democrat; in Frankfort Parliament (1849) joined democratic Left elements; at one time was President of this Parliament, in sixties-seventies—Progressist—55
- Löwenthal*—German publisher in forties-fifties of 19th century—23, 61
- Lowndes, William* (1652-1724)—English economist and statesman, Secretary of Treasury—106
- Lubbock, John* (1834-1913)—English biologist, Darwinist, ethnographer and archaeologist, financial and political figure, Liberal; author of a number of works on history of primitive society—347
- Luby, Thomas Clarke* (1821-1901)—Irish Fenian, contributor to Irish People—219
- Lucraft, Benjamin* (1809-1897)—a reformist leader of English Trade Unions, furniture-maker; member of General Council of International (1864-71); in 1871 opposed Paris Commune; withdrew from General Council, which denounced him as renegade—168, 215
- Lucullus, Lucius Lucinius* (c. 106-c. 57 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman; Consul of Roman Republic in 74 B.C., took over Asia Minor (71 B.C.) as a result of war against Mithridates VI, King of Pontus—115
- Ludwig III* (1806-1877)—Elector of Hesse; in 1848 became Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt—170
- Luther, Martin* (1483-1546)—prominent German Reformation leader, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of German burghers; during the Peasant War of 1525 sided with princes against insurgent peasants and the urban poor—351, 434
- Lützow, Adolf von* (1782-1834)—Prussian officer, subsequently general, participant in wars against Napoleonic France—118

M

- MacDonald, Alexander* (1821-1881)—one of reformist leaders of British Trade Unions, Secretary of Coal-miners' Union, Member of Parliament from 1874, pursued Liberal Party policy—295
- Machiavelli, Niccolò* (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and writer, an ideologist of Italian bourgeoisie at the dawn of capitalism—91
- Mahomet (Mohammed)* (c. 570-632)—Arabian religious preacher, alleged founder of Islam, regarded by Moslems as Prophet, "Messenger of Allah"—74, 75, 77
- Maistre, Joseph Marie de* (1753-1821)—French writer, monarchist; an ideologist of aristocratic and clerical reaction, rabid enemy of French Revolution—424
- Malon, Benoît* (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of First International and of Paris Commune; after its defeat took refuge in Italy and then in Switzerland where he drew close to anarchists; a leader and ideologist of Possibilism, an opportunist trend in French socialist movement—263, 312, 324, 325, 331, 332, 334

- Malthus, Thomas Robert* (1766-1834)—English clergyman, economist, ideologist of bourgeoisified landed nobility, apologist of misanthropic population theory—48, 64, 78, 120, 143, 161, 181, 225, 274, 284, 315
- Mann, Thomas* (1856-1941)—prominent figure in British labour movement, mechanic; in 1885 joined Left wing of Social-Democratic Federation, in 1893, Independent Labour Party; in late eighties took active part in organising mass movement of unskilled workers and uniting them in trade unions; leader of several big strikes; in 1920 joined Communist Party of Great Britain as its foundation member; champion of unity in international working-class movement—386, 388
- Marie, Alexandre* (1795-1870)—French lawyer and political figure, bourgeois republican; member of provisional government in 1848—205
- Marr, Wilhelm* (1819-1904)—German petty-bourgeois publicist and journalist; supporter of Bismarck's policy—157
- Martens, Joachim Friedrich* (c. 1804-1877)—German joiner, member of League of the Just, a leader of Workers' Educational Society and of Communist League community in Hamburg—50
- Marwitz, Friedrich August Ludwig* (1777-1837)—Prussian general and politician, author of military-historical memoirs—424
- Marx, Eleanor (Tussy)* (1855-1898)—Marx's youngest daughter, from 1884 wife of Edward Aveling; took active part in English and international working-class movement of eighties and nineties—262, 269, 334, 340, 350, 385, 422, 423
- **Marx, Jenny* (née von Westphalen) (1814-1881)—Marx's wife—23, 43, 62, 67-68, 119, 176, 226, 229, 323
- Marx, Jenny* (1844-1883)—Marx's eldest daughter; journalist, took active part in international working-class movement; played important role in Irish people's struggle for independence; from 1872 wife of Charles Longuet—223, 226, 340
- Marx, Karl* (1818-1883)—41, 43, 44, 67, 68, 73, 161, 206, 208, 261, 265, 268, 274-277, 280-282, 324-326, 334, 338-343, 347-349, 354, 355, 361, 363, 365, 372, 378, 383, 386, 393, 394, 396, 402, 404-408, 410, 412, 415, 424, 426, 429, 433, 442-445, 448, 453-456, 459, 463
- **Marx, Laura* (1845-1911)—Marx's second daughter, from 1868 wife of Paul Lafargue; took active part in French working-class movement—188, 233, 247, 263, 338, 372, 405
- Maurer, Georg Ludwig* (1790-1872)—prominent German historian, studied social structure of ancient and mediaeval Germany; made great contribution to study of history of mediaeval community called Mark—188, 335, 394
- Mayne, Richard* (1796-1868)—London Police Commissioner—171
- Mazzini, Giuseppe* (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat, a leader of national liberation movement in Italy; in fifties opposed interference by Bonapartist France in national liberation struggle waged by Italian people; in 1864, when First International was founded, tried to subordinate it to his influence; in 1871 he attacked Paris Commune and First International; hindered development of independent working-class movement in Italy—54, 55, 67, 138, 182, 259, 260, 445
- McClellan, George Brinton* (1826-1885)—American general and railway tycoon, member of Democratic Party; advocated compromise with slave-owning South; in American Civil War Commander-in-Chief of Union Army (November 1861-March 1862); Candidate for Presidency in 1864 elections—117, 118, 124, 127
- McCulloch, John Ramsay* (1789-1864)—English bourgeois economist, vulgariser of Ricardo's economic doctrine—64, 181
- McKinley, William* (1843-1901)—American statesman, one of leaders of Republican Party; in 1890

- introduced high protective tariffs in favour of monopolies; U.S. President (1897-1901)—412
- Meagher, Thomas Francis* (1823-1867)—a leading figure in Irish national liberation movement of forties, a founder of Irish confederation (1847); in 1848 was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life for taking part in preparing insurrection; fled to America in 1852; during American Civil War (1861-65) was in command of brigade of Irish volunteers fighting on the side of the Union Army—184
- **Mehring, Franz* (1846-1919) prominent figure in German working-class movement, historian and publicist; one of leaders and theoreticians of Left wing of German Social-Democracy; played prominent part in founding Communist Party of Germany—423, 433
- Meissner, Otto Karl* (1819-1902)—Hamburg publisher who brought out Marx's *Capital* and a number of other works by Marx and Engels—173, 225
- Mendelssohn, Moses* (1729-1786)—German reactionary bourgeois philosopher, deist—225
- **Mesa y Leompant, José* (1840-1904)—Spanish printing worker, prominent figure in working-class and socialist movement of Spain; one of organisers of First International's Sections in Spain; active fighter against anarchism; one of founders of Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated a number of Marx's and Engels' works into Spanish—408
- Meshchersky, Vladimir Petrovich* (1839-1914)—Russian reactionary publicist, prince. In his publications, which were lavishly subsidised by tsarist government, Meshchersky opposed any concessions on the part of government both to workers and to liberal bourgeoisie—427
- **Meyer, Rudolf Hermann* (1839-1899)—German bourgeois economist and publicist, held conservative views—343
- Meyer, Sigfried* (c. 1840-1872)—leading figure in German and American working-class movement; socialist; member of General Association of German Workers; fought against Lassallean influence in German working-class movement; member of First International; in 1866 emigrated to America; member of New York Communist Club and an organiser of International's Sections in U.S.A.; follower of Marx and Engels—173, 220, 241
- Mieroslawski, Ludwik* (1814-1878)—Polish politician and military figure, took part in Polish uprising of 1830-31; headed uprising in Poznan (1848), during Baden-Palatinate insurrection was in command of revolutionary army (1849); in fifties sought support in Bonapartist circles; at the beginning of Polish uprising of 1863 was in command of insurgent detachment; later emigrated to France—88
- Mignet, François-Auguste Marie* (1796-1884)—French historian of liberal views—442
- Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich* (1842-1904)—famous Russian publicist and literary critic, positivist philosopher; prominent theoretician of liberal Narodism—291
- Mill, James* (1773-1836)—English philosopher and economist, vulgariser of Ricardo's theory; follower of Bentham's philosophical views—64, 106, 322
- Mill, John Stuart* (1806-1873)—English economist and positivist philosopher, epigone of classical school of political economy—322
- Millerand, Alexandre Étienne* (1859-1943)—French politician and statesman; in eighties, petty-bourgeois radical; in nineties joined socialists and became leader of opportunist trend in French socialist movement; entered reactionary bourgeois government in 1899—430
- Milner, George*—Irishman, follower of Chartist O'Brien, a leading figure in British labour movement; member of National Reform League, and of Land- and

- Labour League; member of General Council of First International (1868-72)—215
- Miquel, Johannes* (1828-1901)—German politician, member of Communist League in forties; subsequently National-Liberal; Prussian Minister of Finance (1890-1901)—50, 51, 52, 157-159, 251, 304, 305
- Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel* (1749-1791)—prominent figure in French Revolution, exponent of interests of big bourgeoisie and of bourgeoisified nobility—158
- Mithridates VI, Eupator* (132-63 B.C.)—King of Pontus (in Asia Minor); waged three wars against Rome; in the third war (74-63 B.C.) suffered several defeats, first from Lucullus and later from Pompey—115
- Moleschott, Jacob* (1822-1893)—German physiologist, philosopher, a principal representative of vulgar materialism—283
- Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard* (1800-1891)—Prussian general, field marshal from 1871; reactionary military figure and writer, an ideologist of Prussian militarism and chauvinism; Chief of Prussian (1857-71) and of Imperial (1871-88) General Staff—229
- Monteil, Amans Alexis* (1769-1850)—French historian—220
- Montesquieu, Charles Louis* (1689-1755)—outstanding French sociologist, economist and writer; representative of 18th-century bourgeois Enlightenment; theoretician of constitutional monarchy—106, 434
- Moore, Samuel* (c. 1830-1912)—English lawyer, member of First International, translated with Edward Aveling Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I into English and *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels—234
- Morgan, Lewis Henry* (1818-1881)—prominent American ethnologist, archaeologist and historian of primitive society, spontaneous materialist—347, 351, 442
- Morley, Samuel* (1809-1886)—English Liberal, Member of Parliament (1868-1885)—149, 250, 295
- Möser, Justus* (1720-1794)—German historian and publicist; exponent of interests of German conservative bourgeoisie—189
- Most, Johann* (1846-1906)—German anarchist, in sixties joined working-class movement; emigrated to England after promulgation of Anti-Socialist Law (1878); in 1880, expelled from Social-Democratic Party for anarchist views; in 1882, emigrated to America, where he continued to advocate anarchism—287, 290, 327, 341, 342
- Mottershead, Thomas*—English weaver; member of General Council of First International (1869-72); delegate to London Conference (1871) and to Hague Congress (1872); opposed Marx's revolutionary line in General Council and in British Federal Council—215
- Mülberger, Arthur* (1847-1907)—German publicist, Proudhonist, author of article "The Housing Question" published in *Volkstaat*, in reply to which Engels wrote series of articles of identical title (1872-73)—266
- Müller, Adam Heinrich* (1779-1829)—German publicist and economist, representative of so-called romantic school in German economic science, which reflected feudal aristocracy's interests; opponent of Adam Smith's economic doctrine—424
- Mundella, Anthony John* (1825-1897)—English politician and manufacturer, Member of Parliament from 1868; held various ministerial posts—295
- Münzer, Thomas* (c. 1490-1525)—prominent German revolutionary, leader and ideologist of peasant and plebeian camp during Reformation and Peasant War of 1525; advocated ideas of equalitarian utopian communism—110, 463

N

Napoleon I (Bonaparte) (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815)—55, 57, 60, 89, 148, 230, 231, 259, 322, 391, 442

- Napoleon III (Louis Bonaparte)* (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70)—56, 57, 60, 69-71, 88, 107, 108, 132, 140, 147, 148, 151, 152, 168, 171, 205, 224, 226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 236, 242, 243, 245, 248, 252, 261, 322, 342, 359 406
- Nechayev, Sergei Gennadyevich* (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, took part in Petrograd student movement of 1868-69; between 1869 and 1871 was closely associated with Bakunin; founder of secret organisation called "Narodnaya Rasprava" (People's Revenge) (1869); in 1872, Swiss authorities extradited him to tsarist government; died in Peter and Paul Fortress—261
- Nim*—see Demuth, Hélène
- Nobiling, Karl Eduard* (1848-1878)—German anarchist; in 1878, made attempt to assassinate Wilhelm I, which served as pretext for introducing Anti-Socialist Law—309
- Nothjung, Peter* (c. 1823-1866)—German tailor, member of Cologne Workers' Union and of Communist League, a defendant at Cologne Communist Trial (1852); sentenced to six years' imprisonment—50
- Novairi* (1280-1332)—Arabian historian—77
- O**
- O'Brien, James* (literary pseudonym—Bronterre) (1802-1864)—English publicist, prominent leader of Chartist movement—93
- O'Connell, Daniel* (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician; leader of liberal Right wing of national liberation movement—219
- O'Connor, Feargus* (1794-1855)—one of Left-wing Chartist leaders; founder and editor of *Northern Star*; after 1848 became reformist—45, 65
- Odger, George* (1820-1877)—a reformist leader of British trades unions; took part in founding London Council of Trades Unions and was its secretary between 1862 and 1872; member of General Council of First International (1864-71); in 1871 attacked Paris Commune and General Council's Appeal "Civil War in France"; retired from General Council, which denounced him as a renegade; later he continued campaign of slander against leading members of International and Communards—137, 182, 190, 215
- O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah* (1831-1915)—one of founders and leaders of Irish Fenian Society; arrested in 1865 and sentenced to penal servitude; amnestied in 1870; emigrated to U.S.A. where he led Fenian organisation; retired from political activity in eighties—215, 217, 223
- Orsini, Felice* (1819-1858)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat and republican; took active part in struggle for national liberation and unification of Italy; executed for an attempt to assassinate Napoleon III—107
- O'Shea, Henry*—Irish public figure; in 1869 spoke in defence of imprisoned Fenians—211
- Otto-Walster, August*—German Social-Democrat, journalist—282
- Overstone, Samuel Jones Lloyd* (1796-1883)—English banker, bourgeois economist, adherent of so-called money circulation principle school—106
- Owen, Robert* (1771-1858)—great English utopian socialist—137, 138, 163, 172, 281, 380
- P**
- Palikao, Charles Cousin Montauban* (1796-1878)—French general, Bonapartist, Minister of War and Prime Minister (August-September 1870)—233
- Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount* (1784-1865)—English statesman, originally a Tory; after 1830 leader of Whig Party; Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41

- and 1846-51); Home Secretary (1852-55); Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65)—45, 88, 103, 216, 330
- **Papritz, Yevgenia Eduardovna* (1853-1919)—Russian singer, carried on research in Russian Folk-music; was connected with illegal Moscow Translators' and Publishers' Society (1882-84), which published Marx's and Engels's works in Russian—354-355
- **Patten, Philipp van*—American bourgeois, joined socialist movement; in 1876 became National Secretary of U.S.A. Workers' Party, and in 1877 of Socialist Workers' Party; in 1883 deserted his post and became government official—340
- Pélissier, Jean-Jacques* (1794-1864)—French marshal, between thirties and early fifties took part in conquering Algeria, notorious for his brutality; Commander-in-Chief of French troops in the Crimea (May 1855-July 1856); took part in Italian war of 1859; Governor-General of Algeria (1860)—108
- Pelletan, Eugène* (1813-1884)—French publicist and politician, during Empire opposition deputy within Legislative Corps; in 1870-71 member of Government of National Defence and of Versailles National Assembly—205
- Perret, Henri*—took active part in Swiss working-class movement; active member of First International in Switzerland; member of Social-Democratic Alliance (1868-69), General Secretary of Latin Federal Committee (1868-73). In 1869, broke with Bakuninists but, following Hague Congress of International (1872), began to advocate reconciliation with them—268
- **Pertz, Georg Heinrich* (1795-1876)—German historian, author of works on the history of Germany—237
- Peter I* (1672-1725)—Russian tsar from 1682; Emperor of Russia from 1721—147
- Petty, Sir William* (1623-1687)—outstanding English economist and statistician; founder of classical school of bourgeois political economy—48, 98, 105, 455
- Philip II* (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-1598)—158
- Philip II Augustus* (1165-1223)—King of France (1180-1223)—435
- Pieper, Wilhelm* (b. c. 1826)—German philologist and journalist; member of Communist League, London emigrant; in fifties closely associated with Marx and Engels—58, 61
- Pigott, Richard* (c. 1828-1889)—Irish publicist, editor of *Irishman* (1865-79); adherent of Fenians; in eighties sided with British Government—219
- Pindar* (c. 522-c. 442 B.C.)—lyric poet of Ancient Greece, famous for his odes—300
- Pitt, William (the younger)* (1759-1806)—English statesman, a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06)—45, 125, 219, 384
- Plato* (c. 427-c. 347 B.C.)—idealist philosopher of Ancient Greece; ideologist of slave-owning aristocracy—463
- **Plekhanov, Georgi Valentinovich* (1856-1918)—philosopher, prominent figure in Russian and international working-class movement; carried on Marxist propaganda in Russia; founder of Emancipation of Labour group, first Russian Marxist organisation; delegate to international socialist congresses (1889-93). In eighties and nineties Plekhanov combated Narodism and revisionism in international working-class movement; subsequently became Menshevik leader—361, 362, 433
- Plon-Plon*—see Bonaparte, Joseph Charles Paul, Prince Napoleon
- Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus)* (106-48 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman—115, 116
- Pope, John* (1822-1892)—American general, member of Republican Party, took part in American Civil War, in 1862 was in command of one of the Union armies, first on Mississippi and then in Virginia—125
- Potter, George* (1832-1893)—English carpenter; one of reformist leaders

- of British trade unions; member of London Council of Trades Unions, and a leader of Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder and publisher of *Beehive*, in which he systematically advocated a policy of compromise with liberal bourgeoisie—139, 182, 190
- Pouyer-Quertier, Augustin* (1820-1891)—French politician and big manufacturer; advocate of protectionist policy; Minister of Finance (1871-72); took part in negotiations for concluding peace with Germany in Frankfort (1871)—249
- Powderley, Terence Vincent* (1849-1924)—American socialist, leader of workers' organisation "Knights of Labor" (1879-93)—374, 376
- **Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph* (1809-1865)—French publicist, economist and sociologist; ideologist of petty bourgeoisie; founder of anarchism; in 1848, deputy of Constituent Assembly—24-27, 29-38, 58, 98, 100, 106, 142-148, 150, 157, 166, 167, 172, 181, 182, 189, 199, 201, 203, 206, 212, 253, 254, 257, 259, 270, 275, 322, 332, 348, 356, 378, 408
- Pumps*—see Rosher, Mary Ellen
- Pushkin, Alexander Sergeevich* (1799-1837)—great Russian poet—413
- Puttkamer, Robert Victor* (1828-1900)—German reactionary statesman, representative of Prussian aristocracy, German Minister of Interior and Vice-President of Prussian Government (1881-88); instituted legal proceedings against Social-Democrats under Anti-Socialist Law—336
- Pyat, Félix* (1810-1889)—French politician, publicist and playwright, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in 1848 Revolution; in 1849, emigrated to Switzerland; later lived in Belgium and Britain; opposed independent working-class movement; in 1871 deputy of National Assembly, member of Paris Commune, after its defeat emigrated to Britain—85, 251
- Q**
- Quesnay, François* (1694-1774)—outstanding French economist, founder of physiocratic school, physician—132, 135
- R**
- Rae, John* (b. 1854)—English liberal economist and publicist, author of works on modern socialism and Adam Smith—325
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford* (1781-1826)—English colonial official; Governor of Java (1811-16)—80
- Ramm, Hermann*—German Social-Democrat, member of *Volksstaat* editorial board—227
- Raumer, Friedrich* (1781-1873)—German reactionary historian and politician—148
- Raveaux, Franz* (1810-1851)—German politician; petty-bourgeois democrat; in 1848-49, deputy to Frankfort National Assembly from Cologne, belonged to its Left Centre; member of Baden provisional government; emigrated from Germany after defeat of Baden-Palatinate insurrection—50
- Reinhardt, Richard* (1826-1898)—German poet, emigrant in Paris, secretary to Heinrich Heine, friend of Marx's family; subsequently engaged in commerce—58, 60
- Reynolds, George William MacArthur* (1814-1879)—English politician and journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat, publisher of *Reynolds's News*—93, 215
- Ricardo, David* (1772-1823)—English economist; a great representative of classical school of bourgeois political economy—47, 49, 63, 64, 78, 98, 106, 119, 122, 123, 125, 126, 133, 145, 161, 186, 187, 197, 212, 214, 274, 322, 346
- Richard* (1467-1531)—Elector and Archbishop of Trier (1511-31); took part in suppressing the Knights uprising (1522-23) and peasant insurrection (1525)—112
- Richard I (Cœur-de-Lion)* (1157-1199)—King of England (1189-1199)—435

- Richard, Albert* (1846-1925)—French journalist; one of leaders of Lyons Section of International; Bakuninist; after defeat of Paris Commune—Bonapartist—261
- Richter, Eugen* (1838-1906)—a leader of German "party of free thinkers", expressing views of liberal bourgeoisie; enemy of socialism; advocated possibility of reconciling class interests of proletariat and bourgeoisie—417
- Rings, L. V.*—member of Communist League, in early fifties emigrated to London; follower of Marx and Engels—67
- Roberts, William* (1806-1871)—English trade union lawyer—183
- Robespierre, Maximilien* (1758-1794)—outstanding political figure in French Revolution; Jacobin leader; head of revolutionary government (1793-94)—57, 85, 149, 383, 384
- Robin, Paul* (b. 1837)—French teacher, Bakuninist; a leader of Social-Democratic Alliance; member of General Council of International (1870-71)—259
- Rodbertus, Johann Karl* (*Jagetzow*) (1805-1875)—German vulgar economist and politician; ideologist of bourgeoisified Prussian Junkers; advocated reactionary ideas of Prussian "state socialism"—348, 355-357
- Romanovs*—dynasty of Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917)—289
- Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich* (1817-1894)—German vulgar economist; founder of so-called historical school of political economy—186, 187
- Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig* (b. 1850)—German journalist; until 1889 secretary of National Executive Committee of Socialist Labor Party in U.S.A.—385, 389
- Rosenkranz, Johann Karl Friedrich* (1805-1879)—German Hegelian philosopher and literary historian—414
- Röser, Peter Gerhardt* (1814-1865)—a leading figure in German working-class movement; in 1848-49, deputy Chairman of Cologne Workers' Union; member of Communist League; a defendant at Cologne Communist Trial (1852); sentenced to six years' imprisonment; subsequently joined Lassalleans—72
- Rosher, Mary Ellen* (née Burns, nicknamed Pumps)—niece of Engels' wife, brought up by Engels 288, 408
- Rosher, P. W. (P.W.R.)*—a pseudonym of Engels
- Rothschild, James* (1792-1868)—head of banking-house in Paris—26
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques* (1712-1778)—outstanding French Enlightenment, democrat, ideologist of petty bourgeoisie—148, 434
- Rudolph I* (1218-1291)—Holy Roman Emperor (1273-1291); founder of Austrian Habsburg dynasty—83
- **Ruge, Arnold* (1802-1880)—German publicist, Young Hegelian, bourgeois radical. In 1844, collaborated with Marx in publishing *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in Paris; in 1848 member of Frankfurt National Assembly, belonged to its Left wing; in 1850s a leader of German petty-bourgeois emigrants in Britain; after 1866 National-Liberal and supporter of Bismarck, advocated unification of Germany under Prussian supremacy—20, 65, 72
- Rüstow, Friedrich Wilhelm* (1821-1878)—German officer and military writer, democrat; emigrated to Switzerland; took part in Garibaldi's expedition to South Italy (1860); friend of Lassalle—123
- S
- Sacaze, François* (1808-1884)—French legal official, monarchist, from 1871 member of National Assembly—263
- Sadt, Otto Joseph Arnold* (1816-1886)—Prussian court official, from 1848 Cologne Prosecutor; prosecutor at Cologne Communist Trial (1852)—67
- Saguljajew, Mikhail Andreyevich* (1834-1900)—Russian publicist, in 1862-83 headed Political Section of newspaper *Golos* (*Voice*)—240

- Saint-Just, Louis-Antoine Léon* (1767-1794)—prominent figure in French Revolution; a Jacobin leader—57
- Saint-Simon, Claude Henri* (1760-1825)—great French utopian socialist—142, 254, 380, 453, 454
- Samter, Adolph* (1824-1883)—German banker and economist—323
- Sassanids*—ancient Persian dynasty (226-651)—77
- Say, Jean-Baptiste* (1767-1832)—French vulgar economist—64, 106
- Schaeffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich* (1831-1903)—German bourgeois economist and sociologist; after publication of Marx's *Capital* Vol. I advocated class peace and co-operation between bourgeoisie and proletariat—315
- Schapper, Karl* (1812-1870)—prominent figure in German and international working-class movement; a leader of League of the Just; member of Central Committee of Communist League; took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; in 1850 headed adventurist faction of sectarians, which split from Communist League; in 1856 again became close associate of Marx; member of General Council of First International—44, 73, 85, 171
- Schédo-Ferroti (Firks, Fyodor Ivanovich)* (1812-1872)—Russian reactionary publicist, opposed emancipation of peasants—204
- Scherzer, Andreas* (1807-1879)—German tailor, member of one of Paris branches which, after the split in Communist League, joined adventurist faction of sectarians led by Willich and Schapper; a defendant in the case of so-called Franco-German conspiracy in February 1852 in Paris; subsequently emigrated to England; an active member of German Workers' Educational Society in London—85
- Schewitsch, Sergei*—editor of *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*—385
- Schiller, Friedrich* (1759-1805)—great German poet and playwright—110, 111, 368
- Schily, Victor* (1810-1875)—German petty-bourgeois democrat, took part in Baden-Palatinate uprising (1849); later fled from Germany; member of First International—44
- Schleiden, Matthias Jakob* (1804-1881)—eminent German botanist, one of authors of cell theory—101
- Schlosser, Friedrich Christoph* (1776-1861)—German bourgeois historian, liberal—115
- **Schlütter, Hermann* (d. 1919)—German Social-Democrat; emigrated to U.S.A. where he joined German Social-Democratic movement; wrote series of works on history of working-class movement in Great Britain and America—388, 419, 427, 452
- **Schmidt, Conrad* (1863-1932)—German economist and philosopher, at the beginning of his career adopted Marx's economic doctrine but subsequently joined bourgeois opponents of Marxism; author of works that served as a theoretical source of revisionism—392, 396, 414, 456, 463
- School*—French worker, member of Lyons Section of First International; emigrant in London; in 1872 supported Bonapartist plans of restoring the Empire—261
- Schorlemmer, Karl (Jollymeyer)* (1834-1892)—prominent German chemist, adherent of dialectical materialism; professor at Manchester; member of German Social-Democratic Party; friend of Marx and Engels—176, 234, 340, 351
- Schramm, Karl August*—German Social-Democrat, reformist, criticised Marxism; in eighties retired from the party—357
- Schramm, Rudolf* (1813-1882)—German publicist, petty-bourgeois democrat, in 1848 member of Left wing of Berlin National Assembly, later adherent of Bismarck—157
- Schulz, Louis*—Cologne merchant, bourgeois democrat, publisher of *Rheinische Zeitung*—53
- Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann* (1808-1883)—German political figure, vulgar economist, attempted to divert workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies—159, 162, 182, 200

- Schwann, Theodor* (1810-1882)—eminent German biologist, one of authors of cell theory—101
- **Schweitzer, Johann Baptist* (1833-1875)—one of Lassallean leaders in Germany; editor of *Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of General Association of German Workers (1867-71); gave support to Bismarck's policy of unification of Germany "from above", under hegemony of Prussia; prevented German workers' affiliation to First International; fought against Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from Association in 1872 after his connections with Prussian authorities were exposed—150, 153, 154, 157, 159, 197, 198, 200, 208, 210, 226, 253, 260, 302, 407
- Seidlitz*—German naturalist, Darwinist—283
- Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English vulgar economist, championed manufacturers' interests and took active part in their agitation against introducing shorter working hours in Britain—64, 179
- Serraillier, Auguste* (b. 1840)—a leading figure in French and international working-class movement; member of General Council of First International (1869-72) and of Paris Commune; associate of Marx and Engels—243
- Sertorius, Quintus* (c. 123-72 B.C.)—Roman politician and general, a leader of slave-owning democracy; in 80-72 B.C. was at the head of struggle which Iberian tribes waged against Roman domination—115
- Shakespeare, William* (1564-1616)—great English poet and playwright—110-112, 116, 269
- Shaw, George Bernard* (1856-1950)—outstanding English playwright and publicist; member of Fabian Society from 1884—422
- Sherman, William* (1820-1891)—American general, commanded Eastern Union Army during U.S. Civil War—141
- Sickingen, Franz von* (1481-1523)—German knight, who joined Reformation movement; head of 1522-23 revolt of knights; main personage in Lassalle's drama *Franz von Sickingen*—109-112
- Siebel, Karl* (1836-1868)—German poet; popularised Marx's and Engels' works and Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I; relative of Engels—150
- Simon, Jules* (1814-1896)—French statesman and idealist philosopher, bourgeois republican, member of Constituent Assembly (1848-49) and of Government of National Defence, Minister of Education in this government and in Thiers' Government (1870-73); deputy of National Assembly (1871), an inspirer of struggle against Paris Commune—205
- Singer, Paul* (1844-1911)—prominent leader of German working-class movement, since 1887 member of Executive; from 1890 Chairman of Executive of Social-Democratic Party of Germany; waged active struggle against opportunism and revisionism—429
- Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist, petty-bourgeois critic of capitalism, prominent representative of economic romanticism—78, 79, 106
- Smith, Adam* (1723-1790)—English economist, outstanding representative of classical school of bourgeois political economy—32, 106, 122, 126, 133, 186, 195, 413, 434, 455
- Soetbeer, Georg Adolph* (1814-1892)—German bourgeois economist and statistician—397
- Solon* (c. 638-c. 559 B.C.)—famous Athenian legislator, under the influence of popular masses introduced a number of reforms directed against gentile aristocracy—439
- Sombart, Werner* (1863-1941)—German vulgar economist, tried to refute Marx's labour theory of value—454, 459, 463
- Sonnemann, Leopold* (1831-1909)—German democrat, founder and editor of *Frankfurter Zeitung*—281
- **Sorge, Friedrich Adolph* (1828-1906)—prominent figure in international working-class and soci-

- alist movement; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany, after its defeat emigrated to Switzerland, and later to America; organiser of First International's Sections in America, Secretary of General Council of First International (1872-74), actively participated in founding Socialist Workers' Party in U.S.A. and International Workers' Union—268, 270, 289, 290, 308, 312, 322, 325, 338, 341, 373, 382, 385, 389, 411, 426, 439, 448, 449
- Spartacus* (d. 71 B.C.)—Roman gladiator; leader of the greatest slave revolt in Ancient Rome (73-71 B.C.)—115
- Spinoza, Baruch (Benedict)* (1632-1677)—prominent Dutch materialist philosopher, atheist—225
- Steffen, Wilhelm*—former Prussian officer, witness for defence at Cologne Communist Trial (1852); in 1853 emigrated to Britain, then to U.S.A.; in fifties closely associated with Marx and Engels—86
- Stephens, James* (1825-1901)—Irish petty-bourgeois revolutionary, leader of Fenian organisation—Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood; emigrated to America in 1866—183
- Stewart, James* (1712-1780)—English bourgeois economist; one of last representatives of mercantilism; opponent of quantitative theory of money—98, 106
- Stewart, Robert, Lord Castlereagh* (1769-1822)—English statesman, Tory—106
- Stieber, Wilhelm* (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, Chief of Prussian political police (1850-60); an organiser of Cologne Communist Trial, and principal witness at this trial (1852); was head of Prussian intelligence service (1870-71)—226, 239, 282
- Stirner, Max* (pseudonym of Schmidt, Johann Caspar) (1806-1856)—German philosopher, Young Hegelian, an ideologist of bourgeois individualism and anarchism—53
- Strousberg, Bethel Henry* (1823-1884)—big German railway entrepreneur—305
- Struve, Pyotr Berngardovich* (1870-1944)—Russian bourgeois economist and publicist—437
- Stumm, Karl* (1836-1901)—big German manufacturer, Conservative; rabid enemy of working-class movement—417
- Stumpf, Paul* (c. 1827-1913)—member of Communist League, took part in German working-class movement and in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; member of First International and of Social-Democratic Party of Germany—168, 170
- Sulla (Lucius Cornelius)* (138-78 B.C.)—Roman general and statesman, Consul (88 B.C.) and Dictator (82-79 B.C.)—115
- Swinton, John* (1830-1901)—American journalist of Scottish descent, socialist, editor of several New York newspapers; friend of Marx—322
- Szemere, Bartholomew* (1812-1869)—Hungarian politician and publicist, Minister of Interior (1848) and Prime Minister of Hungarian revolutionary government (1849); emigrated from Hungary when revolution was defeated—65

T

- Tacitus (Publius Cornelius)* (c. 55-c. 120)—Roman historian—189
- Talandier, Pierre-Theodor Alfred* (1822-1890)—French petty-bourgeois democrat, journalist; took part in 1848 Revolution in France; following coup d'état of 1851 emigrated to London; member of General Council of First International (1864); deputy of French Parliament (1876-80, 1881-85)—85, 223
- Taylor, Edward Burnett* (1832-1917)—prominent English ethnographer; founder of evolutionary school in history of culture and ethnology—347
- Ténot, Eugène* (1839-1890)—French publicist, bourgeois republican,

- from 1865 contributed to liberal newspaper *Siècle*; member of Chamber of Deputies (1881-85)—204
- Tessendorf, Hermann Ernst Christian* (1831-1895)—Prussian Prosecutor; in 1873 became member of Berlin City Court; from 1885 President of Criminal Chamber of Supreme Court in Berlin; organised prosecution of Social-Democrats—282
- Thiers, Louis Adolphe* (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman; Prime Minister (1836, 1840); at the time of Second Republic deputy of Constituent and Legislative Assemblies; Orleanist; President of Republic (1871-73), executioner of Paris Commune—55, 146, 205, 246, 249, 252, 261
- Thierry, Augustin* (1795-1856)—French liberal-bourgeois historian of Restoration—63, 81, 442
- Thompson, Thomas Perronet* (1783-1869)—English bourgeois politician; vulgar economist; advocate of Free Trade—45
- Tolain, Henri-Louis* (1828-1897)—French engraver, Right-wing Proudhonist, one of leaders of Paris Section of First International; deputy of National Assembly of 1871; betrayed Paris Commune and deserted to Versailles camp; was expelled from International—137
- Tölcke, Karl Wilhelm* (1817-1893)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; a leader of General Association of German Workers—272, 277
- **Tönnies, Ferdinand* (b. 1855)—German bourgeois sociologist—453
- Tooke, Thomas* (1774-1858)—English bourgeois economist, belonged to classical school of political economy, criticised Ricardo's theory of money—106
- Toole*—see Lafargue, Paul
- Torrens, Robert* (1780-1864)—English bourgeois economist, vulgarised Ricardo's economic doctrine, rejected applicability of labour theory of value to conditions of capitalist mode of production—64
- Torricelli, Evangelista* (1608-1647)—outstanding Italian physicist and mathematician—441
- Tridon, Eduard-Marie Gustave* (1841-1871)—French politician and publicist, Blanquist; member of First International and of Paris Commune; deputy of National Assembly of 1871; after defeat of Paris Commune emigrated to Belgium—206
- **Trier, Gerson* (b. 1851)—Danish Social-Democrat, a leader of revolutionary minority in Social-Democratic Party of Denmark; fought against reformist policy of Party's opportunist wing; translator of Engels' works into Danish—386
- Trochu, Louis-Jules* (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist, head of Government of National Defence, Commander-in-Chief of Paris armed forces (September 1870-January 1871), treacherously sabotaged defence of the city; deputy of National Assembly (1871)—233, 242
- **Turati, Filippo* (1857-1932)—publicist, leading figure in Italian working-class movement, a founder (1892) and leader of Italian Socialist Party; subsequently one of its reformist Right-wing leaders—443
- Tussy*—see Marx, Eleanor

U

Urquhart, David (1805-1877)—English diplomat, reactionary publicist and politician; member of Parliament (1847-52), Tory—98

V

Vahlteich, Karl Julius (1839-1915)—German Right-wing Social-Democrat; shoemaker; one of founders and first secretary of Lassallean General Association of German Workers, later member of Eisenachers' party; after Anti-Socialist Law was adopted, moved to U.S.A., where he took an active part in working-class movement—280, 281

- Vanderbilt, William Henry* (1824-1885)—American millionaire, railway owner—398
- **Varlin, Louis-Eugène* (1839-1871)—outstanding figure in French working-class movement; bookbinder; Left Proudhonist; one of leaders of International's Sections in France; member of Central Committee of National Guard and Paris Commune; shot by Versailles—249
- Vaucanson, Jacques de* (1707-1792)—French mechanic, improved construction of loom; inventor of automatic devices—129
- Vermorel, Auguste-Jean-Marie* (1841-1871)—French publicist, Proudhonist; member of Paris Commune; was heavily wounded during street fighting in Paris in May 1871 and died a prisoner at Versailles—206
- Vésinier, Pierre* (1826-1902)—French petty-bourgeois publicist; for slanderous campaign against General Council was expelled from Council (1866), and in 1868 from International; member of Paris Commune, after its suppression emigrated to England—251
- Victor Emmanuel II* (1820-1878)—King of Sardinia (1849-1861); King of Italy (1861-1878)—107
- Vinoy, Joseph* (1800-1880)—French general; Bonapartist, from January 22, 1871 Governor-General of Paris; hangman of Commune; commander of Versailles army—247
- Vischer, Friedrich Theodor* (1807-1888)—German Hegelian philosopher, author of voluminous work on aesthetics—96
- Vogel von Falkenstein, Eduard* (1797-1885)—Prussian general, during Franco-Prussian War, Governor-General of German maritime provinces—239
- **Vogt, August* (c. 1830-c. 1883)—German worker, member of Communist League and of General Association of German Workers; in 1867 emigrated to America, member of New York Communist Club and one of organisers of International's Sections in U.S.A.; follower of Marx and Engels—220
- Vogt, Karl* (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat, member of Frankfort National Assembly (1848-49); in 1849 emigrated from Germany; in fifties and sixties secret agent in the pay of Louis Bonaparte; denounced by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt*—247, 283
- Vollmar, Georg Heinrich* (1850-1922)—German Social-Democrat, a leader of opportunist wing of German Social-Democracy, was repeatedly elected to Reichstag and Bavarian Landtag. In early nineties one of ideologists of reformism and revisionsim—332, 333, 450
- Voltaire, François-Marie (Arouet)* (1694-1778)—French philosopher, deist, satiric writer, historian, prominent representative of 18th-century French Enlightenment, fought against absolutism and Catholicism—147, 148

W

- Wachsmuth, Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb* (1784-1866)—German bourgeois historian, professor in Leipzig, author of a number of works on ancient and European history—435
- Wade, John* (1788-1875)—English bourgeois economist, publicist and historian—63
- Wagener, Hermann* (1815-1889)—German publicist and political figure, editor of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-54), later one of founders of Prussian Conservative Party, follower of Bismarck—158, 208
- Wagner, Adolph* (1835-1917)—German vulgar bourgeois economist, representative of so-called social-legal school in political economy; Katheder-Socialist, one of leaders of Christian-Socialist Party—225
- Wakefield, Edward Gibbon* (1796-1862)—English statesman, economist, author of bourgeois theory of colonisation—64, 213
- Waldeck, Benedict Franz Leo* (1802-1870)—German political figure,

- bourgeois radical, lawyer; in 1848 one of leaders of Left wing and Vice-President of Prussian National Diet, later Progressist—53
- Walpole, Spencer Horace* (1806-1898)—English statesman, Conservative—177
- Walster*—see Otto Walster
- Webb, Sydney James* (1859-1947)—English political figure; one of founders of Fabian Society; he and his wife Beatrice Webb wrote a number of books on the history and theory of the British labour movement—423
- Weerth, Georg Ludwig* (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and publicist; member of Communist League; in 1848-49 one of editors of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; friend of Marx and Engels—68
- Weitling, Wilhelm* (1808-1871)—prominent figure during the early period of the working-class movement in Germany; one of theoreticians of equalitarian utopian communism; tailor—28-29, 291
- Weston, John*—took part in British labour movement, carpenter, then entrepreneur, Owenist; member of General Council of First International—138, 139, 163, 183, 215, 245
- Westphalen, Edgar von* (1819-c. 1890)—brother of Jenny Marx; in 1846 member of Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels; in fifties-sixties lived in emigration in America—19, 164
- **Weydemeyer, Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in German and American labour movement; member of Communist League; took part in 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; during Civil War in U.S.A. Colonel in Union Army; first exponent of Marxism in U.S.A.; friend and close associate of Marx and Engels—45, 62, 69, 105, 140
- Whately, Richard* (1787-1863)—English theologian, philosopher and economist—64
- Wilhelm I* (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-1888) and German Emperor (1871-1888)—208, 210, 226, 228, 240, 321, 336, 352, 435
- Williams, A.*—pseudonym of Marx
- Willich, August* (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, who resigned on account of his political convictions; member of Communist League; took part in Baden-Palatinate insurrection in 1849; a leader of sectarian-adventurist group (1850), which split from Communist League; in 1853 emigrated to U.S.A.; participated in Civil War on the side of the Union Army—43, 44, 66, 73, 85
- Willis, Robert* (1800-1875)—English scientist, mechanic, technologist and archaeologist; between 1854 and 1867 read special course of lectures for workers—128
- Wilson, James* (1805-1860)—English economist and politician, advocate of Free Trade, opponent of quantitative theory of money—106
- Wirth, Moritz* (b. 1849 d. after 1916)—German writer, economist—392
- Wischnewetzky*—see Kelley-Wischnewetzky
- Wolf, Christian* (1679-1754)—German idealist philosopher and metaphysician; populariser and systematiser of Leibnitz's philosophy, teleologist—414, 546
- Wolff, Ferdinand* (*Red Wolff*) (1812-1895)—German publicist, member of Communist League; in 1848-49 one of editors of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; after 1848-49 Revolution left Germany; at the time of Communist League's split in 1850 supported Marx; later withdrew from political life—55
- Wolff, Luigi*—Italian major, supporter of Mazzini; member of London organisation of Italian workers—Association of Mutual Progress; member of General Council of International (1864-65); in 1871 was exposed as agent of Bonapartist police—137, 138
- Wolff, Wilhelm* (1809-1864)—German proletarian revolutionary, teacher; member of Central Committee of Communist League, in 1848-49 one of editors of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; deputy to Frankfurt National Assembly, after 1851 emigrant in London,

associate and intimate friend of
Marx and Engels—68
Wurtz, Charles-Adolphe (1817-1884)—
French chemist—178

Y

Yorck, Theodor (d. 1875)—a leading
figure of German working-class
movement, Lassallean, member of
Executive of General Association
of German Workers; in 1869
joined opposition against Schweit-
zer and took part in founding So-
cial-Democratic Workers' Party;
Party Secretary (1871-74)—265

Z

**Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna* (1849-
1919)—prominent in Narodnik and
later Social-Democratic move-
ment in Russia; took part in orga-
nising Emancipation of Labour
group and in its work; later a
Menshevik—319, 348, 361
Zhukovsky, Yuli Galaktionovich (1822-
1907)—Russian vulgar bourgeois
economist and publicist; author
of article "Karl Marx and His
Book on Capital", in which he
attacked Marxism—291, 292, 349
Zola, Émile (1840-1902)—prominent
French writer—380

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G

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H

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 Bd. VI: Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse. I. Teil. Der Logik—414
 Bd. VII: Erste Abteilung. Vorlesungen über die Naturphilosophie—100
 Bd. X: Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik—414
 Bd. XIII-XV: Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie—415
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Q

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R

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S

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SUBJECT INDEX

A

- Abstraction*: 34, 37, 98, 99, 357
Accident
— necessity and: 248, 395, 442-443
Agrarian question: 210, 211, 221-222, 225-226, 450
Agriculture: 73, 124, 133, 212-213, 356
— capitalism in agriculture: 122-123, 124
Alliance de la démocratie socialiste: 206-207, 254, 259, 332
See also *Bakuninism, Bakuninists*
Alsace-Lorraine: 228, 231-233, 239
America: 33, 63-64, 119-120, 124-125, 126-127, 140-141, 209, 213-215, 224, 298-300, 316-317, 323, 364, 371-372, 397, 411, 412, 416-417, 419-420, 426-427, 438
— proletariat: 154-155, 371, 411, 416, 426-427
— bourgeoisie: 78-79, 209, 373-374, 419
— slavery: 78-79, 114, 124-125, 127, 140-141, 213
— labour movement. See *Labour movement*
See also *Civil War in U.S.A.*
Anarchism, anarchists: 313, 341, 378
See also *Bakuninism, Bakuninists; Proudhonism, Proudhonists*
Arabs: 73-77
Army: 75-76, 91-92, 140-141, 168-169
Austria: 41, 54, 71, 89-90, 107, 108, 140, 169-170, 171, 289, 299

B

- Bakuninism, Bakuninists*: 206, 254, 257-262, 270, 312, 332-333, 341

See also *Alliance de la démocratie socialiste*

- Basis and superstructure*: 30, 36, 393, 394-396, 400-402, 433-434, 441-442
Being and consciousness: 400, 457
Blanquism: 362
Bonapartism: 60-61, 107-108, 152, 166, 227, 342
Bourgeois-democratic parties: proletariat's attitude towards them: 52-53, 63, 72, 92, 272-273, 302-303, 307, 353-354, 359, 378, 386-387, 409, 445-446
Bourgeoisie: 81, 119, 166, 244-245
— its origin: 81-82, 293
— and nobility: 81, 157-158, 322, 342
— and proletariat. See *Classes and class struggle*
Bourgeois society: 100, 103-104, 119-120, 161, 197, 284-285, 356, 429-430
Bourse (Exchange): 392, 397, 429, 462-463
Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee: 24, 25, 26, 28

C

- Capital*: 97-98, 99-100, 122-123, 147, 257
— primitive accumulation: 293
— organic composition of: 120-123, 192-193
— constant and variable: 120, 122, 123, 178
— fixed and circulating: 123, 181
— merchant's: 99-100, 194
— circulation of: 123, 179, 181, 191-195
— concentration of: 298, 299-300, 392, 429

- Capitalism*: 36-37, 49, 63-64, 161, 284-285, 293, 298, 319-320, 364, 426-427, 439
- Cause and effect*: 402, 435, 442
- Chartism*: 45, 65-66, 85, 92, 102, 109, 328-329
- China*: 103, 450
- Civil War in U.S.A.*: 117-119, 124-125, 126-127, 140-141
- Classes and class struggle*: 36-37, 63, 64, 81-82, 109, 195, 394-395, 399, 426-427
- class struggle as driving-power of history: 64, 284-285, 307
 - origin of modern classes: 40, 81, 82, 293, 413, 436, 463
 - struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie: 33, 59, 81, 154-155, 226, 244, 248, 254-255, 284-285, 302, 304, 307, 328, 334, 342-343, 380, 444-445
 - abolition of classes under socialism: 64, 207
- Cologne Communist Trial*: 50-51, 52, 67-68, 72-73
- Colonies*: 32, 78-80, 86-87, 318-319, 330-331, 347, 421
- Commodity*: 99, 100, 186-187
- Communes, mediaeval*: 82-83
- Communist League*: 40, 50, 52-53, 67
- Communist Party*. See *Proletarian party*
- Community*: 88, 214-215, 351, 413
- Indian: 79, 204
 - German: 189-190
 - Russian: 204, 292, 318, 347, 439
- Competition*: 49, 76, 97, 122, 193, 284
- and monopolies: 35, 37
- Cost price*: 123, 179, 192, 193
- Credit*: 33, 97, 146-147, 298
- Crises, economic*: 33, 40, 71, 92, 100, 162, 285, 296-298, 316, 364-365, 367, 397, 458

D

- Darwinism*: 115, 120, 160-161, 283-284
- Democracy*
- bourgeois: 72, 209, 275, 350, 447
- Democratic Federation (in England)*: 325, 330, 343-344

Dialectics

- Marx's materialist dialectics as opposed to Hegel's idealist dialectics: 93, 187, 226, 414-415
 - in social life: 178, 293-294, 332-333, 335, 402
 - in natural science: 101-102, 175-176, 178, 264-265
 - unity and struggle of opposites: 35, 293-294, 299-400
 - transformation of quantity into quality: 102, 178, 264-265
- Dictatorship of proletariat*: 52, 64, 254-255, 275, 318, 341, 345, 386-387, 402, 445
- Division of labour*: 32-34, 91, 120, 196, 335, 355-356, 397

E

- East*: 73-77, 79-80
- Economists, bourgeois*: 34-37, 63-64, 98, 144-145, 146, 161, 177, 186-187, 195-196, 199-200, 212, 322, 306, 434-435
- representatives of bourgeois classical political economy: 47-49, 63-64, 97-99, 122, 123, 125-126, 133, 144-145, 186-187, 194-195, 196-197, 212, 413
 - representatives of vulgar political economy: 64, 78-79, 100, 178, 181, 193-197, 212-215, 357-358, 366
- Eisenachers*. See *Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany*
- Emancipation of Labour group*: 361-362
- England*: 32, 33, 44-45, 48, 63, 66, 70, 82-83, 92, 93, 102-103, 104, 107, 109, 114, 147, 150, 166, 176-177, 184-185, 190-191, 216-217, 218-219, 221-223, 237, 293, 296-297, 316, 319, 325-326, 330-331, 365, 388-389, 397, 426-427, 428-429, 431-432, 449-450
- proletariat: 104, 114, 130-131, 163, 190-191, 216-217, 218-219, 222-223, 295, 313-314, 343-344, 346, 364-365, 381, 385-386, 388-389, 390
 - bourgeoisie: 21, 45-46, 63, 82, 176-177, 222, 370, 372-373
 - landed aristocracy: 63, 190-191, 216-217, 221-222
 - colonial policy: 76-77, 78-80, 86-88, 182-185, 209, 216-217,

- 218-219, 221-223, 236-237, 317, 330-331
 — industrial monopoly: 223, 330-331, 421, 426-427
 — labour movement. See *Labour movement*
- Equality*
 — bourgeois conception of: 100, 276
- Exploitation, capitalist*: 177, 319-320, 358-359, 365, 429
- Expropriation of immediate producers under capitalism*: 87, 184, 293, 299, 319, 412
- F**
- Fabians*: 389-390, 422-423, 428-429, 439-440
- Female labour*: 365
- Fenians*: 182-184, 217-219, 223
- Feudalism*: 31, 293, 425
- Force*
 — its role in history: 335, 336, 402, 458-459
- France*: 55-61, 70-71, 81-83, 89, 107-108, 132, 205-206, 229, 231, 233-234, 239-240, 241-243, 255, 290, 297, 298-300, 342, 353-354, 365, 380-381, 393, 408, 431, 436
 — proletariat: 59, 71, 152, 154, 172, 234, 237-238
 — bourgeoisie: 59, 60, 81-82, 234, 242-243, 249, 372-373
 — peasantry: 71, 450
 — Second Empire: 70-71, 107-108, 201, 224, 226, 230, 270
 — labour movement. See *Labour movement*
- "Fraternal Democrats"*: 29
- "Freedom of press" in bourgeois society*: 239-240
- Free trade*: 63, 421
- G**
- General Association of German Workers*: 150-151, 154-156, 158, 198, 201, 266, 268
- Germany*: 17-20, 22, 32, 39, 42, 67, 72, 82-83, 84-85, 89-90, 102-103, 117, 132, 140, 151, 153, 155, 158-160, 166, 169-170, 205, 208-209, 210, 231-232, 236-237, 239-240, 243, 247-248, 249, 251, 273, 283-284, 290, 301, 306-307, 321, 327-328, 336, 344, 345-346, 352, 354, 358-360, 365-366, 375, 391-392, 394-396, 397, 417-418, 419, 421, 427, 434-435, 436-437, 442, 464
 — Prussianism, its reactionary role: 51, 72, 89-90, 155, 169, 228-229, 237, 239-240
 — proletariat: 157-159, 201-202, 227, 229-230, 273, 314, 328, 336, 358-359, 391-392, 436-437
 — bourgeoisie: 21, 51, 140, 151, 153, 157-158, 166, 169, 227-228, 236-237, 372, 387, 417-418
 — peasantry: 52, 210-211, 412, 450
 — petty bourgeoisie: 273, 391-392, 442
 — Junkers: 52, 155, 159, 189, 418
 — unification of: 169, 358-360
 — labour movement. See *Labour movement*
- H**
- Hegelianism*: 65, 93, 120, 162, 187, 393, 414-415
- Historical materialism*
 — its importance and fundamental principles: 30-37, 65, 91, 128-129, 169, 361, 391, 394-396, 397-401, 433-435, 441-443
- History*: 30, 56, 130-131, 144, 189, 248, 253, 293, 393-396, 424-425, 441-443
 — of Rome: 56, 81, 91, 115-116, 268, 294, 318
- I**
- Idealism*: 31, 144-145
 — idealist conception of history: 30, 31, 34-37
- Ideology*: 393-394, 395, 400-401, 433-435, 442-443
 See also *Philosophy; Religion; Science*
- Independent Labour Party of Britain*: 428, 449, 452
- India*: 74, 75-76, 79-80, 297, 317, 331, 397, 421
- Industrial revolution*: 128-130, 358-360, 421
- Industry*: 129-130, 412, 427, 438-439
- International Workingmen's Association*. See *International, First*

- International, First*: 150-151, 152, 160, 163, 165, 167-168, 174, 182, 202-203, 207-212, 218-219, 221, 223-224, 235, 243-246, 251-255, 256-263, 267-268, 307, 321, 341, 382, 453-454
- its historical significance: 207, 253, 262-263, 270-271, 321, 378
 - its foundation: 138-139
 - General Council of: 137-138, 149, 167, 172, 183, 202, 210, 211, 215, 221, 223, 224, 243, 252-254, 255-256, 258-261, 262-263
 - Geneva Congress: 171
 - Lausanne Congress: 256
 - Brussels Congress: 181, 198-199
 - Basle Congress: 206, 210, 259
 - Hague Congress: 267, 270, 341, 387
 - London Conference: 256, 259, 263
 - struggle against Proudhonism. See *Proudhonism*
 - struggle against Bakuninism. See *Bakuninism*
- International, Second*: 382-383
- Ireland and Irish question*: 86-87, 182-183, 184-185, 190-191, 199-200, 209, 210, 211-212, 214-219, 221-224, 330
- See also *Fenians*
- Italy*: 41, 54-55, 71, 91-92, 107-108, 230, 299, 427, 443-445
- national liberation movement: 54-55
 - proletariat: 444
 - bourgeoisie: 443-444
 - peasantry: 54, 444

J

Jews: 74

K

Katheder-Socialism: 315, 370
Knights of Labor: 373, 377, 382

L

Labour

- two-fold character of: 180, 186
- necessary and surplus: 120, 133, 178

- socially necessary: 196-197, 412, 458
- Labour movement*: 243-246, 253-255, 375, 378
- its international character: 198, 207, 228, 232, 243-246, 253, 270-271, 273-274, 321, 329, 382-383, 432-433
 - in America: 172, 224, 245-246, 371-372, 373-375, 376-377, 385-386, 411, 419-420
 - in England: 102, 105, 109, 130-131, 137, 149-150, 160, 163, 165, 168, 171, 172, 210, 216-217, 245, 252, 295, 300-301, 313-314, 329, 343-344, 346, 365, 371, 375, 385-386, 388-390, 422-423, 426, 428-429, 448-450
 - in Germany: 21, 84-85, 151, 153, 158-160, 198, 200-203, 208, 244, 245, 252, 253-254, 301, 352
 - in Spain: 243-244, 254
 - in Italy: 137, 254, 260-261
 - in France: 224, 244-245, 253, 312, 328
 - Marx and Engels as leaders of international labour movement: 84-85, 158-159, 324-325, 337, 340

See also *Strike movement, Trade unions*

Lassalleanism, Lassalleans: 130-131, 150-152, 153, 154-155, 156-160, 200-202, 208, 253-254, 260, 265-266, 272-277, 278-280, 302, 406-407, 409-410

Law: 355, 399-400

Law of transformation of energy: 101-102, 162, 264

Laws, economic: 34, 161, 394-396, 457-458

Literature: 109-113, 269, 367-369, 379-381, 392-393, 422

M

Machinery: 32-33, 91, 128-130, 134, 137, 161, 181, 421

Malthusianism: 47, 48, 120, 143, 161, 225, 274, 284

Manufacture: 32, 129, 335, 421

Market

- world market: 96, 103-104, 223, 397, 464

Marxism. See *Scientific socialism*

Matter and motion: 264-265

Means of production: 161, 169, 293, 355, 397-398

Method. See *Dialectics*

Middle Ages: 31, 81-83, 89-90, 91-92, 100, 189-190, 335, 355, 436-437, 459, 462-463

Mode of production: 31, 426, 444
— capitalist: 35, 37
— based on slave labour: 294

Monarchy

— absolute: 342, 350
— constitutional: 342, 350

Money and money circulation: 98-100, 176-178

Morality, bourgeois: 380, 429-430

N

Narodniks (Populists): 313, 361-362

National and colonial question: 41, 167-168, 184, 216, 218-220, 221-224, 236

See also *Ireland and Irish question*; *Poland*

Nationalisation of land: 210, 323

Natural science: 100-101, 115, 176, 178, 264-265, 459

Necessity. See *Accident*

Neue Rheinische Zeitung: 41, 43, 53

Norway: 391-392

O

Over-production: 364, 367, 397

P

Paris Commune: 247-251, 270, 273, 305, 321, 341

Peasantry: 86, 211, 217-218, 350, 413

— and proletariat. See *Proletariat*

Peasant War in Germany: 109-113

Personality cult: 291

Petty bourgeoisie: 39, 147, 305-306, 350, 391-392

Philistinism: 117, 153, 226, 309, 326, 337, 391-392

Philosophy: 286, 400-401, 434-435

Poland: 70, 89-90, 110, 131-132, 140, 289

Politics and political struggle of working class: 171-172, 243-244, 254-255, 256

Political economy: 143, 144, 145, 161

See also *Economists, bourgeois*

Positivism: 169, 453-454

Possibilists: 332-333, 334, 383-384

Price: 49, 99, 192, 194

Price of production: 179, 194

Primitive society: 347, 352

Production: 30-31, 64, 284-285, 355-356, 397-399

— capitalist: 34, 103-104, 126, 144, 161, 187, 284-285, 294, 297, 298, 319-320, 355, 458

— anarchy of capitalist production: 187, 196, 284-285

— and consumption: 30-31, 298

Productive forces and relations of production: 30-31, 34

Profit: 93, 134, 179, 186, 191-195, 458

— rate of: 121-122, 191-195, 214, 457-459

— average: 122, 123, 179, 193, 455

— tendency of rate of profit to fall: 194

Proletarian party: 52, 72-73, 155, 244-245, 253-254, 266, 268, 272-277, 302-305, 307, 310-311, 332-333, 374, 375, 387, 422, 445, 446, 449

Proletarian revolution: 27, 64, 77, 86, 104, 127, 191, 221, 223, 247, 273, 285, 303, 316-318, 328-329, 333, 340-341, 342-343, 345, 359, 386-387, 409-410

Proletariat: 158, 198, 248, 253-255, 306, 318, 350, 380

— historical role of: 85, 152, 154-155, 341

— origin of: 293, 317

— and peasantry: 86, 211, 444

— struggle against bourgeoisie. See *Classes and class struggle*

Property

— communal: 189-190

— feudal: 33-34, 76, 143

— bourgeois (capitalist): 33-34, 97, 143, 293, 319-320

— landed: 76, 80, 97, 123, 125-126, 191, 210, 294

— private: 27, 320, 351

— common: 27, 187, 294, 319

Protectionism: 45, 184-185, 320, 412, 421, 442

Proudhonism, Proudhonists: 24-27, 29-39, 98, 100, 142-148, 166-167, 182, 199, 201, 253-254, 270-271, 356, 408

Prussia, Prussianism. See *Germany*

R

- Railways*: 298, 316-317, 398
Reformation: 90, 111-112, 464
Religion: 73-74, 76-77, 400
Rent: 47-49, 119-120, 122-123, 125-126, 180, 186, 194, 200, 212-213, 322, 457
 — absolute: 122-123, 125-126
 — differential: 123, 215
Reproduction: 133
Republic, bourgeois: 72, 127, 342-343, 352, 353, 426-427, 430, 444-445
Revolution: 58-59
 — bourgeois: 52-53, 71, 119, 210, 342
 — proletarian, socialist. See *Proletarian revolution*
Revolution, bourgeois
 — in England, 17th century: 31, 216-217, 219
 — in France, end of 18th century: 59, 81-82, 89, 148-149, 189, 234, 318, 384, 464
 — in France, 1848: 59, 71-72, 247, 248, 352, 359, 446
 — in Germany: 42, 43-44, 89, 110, 158, 359-360
Right to work: 352-353
Role of individual in history: 248, 338, 340, 395, 442
Russia: 69-70, 107-108, 132, 220, 226, 232, 240, 241, 282, 289-290, 291-292, 299-300, 313, 319-320, 321, 348-349, 354-355, 361-362, 391, 420-421
 — peasantry in: 114, 132, 204, 321, 349, 412-414
 — nobility in: 114, 349
 — bourgeoisie in: 413
 — proletariat: 216, 220
 — tsarism, its reactionary role: 311, 363
 — development of capitalism in: 292, 363, 420-422, 437-439
 — prospects of revolution in Russia and its international significance: 69, 102-103, 107, 114, 132, 232, 241, 282, 289, 311, 321, 329, 349, 362-363
 See also *Community, Russian; Emancipation of Labour group; Narodniks*
Russian language: 241, 349

S

- Science*: 48, 94, 145, 196, 441
Scientific socialism: 64, 145, 318 359-360, 408
Sectarianism: 201, 253-254, 262, 268, 376, 377, 448
Serfdom: 88, 335
Slavery. See *America*
Social-Democratic Federation in Britain: 375, 382, 390, 422-423, 428, 448, 449, 452
Social-Democratic Party of Germany: 309-310, 311, 327, 332-333, 343
 — opportunism in: 290, 301, 302, 327-328, 334, 337, 353-354, 409-410, 450, 461
 — Gotha Programme of: 272-281, 428
 — Erfurt Programme of: 409-410
 — and Anti-Socialist Law: 301, 304, 327, 351-353, 394
Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers): 210, 227-230, 239, 244, 245, 252, 265-268, 272, 276, 278, 279
Socialism
 — scientific. See *Scientific socialism*
 — conservative, or bourgeois: 200, 207, 274, 281, 322-323, 408, 423, 428-429
 — German, or "true": 27, 28-29
 — utopian: 38, 172, 281, 290-291, 352
 — feudal: 281
Socialist Labour Party (U.S.): 385, 449
Socialist society: 64, 161-162, 187, 275, 293-294, 365, 393
Socialist League in Britain: 375
Society: 30, 284, 398
 See also *Bourgeois society, Feudalism, Primitive society, Socialist society*
Spain: 140, 243-244, 408
State: 30, 257-258, 275, 341-342, 399, 422, 425, 434
 — its class essence: 244, 257-258, 340-341
 — and proletarian revolution, necessity of smashing bourgeois state machinery: 247-248, 316-317
 — dying out of: 340, 341, 372
 — proletarian. See *Dictatorship of proletariat*

- See also *Monarchy, Republic, bourgeois*
- State socialism*: 131, 153, 155-157, 320, 347
- Strike movement*: 163, 254-255, 281-282, 300-301
- Surplus value*: 120-121, 134, 137, 178, 179, 180, 186, 191-195, 214, 323, 355, 429, 459
- rate of: 120-121, 192
- T**
- Tactics of class struggle of proletariat*: 228-229, 244-245, 265-266, 336, 361-362, 376-377, 378, 386-387, 422-423, 444-445, 461
- Theory, its significance*: 22, 338, 340, 361-362, 373, 374, 376-377, 378, 385
- Thinking*: 190, 196-197, 434, 457
- Town, separation from country*: 32, 358
- Trade*: 77, 103-104, 299, 397
- Trade unions*: 131, 138, 154-155, 163, 165, 202, 245, 270, 275, 301, 346, 364-365, 382, 385, 388-389, 452
- U**
- United States of America*. See *America*
- Universal suffrage*: 57, 151, 153, 160, 165, 166, 201, 244, 445
- Use-value*: 97, 180, 186
- V**
- Value*: 97, 122-123, 178-180, 186, 187, 192, 194, 195, 196, 454-456
- form of: 175, 176-177
- law of: 98, 125, 194, 196, 457, 458
- W**
- Wages*: 91, 97, 178, 179, 186, 187, 191, 274, 457, 458
- War*
- and working class: 200, 228, 229, 230, 233, 237, 252, 274
- civil: 246, 247
- of conquest: 87, 88, 245
- defensive: 230, 331
- guerilla: 118
- Napoleonic wars: 69, 118, 119, 233, 237
- Crimean of 1854-56: 103, 421, 438
- Franco-Austro-Italian of 1859: 107-108, 232
- Austro-Prussian of 1866: 166-167, 170-172, 231-232
- Franco-Prussian of 1870: 226, 227, 228, 230, 233-234, 236-238, 239, 242-243, 264, 251-269, 289
- Russo-Turkish of 1877-78: 289
- Workers' combinations*: 148-149, 154-155, 159, 281-282
- Workers' Party of France*: 312-313, 320-325, 329, 331-333, 334, 449-450
- its programme: 312-313, 324, 328-329, 363-364
- its split with Possibilists: 331, 333
- Working-class movement*. See *Labour movement*
- Working day*: 121, 179, 186, 198, 385, 401